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NEW SERIES. Volume IV.

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No. I.

# THE PRESERVATION OF SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL MONUMENTS.

BY

THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.,
*President of the Society.*

[*An Address delivered at the Annual General Meeting held on 17th November*, 1898.]

IN the year 1392 Bishop Bar, who had presided over the See of Moray for thirty years, wrote to King Robert III. that he was broken down with the infirmities of age, and so far reduced in circumstances as to be scarcely able to maintain a slender household. In the most touching and solemn words he complained that on the feast of St. Botolph, 1390, the king's own brother, the Earl of Buchan, known as the Wolf of Badenoch, had descended from the Hills with a band of wild Scots, and had given the magnificent Cathedral of Elgin to the flames. He besought the Royal help to compel the incendiaries and malefactors to restore his church, "that was the special ornament of the land, the glory of the realm, the delight of strangers and foreigners who came to see it, the praise and boast among foreign nations, lofty in its towers without, splendid in its appointments within, and famous for its pious worship of God."

In like manner may we plead, not indeed for the restoration, but for the preservation of the old Ecclesiastical monuments remaining in Scotland. This Society has been established for the encouragement of research into



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the monuments of the past, and of vigilant care for their preservation. To promote this an annual excursion is made each autumn to some spot of archæological interest, *e.g.* last year to Torphichen, Linlithgow, Abercorn, and Dalmeny, and the year previous to Rothesay and the old church of St. Blane, Bute. Papers were read during the Session 1896-7, on 12th February, on "Torphichen and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem," and on 15th April on "The Vaulting of the Lower Church, Glasgow Cathedral," and papers on similar subjects have been read from time to time.

Accordingly it will not be out of place if, in inaugurating the Session of 1898-9, we turn our attention to Scottish Ecclesiastical remains. Members of this and of kindred Societies are interested in the preservation of such remains, and should look on themselves as the natural guardians of these treasures. In travelling through the length and breadth of this country we cannot fail to meet with much to study and admire in her old Ecclesiastical buildings; and not to admire only, but we look on them as precious relics of the past, and as the "special ornament of the land and the glory of the realm."

There need be no hesitation in confining our remarks to the larger churches and ruins still remaining, because they form the only sources to which we can look in this country for the improvement of the art of architecture and for models to copy of Pointed or Gothic work. We have good but simple examples of early work (transition from Romanesque to First-Pointed) at Jedburgh, Kelso, and Dunfermline abbey churches. We owe to the *First-Pointed style* altogether, or in part, the enlargement of Kirkwall, the Cathedrals of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Whithorn, Elgin, Brechin, Dunblane, and Dornoch. We owe to this style chiefly the conventual churches of Holyrood, Arbroath, Dryburgh, Paisley, Dundrennan, Kilwinning, Restennet, Crossraguel, Coldingham, Lindores, Ferne, Pluscardine, Cambuskenneth, Deir, Saddell, Ardchattan, and Oronsay.

The *Middle-Pointed* occupied the period between 1286, between the death of Alexander III. in the middle of the 13th century, till the change of religion in the middle of the 16th. We need only mention one specimen of this style, the Cathedral at Rosmarky or Fortrose, which is of the purest and most elaborate architecture.

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Your attention will be called to the Scottish Ecclesiastical monuments that remain during the years 1060—1560, a period of 500 years, but confining ourselves to the Cathedrals, Abbeys, and Priories. Time would fail if we attempted to add to these a list of parish churches, and of collegiate churches and chapels, of hospitals, or of the churches of the Friars, Grey, White, or Black.

The Cathedrals of Scotland were 13 in number. Glasgow and Kirkwall are the only two remaining in a more or less complete condition. Of the other eleven, five are now in use, in a modified condition, as Brechin, Dornoch, Dunblane, Dunkeld, and Lismore. Six are but ruins, though Whithorn was used as a parish church till 1822. They were ruthlessly dealt with in the past. It is our place and our privilege to protect them from further injury: for they call for our care on account of their archæological interest, and the relation they bear to the art of architecture in the 19th century. We will speak of them in alphabetical order, though giving precedence to Glasgow.[1]

I. Of *Glasgow* we need say nothing, because so much has already been said in the many works in folio, 4to., 8vo., and 12mo., from J. Collie's *Glasgow Cathedral*, *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, *Visit to Glasgow Cathedral*, by J. Honeyman, and *A Scots Mediæval Architect*, by P. Macgregor Chalmers, to the various pamphlets that have been issued from time to time.

II. *St. Andrews*. When entire it consisted of a nave 200 feet by 62, with an extreme length of 358 feet. In architecture it was of pure First-Pointed, intermixed with a few semi-Norman features. It was a Cathedral Priory of the Augustinian Canons. All that now remains is the East gable, part of the West front, the wall on South side of nave, and that of the West side of South transept.

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[1] See *Report of British Archæological Association*, held at Glasgow in 1888; *Visit to Glasgow Cathedral*, by J. Honeyman, p. 10; *The Arrangements of Glasgow Cathedral*, by Marquis of Bute, p. 63; *Visit to Paisley Abbey*, by E. Loftus Brock, p. 59; *Peculiarities of Ancient Scottish Architecture*, by E. Loftus Brock, p. 84; *Dunblane Cathedral*, p. 74; *Dunfermline*, by G. Robertson, p. 89.

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The gift to the Cathedral of an annual sum of 100 marks attested the gratitude of Bruce for the great victory of the Scots at Bannockburn, brought about, as was supposed, by St. Andrew, the guardian of the realm.

III. *Aberdeen.* Old Aberdeen, where the remains of the Cathedral are, is one mile from New Aberdeen. Having been destroyed during the English wars, its reconstruction was begun in 1375. There remains a nave of 5 bays, 126 feet by 67·6, traces of the choir, and a fragment of South side of transept, and two West towers surmounted by octagonal stone spires, all Middle-Pointed.[1]

IV. *Argyll.* Lismore (the Cathedral of St. Moluac) was a diocese separated from Dunkeld in the beginning of the 13th century. The island lies in the very centre of Loch Linnhe. The Cathedral of Argyll was less than 60 feet in length by 30 in breadth, without aisles or transept. Now it is modernized and used as a parish church.

V. *Brechin.* This was one of the smaller cathedrals. The church originally consisted of a nave, aisles, and chancel, with a short transept. In 1806 the transept was removed, new aisles were built, and one roof made to cover the whole. The side walls of the chancel remain, lighted by very simple pointed windows. Detached on the South-West side is the round tower, 110 feet high, of eight stages covered with spiral roof 23 feet high, and lighted by dormer windows.

VI. *Caithness.* The Cathedral of the See of Caithness was Dornoch, built about 1250. It had a high roof, and a low tower with a stunted spire. Though much damaged in 1570, and afterwards neglected, a great portion was standing till 1847. The whole was then renewed by the Duke of Sutherland, but unfortunately was not trusted to competent hands.

VII. *Dunblane.* This Cathedral is 216 feet long and 58 high. It consists of a nave of 8 bays, with aisles. The windows of nave and aisles are of First-Pointed work. The most beautiful portion is the West porch. The nave, 130 feet long, remained roofless until a few years ago, when it was re-roofed.

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[1] A good engraving of this Cathedral can be seen in Robertson's *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, 1891.

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VIII. *Dunkeld.* The Cathedral consists of a nave of 7 bays 120 feet by 60 and 40 feet high. The choir, of 4 bays without aisles, is 104 by 27 feet. The windows of the aisles are very beautiful.

IX. *Galloway.* Whithorn Cathedral now consists of a roofless and ruined nave. On this promontory near the Solway St. Ninian erected a church called *Candida Casa* or the "White House," because, as the Venerable Bede tells us, it was built of stone, in a manner unusual among the Britons. This became the foundation of the See of Galloway. On the South-West is a richly-sculptured Norman door, as also a good South-East door. It was used as the parish church till 1822, when the new one was built close by.

X. *Iona.* The Cathedral of "The Isles," in its present form, was erected in the 13th century, of red Mull granite. It comprises a nave 64 by 23 feet, of the same dimensions as the choir, and, like it, without aisles: a transept 70 by 18 feet, and a central tower 75 feet high and 26 by 22 feet. On the left was the cloister, one arch of which remains whole. North of the cloister is the refectory, and East of it is the chapter house, of which the roof is entire.

XI. *Moray.* The Cathedral at Elgin is the most splendid ecclesiastical ruin in Scotland. It was founded in 1224, and was burnt by the "Wolf of Badenoch" in 1390. In 1407-20 it was rebuilt by Bishop Innes. In February, 1568, by the order of Regent Moray, the lead was stripped from the roof in order to furnish money to pay his soldiers. In consequence the building soon began to decay. On 4th December, 1637, a high wind blew down the rafters of the choir. The great tower fell in 1770. The further progress of decay has now been arrested. It is in length 282 feet. The ruins consist of a magnificent west front, flanked on each side by a square tower 84 feet high—of a nave with double aisles—a transept—a choir with aisles—and a chapter house, very perfect, of octagonal form with a central pillar supporting the roof. It was known as the "Lantern of the North."

XII. *Ross.* Fortrose Cathedral, called also Chanonry, dedicated to S.S. Peter and Boniface, was an architectural gem of the purest and most elaborate Middle-Pointed. The material was red sandstone. It was erected

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in the beginning of the 14th century. It is 120 feet long, and consisted of a nave with four bays with aisles 14 feet wide, a choir with aisles, a quasi transept, a lady chapel, a rood turret and a vaulted chapter house on North-East side. The whole of the centre and North side are gone, and there remains only the aisle to the nave and choir, with an octagonal turret at the junction, and part of the chapter house.

XIII. *Orkney*. The Cathedral of Kirkwall is entire with the exception of the spire. It was commenced in 1138, and has stood 700 years. The extreme length is 226 feet by 45·6 broad: with a nave of 8 bays, a choir of 4, and the lady chapel of 2 bays. It is cruciform, with aisles to the nave 113·8 feet by 21·6—to the roof it is 71 feet—and the transept is 89·5 feet. It was saved from Reformation violence by the affectionate zeal of the townsmen.

If then the affection of the townsmen for their noble cathedral, as also the attachment and pride of the people of Glasgow for their church, was enough to preserve these buildings from the ruin that befell the other eleven cathedrals, it surely behoves us to protect and preserve what remain to us. We may pray with Sir Walter Scott, that in the future no hands will destroy the remains of our ancient buildings. May

> "No moody fanatic deface
> The works of wondrous Art that grace
> Antiquity's remains.
> O be his tomb as lead to lead
> Upon its dull destroyers' head:
> A minstrel's malison is said."

Without entering into the causes of the wholesale ruins with which our favourite land is studded, we may mention in passing three or four causes that were at work. Firstly, after the battle of Bannockburn England became the hereditary enemy of Scotland, and destroyed her churches when occasion served. Secondly, the king usurped the right of nominating to the vacant abbeys, *e.g.* Paisley, Dunfermline, etc.; and five illegitimate sons of kings were made heads of five of the richest abbeys in Scotland. Thirdly, the bestowing the post of Abbot or Superior on laymen *in commendam* or trust: and fourthly, the usurpation by noblemen who took the temporalities, or intruded their sons into their place.

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When King James was informed that Henry VIII. suggested to him to "increase the Royal revenues by taking some of the religious houses into his hands," the king replied, "In good faith I cannot do so: for methinks it is against reason and God's law to put down these abbeys and religious houses, which have stood these many years, and God's service has been maintained and kept in the same."

We may next consider the Abbeys and Priories that equally claim our care and preservation. The Benedictines and the Canons of St. Augustine usually chose towns for their houses: the Cistertian and the Premonstratensian Canons preferred the country.

Benedictines, or Black Monks. There was one Abbey and three Priories of this Order. We prefer to speak of them in alphabetical order than in the order of dignity, of foundation, or of importance.

I. *Dunfermline.* In the West part of the present church remains the Romanesque nave, which was consecrated in 1150. Originally the church was 275 feet long. In 1818-20 the site of the choir, which was in the First-Pointed style, was cleared to make room for the new church. It is so well known that no further allusion is necessary.

1. *Coldingham*, in Berwickshire, was a Benedictine Priory, founded by King Edgar in 1098 in honour of St. Cuthbert. It was seized and nearly destroyed by Cromwell. The tower, 90 feet high, fell in 1775. The church has been partially renewed, and fitted up as a parish church. A part of the old church is Romanesque.
2. *Tyningham Priory*, in Haddingtonshire. The remains of a Norman Priory, built in the 12th century, are close to Tyningham House, the seat of the Earl of Haddington.
3. *Urquhart*, in the neighbourhood of Elgin. The only way of even ascertaining the site, is the Abbey Well.

The great order of St. Benedict branched out into several distinct congregations, with certain peculiar additional constitutions or reforms. In Scotland we had the Tyronensians, who had five Abbeys and one Priory.

I. *Arbroath*, or Aberbrothoc (the Mouth of the Brothoc). The Abbey was founded in 1178, and dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket. The Abbey

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Church was 270 feet long; and consisted of a nave with aisles, a transept with aisles, a chancel, two West towers, and a chapter house. The two West towers were blown down in the latter part of last century. It now exists only in fragments. For many years the municipal authorities were in the habit of selling the materials, which is the cause of the disappearance of so much of the building. This practice was stopped by order of the Barons of the Exchequer in 1815. Among the Abbots of Arbroath were Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop James Beaton. The Abbots in their philanthropy kept a beacon on the dangerous reef of rocks in the German Ocean—a fact immortalized by Southey.

> "The Abbot of Aberbrothoc
> Had placed that bell on the Inchcape rock:
> On a buoy in the storm it floated and swung,
> And over the waves its warning rung.
> When the rock was hid by the surge's swell,
> The mariners heard the warning bell;
> And then they knew the perilous rock,
> And bless'd the Abbot of Aberbrothoc."

II. *Kelso.* This Church of St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist was one of the four great abbeys on the border, *i.e.* Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Melrose, and Kelso, that were erected by David I. on ground which was most exposed to foray and raid: thus ensuring the cultivation of the lands by placing them under the protection of the church. It was a noble example of the more advanced Romanesque. It had a nave, a chancel 60 feet long with aisles, a transept of 71 feet by 23, and a central tower 90 feet high and 23 broad. In June, 1523, Lord Dacre stripped the church of its lead, and burnt the Lady Chapel with its beautiful stall work.

III. *Kilwinning*, in the County of Ayr, and three miles from Irvine, has remains, First-Pointed, of extreme beauty. The base of the South wall of the nave, 95 feet in length, the West front and the South end of the transept pierced with three tall lancets, show what it once was. A fine West bell-tower, 103 feet high and 32 feet square, fell down in 1814.

IV. *Lesmahagow*, in Clydesdale. The Reformers in 1560 completely destroyed the buildings. A square tower is all that remains of the church.

V. *Lindores*, dedicated to Blessed Virgin and St. Andrew, is situated

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on a gentle rise above the Firth of Tay, and twelve miles from St. Andrews. It was cruciform in shape, 230 feet long, with a North aisle to the nave —an aisleless choir 60 by 25 feet, and a North-West tower. Of the Abbey nothing is left but a few scattered walls much broken.

1. *Fyvie.* The Priory of St. Mary in Buchan is represented by a few remains of the church. So late as 1815 the foundations of the church, 60 by 20 feet, were still to be seen not far from the modern building.

The Cistertians were another independent congregation of Benedictines. Their abbeys were eleven in number, and the priories were three. The Cistertians sought quiet woody glens for their houses.

I. *Balmerino Abbey* is on the South side of the Firth of Tay. This church was built in the very unusual form of being divided in the centre of the nave by pillars. There are only some very small remains of the Abbey.

II. *Culross*, in Perthshire, founded in 1217 by Malcolm, Earl of Fife. An aisleless First-Pointed choir, and an early Middle-Pointed tower are all that remain.

III. *Coupar-Angus.* In Coupar, the Forfarshire town, there are a few scanty traces of the Abbey at the North angle of the churchyard. It was destroyed by Arran and his following.

IV. *Deir*, in Buchan of Aberdeen. Some small remains, in red stone, mark the site. James VI. gave it to the Earl Marischal (Keith). His wife besought him to have nothing to do with this gift, but he declined her advice. Deir has this special interest, that of the Columban church the *Book of Deir* is alone left to us, "the oldest book of Scotland, as well as the sole relic of its early literature."

V. *Dundrennan*, in Kirkcudbrightshire. The abbey stands at the head of a valley on the right bank of the Abbey Burn. The church was cruciform, comprising a nave 130 by 30 feet, with side aisles, a choir 45 by 26 feet and a transept 107 by 23 feet. The whole of the nave and arches have disappeared together with the tower, the cloister, and almost all the chapter house. The present remains consist of the North and South transepts. The materials have been removed to build the village and

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manse. This abbey has a special interest for us as the place where Queen Mary spent her last night after the battle of Langside, on May 15, 1568.

VI. *Glenluce*, in Wigtownshire. This abbey, when entire, must have been on a very extensive scale. The foundations of the nave, transept, and choir remain; also the cloister square and chapter house, and the gable of the South transept are standing. A vast mass of prostrate masonry is still upon the ground. The Hay family, in 1590, built from the abbey spoils the Castle of Park.

VII. *Kinloss*, in Moray. The abbey was one of the most magnificent foundations of David I. Scanty remains of the choir, South transept, chapter house, and cloister are in the First-Pointed and Second-Pointed style. Brodie, of Lethan, destroyed the chapter house in 1652, to furnish stones for the citadel of Inverness. The house contained eighty monks. Boece says the abbey was famous for the splendour of its buildings and the exemplary lives of its inmates. At the Reformation it was sold, and afterwards served as a quarry for all the houses and walls in the vicinity.

VIII. *Melrose*, in Roxburghshire. This abbey is too well known to need any description. The famous Chronicle of Mailros was written in these cloisters.

IX. *Newbattle*, in Midlothian. This abbey is seven miles from Edinburgh. Some beautiful First-Pointed vaulting is all that remains of this abbey.

X. *Sweetheart*, or New Abbey, in Kirkcudbright. The church consists of nave, transept, aisles, choir, and central tower. The last Abbot became president of the Scotch College in Paris, and died there. In the year 1275 the Lady Devorgoil, daughter of Alan, the Lord of Galloway, wife of John Baliol and mother of the celebrated John Baliol, erected this abbey on her husband's grave in Galloway.

XI. *Saddell*, in Kintyre. There are some slight remains of the abbey, founded in 1163 by Reginald the son of Somerled, Lord of Kintyre. It was a cruciform abbey, 136 feet by 24, of which the nave occupied 60 feet. The transept measured 78 by 24 feet.

1. *Friars Carse*, in Dumfriesshire, has no remains.

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2. *Hassendean*, in Teviotdale. This was a beautiful Norman church, which was demolished in 1690. No trace of the church is left. The Sheriff of the county, who took part in this work, was a Douglas, and was cursed by an old woman for his pains:

> "The Douglas race, foredoom'd without a male
> To fade unbless'd, since in the churchyard green,
> Its lord o'erthrew the spires of Hassendean."

3. *Mauchline*, in Ayrshire. It was nine miles from Kilmarnock. Of this priory there are no traces left, but the new parish church is built on its site.

The Cluniacs had three abbeys and one priory.

I. *Paisley Abbey*. This is a very interesting example of First-Pointed with Middle-Pointed portions. The nave is almost as perfect as when it was built. The Chapel of St. Mirin is entire. Of the rest of the church the chancel is still marked out by walls, which are very long, and the transept would appear to have been about the centre of the church.[1] A meeting was held some little time ago for the purpose of raising subscriptions for the restoration of the choir.

II. *Crossraguel*, about two miles from Maybole. It was colonized by monks from Paisley. A large portion of the ruins still stand.

Abbot William died in 1547, and was succeeded by his kinsman, Quintin Kennedy, fourth son of Gilbert, second Earl of Cassilis. In 1570 the fourth Earl of Cassilis, who from his great power in Ayrshire, was called the king of Carrick, kidnapped and tortured Alan Stewart, the commendator of Crossraguel. He was determined to compel him to execute in his favour certain deeds over the property of the abbey. Having kidnapped him, and unable to succeed by imprisonment, he one day discussed the matter with him in a room where a large fire was blazing. The poor man seeing at once the horrors awaiting him, prayed hard for release, but his persecutor and his brother were merciless. He was, as the annalist describes it, skinned by the removal of his clothes, and well basted with

[1] A very full history of the Abbey has been published by Dr. C. Lees.

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grease, and stretched on bars of iron to which he was secured. He only yielded when his hand was so severely scorched that he scarcely had power to sign the documents.[1]

This inhuman Earl dealt for the conventual estates of Glenluce with the abbot, who died before the writs could be signed. He persuaded some one to forge the subscription of the dead man, and then, for fear of discovery, caused a person to wound him mortally. As a final act of villainy, the murderer was accused of theft and hanged.

III. *Iona.*

1. *Dalmulin*, on the north bank of the River Ayr.

The Valliscaulians had three Priories.

1. *Ardchattan*, in Argyllshire. The house, near Connell Ferry, on north side of Loch Etive, was cruciform. It is of First-Pointed style, consisting of a simple nave. The ruins of an aisleless choir, 66 by 28 feet, and central tower remain. It was founded in the 13th century by the M'Dougalls.
2. *Pluscardine*, in Morayshire. This house is six miles from Elgin. It consists of an aisleless choir, 56 by 27 feet, no triforium, a chapter house, 28 feet square, with central pillar, and a cloister 100 feet square.
3. *Beauly Priory*. This priory is ten miles from Inverness. The church was of early part of 14th century, 150 feet long, and without aisles. Cromwell used it as a quarry for the fort of Inverness.

The Canons Regular of St. Augustine or Black Canons were very popular in Scotland, and had six Abbeys and twenty-two Priories. They were introduced into Scotland by Alexander I. and his Queen Sibylla.

I. *Cambuskenneth Abbey*, in Stirlingshire. All that remains of it are a very noble tower, a gateway, and a few fragments of walls. It was given at the Reformation to the Earl of Mar, who pulled down the greater part of the building to erect his house in Stirling.

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[1] *See two volumes of charters relating to Crossraguel, edited for the Ayrshire and Galloway Archæological Association by Mr. F. C. Hunter-Blair.*

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II. *Holyrood.* It originally consisted of a nave, choir, transept, and central tower. The nave is the only part that remains. The choir and south transept were pulled down to make room for the palace begun by James IV.

III. *Inchaffray*, Perthshire. This Abbey is six miles from Crieff. It stands on rising ground which once, apparently, formed an island. Shapeless heaps of masonry, including gables, walls, etc., are the only remains of a fine building. Maurice, the Abbot of the time, attended Bruce to Bannockburn, with the arm of St. Fillan in a silver case.

IV. *Inchcolm*, St. Columba's Isle, near Inverkeithing, at the entrance of the Firth of Forth. Boece says Inchcolm was "as the carbuncle among precious stones." The remains of the Priory are an octagonal chapter house, the refectory, and the cloister, 34 feet square.[1]

V. *Jedburgh*, in Roxburgh.

VI. *Scone* was one of the larger Abbeys of Scotland. This magnificent Abbey was set on fire in 1559 and reduced to a heap of ruins. It now consists of a piece of an aisle, in the pleasure grounds of Scone Palace, the seat of Lord Mansfield.

1. *Abernethy Priory*, in Perthshire. No remains, except close to the "Bishop's Yard," there is a round tower, 75 feet high and 48 in circumference at the bottom and 32 at top.
2. *Blantyre Priory*, Lanarkshire. A few remains of red granite, two gables, and a portion of the outer wall are all that remain.
3. *Canonbie*, in Dumfriesshire. It was laid in ruins by the English in 1542. There are a few remains.
4. *Colonsay*, on an Inner Hebridean Isle of Argyllshire. Its roofless church, First-Pointed, is 77 by 18 feet. The cloister was destroyed in the last century.
5. *Crusay*.
6. *Oronsay*, separated from Colonsay by a sound of only 100 yards, and dry for three hours at low water. It contains some of the most interesting ruins, next to Iona, in West of Scotland. The remains are transitional, First-Pointed, 77·8 by 18 feet, with a side chapel.

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[1] See *Aberdour and Inchcolme*, by Wm. Ross, 1885.

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7. *Inch-Kenneth.* In the Island of Mull, the remains of a church, 60 by 30 feet, are those of Inch-Kenneth Priory. The altar and bell were only removed in the present century.
8. *Inchmahome*, on St. Colman's Isle, in the Lake of Menteith. The Priory ruins are First-Pointed. The church, 115 by 36 feet, is entered by a fine west doorway. It has a nave of three bays, and the arch of a North-West tower. To this Priory, Mary, Queen of Scots, was sent at the age of five years, during the English Invasion of 1547.
9. *Isle of May*, in Fifeshire. This small rocky islet contains the ruins of a Priory. The isle is treeless, guarded by basaltic cliffs, but rich in pasture. Later it was abandoned for St. Mary's, Pittenweem, as less exposed to incursions by English sailors.
10. *Loch Leven.* The Priory was upon St. Serf's Isle. A few ruins of the church, 30 by 20 feet, remain.
11. *Loch Tay*, in Perthshire. Near Kenmore, and on an island in the Loch Tay are the ruins of the Priory built by Alexander I. over the grave of his wife Sibylla, daughter of Henry I. of England. The church was 140 feet long, of which the side wall and gables remain.
12. *Monymusk*, in Central Aberdeenshire. The foundations of the church, 48 by 20 feet, and of the choir, 16 by 14, were ploughed up in last century; but the Norman basement of the tower, 17 by 15, remains.
13. *Pittenweem*, Fifeshire. Traces of the refectory, the dormitory, and the chapter house still remain. On the East of the modern church is the gateway of the Priory.
14. *Portmoak*, on the North side of the River Leven, near the Lake, and four-and-a-half miles from Kinross. Very little of this Priory remains.
15. *Restennet*, near the town of Forfar. The ruins comprise the church walls 65 by 20 feet, a sacristy to the North-East, and a tower on North-West 70 feet high. Parts of the cloister 60 feet square remain.

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16. *Roseneath*, in Dumbartonshire. This priory was called also Kilmodan. There are the remains of a choir 27 by 17 feet.
17. *Rothesay*, in Buteshire. Here are remains of a choir measuring 27 feet by 17.
18. *Rowadill*, is in the South-East of the island of Harris. "Within the South part of this isle," says Archdeacon Munro, writing in 1549, "lies a monastery with a steeple, called Roodil." The ruins of the church still stand, but there is no trace of monastic buildings.[1] The church was used as a parish church after the Reformation, was repaired in 1784, and continued in use till the beginning of the present century.
19. *St. Mary's Isle*, in Kirkcudbrightshire. About one and a half miles South of Kirkcudbright a priory was founded in the reign of David I., but is not now in existence. It was destroyed to build Lord Selkirk's house.
20. *St. Andrews Cathedral Priory*.
21. *Scar Inch*, in the isle of Lewis, county Ross.
22. *Strathfillan*, in Perthshire. At the village of St. Fillan's are remains of the priory, founded by Bruce, in commemoration of the battle of Bannockburn. The "Bell of St. Fillan," and also the "quigrach" or silver head of St. Fillan's crosier, are now in Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum.

The Premonstratensians, or White Canons, had five abbeys and one priory.

I. *Dryburgh*, in Roxburghshire. The abbey is situated on a peninsula of the Tweed, ten miles above Kelso and three miles below Melrose. The remains consist of 6 bays of nave, including West front and South wall; also portions of the First-Pointed choir with side chapels, a shallow transept and an Eastern aisle, forming St. Mary's Chapel in North aisle. This is the burial-place of Sir W. Scott.

II. *Ferne*, in Ross. This abbey was built by Farquhar, Earl of Ross. The church consisted of nave, and choir 99 by 25 feet. The doors are

[1] See exhaustive description by Dr. Murray, 1898.

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Norman, and on North and South sides is a small chapel. It was used for service till 1742, when the roof fell on a Sunday and killed 44 persons. In the North chapel is the inscription:

> "Mors tua, mors Christi, mundi fraus, gloria cœli
> et dolor inferni, sint meditanda tibi,"

which may be translated:

> "Thy death and Christ's, the world's deceit, heaven's glory,
> and pains of hell, are for thy meditation."

III. *Holywood*, in Dumfriesshire. Between Friar's Carse and Lincluden this abbey, founded by Devorgilla Baliol, stood. Every trace of it is now gone. The last remains were taken down in 1778, and the parish church built of the materials.

IV. *Soulseat*, *i.e.* Sedes Animæ, in Galloway. The abbey was three miles from Stranraer. On the banks of the South loch are slight remains of the building.

V. *Tongland*, in Galloway, Kirkcudbrightshire, eight miles from Castle Douglas. At the confluence of the Dee and Tarf is the site of the abbey, of which little remains.

1. *Whithorn*, in Galloway.

The Carthusians had two houses in Scotland.

1. *Maxton*, in Roxburgh.
2. *Perth* (*Monasterium Vallis Virtutis*).[1] In 1559 the building of the Perth Charterhouse was destroyed. "The rascal multitude was so busy and laborious that within two days these three great places, the Black and Grey Friars and the Charterhouse Monks, a building of wondrous cost and greatness, was so destroyed that only the walls did remain."

The Knights Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, had five houses.

1. *Ancrum*, in Roxburgh, about four miles from St. Boswell's. Some small fragments remain.

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[1] King James I., in 1430, founded the Charterhouse in the suburb of Perth. It was known as *Domus Virtutum*. Speed calls it the fairest abbey of that realm.

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2. *St. John's Hill*, near Edinburgh.
3. *Kinkell*, in Garioch district, Aberdeenshire.
4. *Ruthwell*, in Dumfriesshire, eight miles from Dumfries.
5. *Torphichen*, in Mid-Lothian, is two and a half miles from Bathgate. The nave, Middle-Pointed, was 112 feet long. A portion of choir 66 by 20 feet and a central tower remain. Such are the slight remains of the chief house of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

The Knights Templars had thirteen houses.

In the rule of the Templars the young man who wished to join them was warned that he must rise when he wished to sleep, he must endure fatigue when he needed rest, he must suffer hunger and thirst when he wished to eat and drink, and he must be prepared to go into a different country from the one where he might wish to remain.

1. *Aberdeen.*
2. *Aboyne*, in Aberdeenshire.
3. *Adamton*, Ayrshire. Of the Preceptory of St. Mary, or of Our Lady Kirk of Kyle, a small part remains.
4. *Inchinnan*, in Renfrewshire. The church was 50 by 18 feet, and was pulled down in 1828.
5. *Maryculter*, in Kincardineshire. Nothing but the foundations remain, which show that it was 82 by 28 feet long.
6. *Mount Holy*, in Edinburgh, on South slope of St. Leonard's Hill.
7. *Oggerstone*, in Stirlingshire.
8. *Red Abbey Stead*, Roxburghshire.
9. *St. Germans*, Mid-Lothian. Near Seton are the remains of a small old church consisting of chancel, transept, and spire. The tracery of the windows is very fine.
10. *Stenhouse*, in Stirlingshire.
11. *Temple*, on the South Esk, twelve miles from Edinburgh. King David introduced the Knights, and established them at Temple in Mid-Lothian. The church is of the late period of First-Pointed, and measures 54 by 17 feet.
12. *Tullich*, in Aberdeenshire.



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13. *Turriff*, in North-West Aberdeenshire. A spot of ground is called "Temple Brae." The old church was 120 by 18 feet.

Few remains exist because their houses were in towns.

Time will not allow us to speak of the 1000 parishes in Scotland, nor of the churches belonging to the friars—the Franciscans known as Grey Friars, the Carmelites or White Friars, and the Dominicans or Black Friars. Also we must omit all mention of the collegiate churches and chapels, and of the hospitals. Suffice it to say that the Franciscans had nineteen houses, the Carmelites had twelve, the Dominicans had eighteen.[1]

No wonder that members of this Society, and of similar ones in Scotland, love to visit the buildings which make the country so full of interest. "Be wisely conservative," as was lately advised at a meeting of a Society, on 18th October, 1898, "of all that is beautiful in the architecture of the past." We who live so near to Douglasdale should remember that during the many years when Douglas Castle was deserted as a residence, the aisle of the church of St. Bride was left open and unprotected, and the boys of the place made it an amusement to throw stones at the ornamental work. Of course this is no longer possible to be said of any place, but the public are not yet sufficiently interested to protect as they might the old ruins from further destruction. We would venture to suggest that antiquaries would spend their holidays in making the round, of the Benedictine houses, which had 4 monasteries, of the Tyronensians, which had 6, of the Cistertians, which had 14 houses, of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, which had 28 houses, of the Premonstratentians, which had 6 houses, of the Cluniacs, which had 4 houses, and of the Valliscaulians, which had 3 houses. Some antiquaries may prefer to visit them in the counties to which they belong: as for example in the 10 central counties in the valleys of the Clyde and Forth, giving their attention to the monasteries in

Ayrshire—Crossraguel, Kilwinning, and Mauchline.

In Renfrewshire—Paisley.

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[1] A leading architect in the time of James III. was Thomas Cochrane; in the time of James IV. lived John Murray.

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In Fifeshire—St. Andrew's Priory, Balmerino, Dunfermline, Inchcolm, Lindores, and Isle of May.

In Kinross-shire—Loch Leven, Portmoak.

In Mid-Lothianshire—Holyrood, Newbattle.

Or (2nd) in the Southern counties on the Tweed and Solway—

In Roxburghshire—Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh, Canonbie.

In Kirkcudbrightshire—Dundrennan, Sweetheart, Tongland, and St. Mary's Isle.

In Wigtownshire—Glenluce, Soulseat, and Whithorn.

Or (3rd) in the Northern counties—

In Aberdeenshire—Monymusk, Fyvie, and Deir.

In Perthshire—Scone, Loch Tay, Inchmahome, Inchaffray, Strathfillan, Abernethy.

In Morayshire—Elgin, Urquhart, Kinloss, Pluscardine.

In Forfarshire—Arbroath, Restennet.

The result of such a tour will be to impress upon the archæologist a still higher sense of the architecture and of its allied arts of sculpture and painting displayed in these buildings, and a resolution to rescue them, as far as possible, from further injury or destruction.

We may mention, as illustrations of carving *in stone*, the chapel of St. Mirin and St. Columba in the South transept of Paisley, where three compartments measuring 4 feet at the North side, and seven compartments measuring 10 feet at the South side are filled with sculptures bearing reference to St. Mirin. In the one on the left we see St. Mirin's mother bringing him to St. Congal; in the next St. Mirin receiving the religious habit; in the next St. Mirin being made Superior of the monastery at Bangor, etc., etc. Two sculptures show a brother of the monastery seeing St. Mirin illuminated by a celestial light, and the Saint restoring to life the dead man in the valley of Colpdash;[1] and in the centre of the chapel stands the monument of Marjory, daughter of King Robert the Bruce. It is of beautiful workmanship. It is an altar tomb, with the recumbent figure of a woman resting on a pillow; over her head is an ornamental

[1] Lees' *Abbey of Paisley*, p. 212.

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canopy, with a carving of the Crucifixion. Round the monument is a series of compartments filled with boldly sculptured figures of ecclesiastics, and shields with armorial bearings.[1] Other figures are seen in various parts of the church, and fortunately the name of the sculptor is known,—Thomas Hector, who in the year 1460 received from the abbot, Henry Crighton, the lands of Nether Crossflat on lease.

In Glasgow Cathedral it is much to be regretted, as Mr. Macgregor Chalmers remarks, that the eight statues and carved corbels which adorned the panels on each side of the doorway in the screen have disappeared. The parapet of the top of this screen is now its most attractive feature, and is of beautifully-designed tabernacle work and open tracery, resting on a moulded and sculptured cornice. The carvings on this cornice are meant to illustrate the seven ages of man. Old Age occupies the centre, over the doorway; Infancy, Youth, and Manhood are on the north side, with the Schoolboy, the Lover, and the Sage on the south.[2]

In Iona the capitals of the nave pillars are carved with figures well preserved. On the first from the tower is represented the fall of our first parents; another represents the Temptation of Adam and Eve; the third has a delineation of the Crucifixion, and St. Peter cutting off Malchus' ear; and the fourth has an angel weighing souls. St. Martin's Cross, Iona, 17 feet high, may be mentioned as another instance of sculpture, as it is adorned with a great profusion of sculptural work. A sculptured cross also exists at Ruthwell. The subjects of the sculpture are a hind with a branch, St. John the Baptist with the lamb, our Lord with the right hand raised in the act of benediction with a scroll in the left hand and treading on two swine, referring to the miracle of the possessed swine, and emblematical of His triumph over unclean things, with the legend, in Runic verse, from Cædmon's lay of "The Holy Rood." "Jesus Christ the just judge; The beasts of the Desert and the Dragons recognized the Saviour of the World." "*Jesus Christus, Judex æquitatis, bestiæ et dracones cognoverunt in deserto Salvatorem mundi.*" There all also figures of St. Paul

[1] *Abbey of Paisley*, p. 221. [2] *A Scots Medieval Architect*, p. 18.

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and St. Antony breaking bread in the desert; the Annunciation; the Visitation; Mary Magdalen washing our Lord's feet; the healing of the man born blind; and the Crucifixion.

Canopied recesses containing recumbent effigies on high tombs exist at Douglas, Seton, Borthwick, Corstorphine, Aberdeen and Elgin.

Of carving in wood we have the stalls in Dunblane Cathedral, and in the chapel of King's College, Aberdeen. A fine fragment of the Rood Screen in Foulis Church, Forfarshire, still remains.

The painter's art is represented by forty-eight shields, in Aberdeen Cathedral, on which are pictured the arms of Popes, of St. Margaret, of the Kings and Princes of Christendom, and of the Bishops and Earls of Scotland, on a flat ceiling of oak panels. Bishop Dunbar ceiled the nave of Elgin with oak, adorning it with the arms of the chief benefactors, the Emperor, the Popes, the Kings, the Bishops and Nobles of Scotland, and foreign Princes. This last no longer exists, to our loss and the loss of art in general.

"That art was still Religion," we quote from the author of the *History of Scotland*, "is proved by the carving, as perfect, in the remote capital of the pillar, or in the hidden crypt, as in the workmanship that every eye could see, for the whole Cathedral was an offering of human industry to God. In the Cathedral of Aberdeen, on whose imperishable granite time has left its mark but not decay—in the shattered fragments of Elgin, the '*patriae decus, regni gloria*,' and '*laus et exaltatio laudis in regnis extraneis*,'—we are reminded of the tremendous power of the Church, when she brought these bleak regions of the North within the boundaries of the Faith and of her high culture. Ignorance and barbarism abounded there, nature was sterile and dreary, and the northern tempest roared without, but within her loving walls there was a shelter from every enemy: There Art received her baptism and her anointing in the service of God, and these brightly-lighted shrines were the centre of a system which could fully satisfy the intellect and heart. The Sons of St. Dominic had found a home in St. Clements of Dunblane's stately sanctuary and in fifteen other Scottish towns. St. Francis of Assisi, who had rekindled the dying embers of Faith among the sunny hills of Umbria, received a welcome from his brown-robed Friars

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in mist-veiled Scotland. From Coldingham and Melrose to Ardchattan in Lorn, the Sons and Daughters of St. Benedict left the stamp of the "beauty of holiness," and the gaunt ruins which frown over St. Andrew's Bay, where once a copper roof like burnished gold flashed out to sea, may yet remind us of the Primatial Church which had been no unmeet symbol of the great Catholic Faith, overshadowing the land."[1]

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[1] Kinloch's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 10.

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Joppe Etching Co. Ph. Sc.

Partick Old Mill and Bridge.

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No. II.

# THE OLD LANDS OF PARTICK AND THE MILL THEREOF.

BY

JAMES WHITE, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th December*, 1898.]

THE Old Lands of Partick formed one of four wards, into which the Barony of Glasgow was at an early period divided. The other three wards were Govan, Badir-manok, and Cuikis ward.

From an old Rental, which, by the courtesy of Mr. Renwick, I have had the privilege of examining, and from other papers which I have seen, it would appear that, speaking generally, Glasgow of to-day is on the Old Lands of Partick ward, while Partick of to-day is on the Govan Lands. It is evident that there were lands, or, in more modern language, there was a ward of Partick distinct from the Lands or ward of Govan. The Lands of Govan included all the Barony to the south of the Clyde, and nearly all of it west of the Kelvin, while the Lands or ward of Partick extended from the Clyde to Cadder, and from the Kelvin to Shettleston

The earliest mention of the Partick Lands is the endowment of the Cathedral, with the Lands of Perthec,[1] by David I., on 7th July, 1136,

[1]Permit me to add another to the many conjectured derivations of the name "Partick." Trajan, one of the greatest of Roman Emperors, received from the Senate the title Parthicus to mark the victory over the Parthians. At the same time, as we learn from Dion Cassius, Parthic games were instituted. This was about A.D. 115. Early in the second century, and therefore, in Trajan's reign, Yorkhill was occupied by the Romans. (In 1867 a coin of Trajan was discovered.) Is it not likely that this place received as name the new title of the

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and shortly after the same king gave to the Cathedral that other part of Partick which had not been already gifted. About 1147 another gift was the Govan Lands. These Lands of Govan and Partick were soon afterwards erected into a prebend of the Cathedral by Bishop Herbert.

On 13th July, 1577, King James VI. granted Govan to the University; no mention is made of Partick. It would seem that the Lands of Partick had by this time lost their old name, and only on one occasion after this can I find the name Partick applied to lands now in the Parish of Glasgow,[1] viz. in April, 1596, when the Molendinar encroached on the Lands of the Burgh at the Lwnyngis Hauch. The owners on the Glasgow side (Henry Gibson and others) complained against the owners on the Partick side appropriating lands to their yards. The matter was referred to the liners of the Burgh and sworn men of the Partick ward, because the complaint concerned tenants both of the barony and the burgh. The liners decided in favour of Gibson resuming possession of the lands claimed.

At the time of the Reformation, we find that Govan was one of the wards of the Barony of Glasgow, while Partick was another distinct ward. The farmers in these two wards, Partick and Govan,[2] were, as we shall see, astricted and bound to grind their grindable corn at the Mill of Partick. To identify the Mill of Partick with the Bishop's Baronial Mill, to which these two wards were astricted, is the chief object of this paper. At the same time we shall take notice of, and explain the grant claimed by the Bakers' Incorporation.

By way of preface to the argument, it will be of interest and of help in understanding what is to follow, to make mention of the law that in olden times governed the building of mills. The right to build mills was

great Emperor? Or did the name arise from the Parthic games in which the soldiers would engage? If it be suggested that these soldiers were in Yorkhill before A.D. 115, and therefore unacquainted with the new games, it has to be remembered that in A.D. 120 Hadrian, the nephew of Trajan, came from Rome, and his soldiers at least would be acquainted with the above-mentioned facts, and at the same time anxious to commemorate their former Emperor and general, who, it may be mentioned, was the first Emperor to lead his own soldiers in person to victory.

[1] *Glasgow Charters.*

[2] Mr. Renwick's *Protocols*, vol. vii., No. 2015.

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at one time vested in barons only, or their nominees, and they, to protect themselves, astricted the lands of their barony to their Baronial Mill. We shall see that this law governed the erection of mills in our own district, and the astriction referred to took place in connection therewith.

In the working out of this law there were various customs that I also recall, by explaining certain terms that may be familiar to most, but the original significance of which has been lost. Thus, the district astricted or thirled was called "sucken," while the payment was named "multure."

As early as the tenth century we find in Wales the law and custom referred to. There a Manorial Lord,[1] owning the toll of his mill, had his vassals thirled to it. In the eleventh century we find that thirlage, or Soke-law, as it was also called, was in full force over the kingdom. It may be of interest to note that in this connection King William,[2] about 1165, fixed the Law of Mills as follows:

1. That all who have mills in their lands shall have one master miller and two servants, who must swear to be leal and true to the Lord of the Land and his men.

2. The farmer shall pay the thirteenth peck for multure of lands of service, and further, one firlot from every chalder for the mill servants.

3. If any man be found passing to another mill with his corn without license from the miller, the lord of the right mill shall have the horse, while the miller and his servants shall have the sack and corn.

And again, in 1283, Alexander III. passed a law at Berwick-on-Tweed, that no man was to be allowed to grind at hand mylnes, unless compelled by necessity; if he did not grind at the mill to which he was thirled, he had to pay the thirteenth peck as multure.

Coming to our own district, we discover that the Lands of the Barony of Glasgow, which were, as we have already said, divided into four wards, were thirled to three mills.[3] And we have, fortunately, some particulars of the old multures, or payments made, which give us great help in identifying these old mills.

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[1] *Corn Milling*, p. 212. [2] *Regiam Magestatem.*
[3] *Reg. Mag. Sigilli.*

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There is the Charter of King James II. of 1450, giving the City and Barony to the Bishops of Glasgow, wherein mention is made of mills, multures, and sequels. And, while it is difficult from the charter to ascertain how many mills are included in it, we may yet, by examining the multures and sequels of the lands in the Barony of Glasgow of a slightly later date, arrive at a very probable, if not a certain estimate of the number of Baronial Mills in 1450. The conclusion we reach is that in 1450 there were three Baronial Mills. The proof of which lies in this: the Lands of Partick ward and Govan ward were astricted to the Mill of Partick, the Lands of Badir-manok ward (Cadder district) were astricted to the Mill of Bedlay, supposed to be the site of a mill since 1214.[1] Another portion of the Barony called Cuikis ward (west part of the Monklands) was astricted to the Clyde Mill; this mill existed in 1268. In addition to these three mills, there are other two I have to refer to: No. 1.—The town of Glasgow in 1446 received the sanction of the Bishop to erect the Town's Mill on the south of Garngadhill; No. 2.—The Lands of Provan had their own mill which still exists. There was no occasion or opening for any other mill or mills to share in the multures and sequels of the Glasgow lands.

The Mill of Bedlay and the Town's Mill were taken down some years ago, and as it is not our object to discuss the Provan Mill, or the Clyde Mill, we shall now confine our attention to the Partick Mills.

During the months of May and June, 1893, it will be in the remembrance of some, certain letters appeared in the *Glasgow Herald*, dealing with the claim of the Bakers to a grant of a mill from the Regent Moray in 1568. These letters were not able, from lack of reliable evidence, to remove the doubts that existed. To assist in solving the difficulty I submit with all deference the following facts. I have carefully examined all the documents that can be had, have collected information from all quarters open to me, and this, together with certain papers in my own hands, enables me to identify—I think with accuracy—the various

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sigilli.*

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Partick Mills; to prove the Mill of Partick to be the Bishop's Baronial Mill, and also to explain the grant claimed by the Bakers.

I. What were the Partick Mills?

On 3rd November, 1587, Walter Stewart, of Blantyre, got a Charter from King James of Church Lands, for an annual payment of £500. This gift, in addition to other places, included the following four mills: (1) the Mill of Partick; (2) the Walk Mill of Partick; (3) Mill called Archy Lyon's Mill; (4) Mill called Wheat Mill.

The order of erection seems to have been the same as is given in this Charter of Walter Stewart. The Mill of Partick, built on the Kelvin at Partick was the first, date unknown; second, the Walk Mill of Partick, erected in 1507; third, the New Walk Mill, latterly Archy Lyon's Mill, erected in 1517; fourth, the Mill called Wheat Mill, that is the Bakers' Wheat Mill, erected in 1568. These four mills constituted the Partick Mills on the Kelvin in the sixteenth century.

(*a*) Notice in passing, that although four mills, there were only three weirs, and there were never more than three weirs, on the river at Partick. No. 1, the Mill of Partick, had a natural weir; No. 2, the Walk Mill, was supplied with water from a pond into which the overflow water was allowed to run from the Mill of Partick dam; No. 3, the New Walk Mill of Partick, latterly the mill called Archy Lyon's Mill, had also a natural weir; No. 4, the Bakers' Wheat Mill, had an artificial weir, and a lade 320 yards in length.

A strong proof of the identity of the Mill of Partick (No. 1) with the Bishop's Mill lies in this: that when the Bishop of Glasgow built his Baronial Mill—the first to be built—he would utilize one of his best natural falls, and not be at the expense of building a weir and cutting a long lead such as was done in the case of the Bakers' Mill (No. 4).

(II.) We now take the mills separately; and as the mills 2 and 3 were both Walk Mills originally, I shall take them first.

### (*A*) THE WALK MILL OF PARTICK. (No. 2.)

On 27th January, 1507, Robert, Archbishop of Glasgow, had caused to be constructed and repaired at his cost and charges a fulling mill on his lands and water of Kelvin.

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In Mr. Renwick's *Protocols*, vol. iii., we find that William Craig was in the Walk Mill of Partick on 20th August, 1564, while, on 21st August, 1574, it is John Anderson in the Walk Mill of Partick, he having married Elizabeth Grahame, the widow of William Craig.

In vol. v., John Anderson, son and heir of the late John Anderson in the Walk Mill of Partick, disposes of certain lands to William Anderson of Stobcross, 26th September, 1594.

The Walk Mill of Partick is now known as Scotstoun Grain Mill, although the titles still refer to it as "the Walk Mill of Partick."

### (*E*) THE WALK MILL, CALLED ARCHY LYON'S MILL. (No. 3.)

From the Rental Book of the Diocese we find that Donald Lyon, in 1517, was entered as rentaller in the New Walk Mill of Partick in the new towne, and from the *Glasgow Charters* we find that Donald Lyon died about 1537, and was succeeded by his son Archy Lyon. On 10th August, 1554, Archy Lyon obtained permission from the Archbishop to change the Walk Mill in the Newtown to a wheat mill.

Archy Lyon sold his mill to the City of Glasgow in 1577. This sale was confirmed by Walter Stewart and the King some years after. The City held it till 1771, when they sold it. It was then known as the Clayslap Mills, although the titles refer to it as Archy Lyon's Mill, No. 3, on Stewart's list. The City re-purchased them in 1874, and shortly after they were taken down. The water-power, value for about £4000, has since been running to waste.

(*b*) We have still two mills to determine, Nos. 1 and 4: the Mill of Partick and the mill called Wheat Mill. Both of them are in existence to-day, the one called Bishop Mills and the other Regent Mills.

We have now to decide which of these two is the Baronial Mill, the mill to which the neighbourhood is astricted or thirled, and then by what right the other mill was allowed to be built. For, as we stated at the outset of this paper, the right to build mills was vested in Barons only or their nominees. If a mill were built without authority Thirlage gave the proprietor of the "Sucken" mill liberty to "ding it down.'

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There is a slight similarity in the law governing the erection of district mills to that governing the erection of Parish Churches. As a Parish Church cannot be planted in a parish where a church already is without permission, and then without interfering with the existing rights of the old church, so no grain mill could be built in the neighbourhood of another without first acquiring the right to build. In support of this I mention the following instance, which goes to show that the right to change from a lint mill to a corn mill was necessary so late as 1810. The miller of the lint mill on the Molendinar changed it to a corn mill, without having sanction, greatly to the injury of the Provan Mill. The City objected and went to court, and after seven years' litigation the lint mill, which had been changed, had to be taken down. Or, again, to take another instance which has already been referred to: Archy Lyon, who held the Walk Mill in the Newtown, received from James, Archbishop of Glasgow, authority to change his Walk Mill into a wheat mill on condition that he ground all the wheat required for the Bishop's house and paid four merks yearly.[1]

In 1575 three grain mills are given in the Kirk Lands Rent Roll as at Partick: one, Archy Lyon's Mill, with which we have already dealt; another, the Bakers' Wheat Mill; the other, the Mill of Partick. Although these three mills appear in the Rent Roll of the Archbishop his interest in two of them was only that of the Superior, the other was his Baronial Mill, with multures and sequels.

I shall now try to show that Mill No. 4 on Stewart's list—the Bakers' Wheat Mill—was built by the Bakers after the battle of Langside in 1568.

In the *Charters of Glasgow*[2] there is an interesting extract from a document of date 16th November, 1569. This extract narrates the complaint of Archy Lyon, owner of the mill next higher up the stream, in which he sets forth that the Bakers, "By biggin' up ane dam to their mill newly biggit by them upon the water of Kelvin, beneath the said Archibald's mill, has caused the said Archibald's mill to be in back water, stopping the passage of the water from the said Archibald's mill."

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[1] *Charters*, vol. i., p. 18*a*. [2] Vol. i., p. 550.

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There exists no charter, rental, nor any notice of the Bakers' Wheat Mill prior to the above document of 1569. If the Wheat Mill had existed before the Reformation it would most likely have been entered in the Rental Book of the See of Glasgow. On the lid of the Bakers' Charter box are these words, "Giving liberty to the trade to build the Wheat Mills at Partick." M'Ure, in his History, says, "The Bakers craved the Regent Moray for power to erect a wheat mill of their own, and the Regent gave them a grant to that effect." Gibson, in his *History of* 1777, and Crawford, in his *History of the Trades' House*, in 1858, agree in saying that the Regent gifted ground to the Bakers; neither of them says a mill was gifted. The liberty to build a mill and secure water-power in those days was of great value.

Mr. Ness, in his valuable book, *The Incorporation of Bakers*, published in 1891, states that the Bakers received the Archbishop's Mill, on Kelvin, from the Regent Moray. They designate it "The Ancient Wheat Mill, otherwise known as the Archbishop's Mill." On this point I am forced to disagree with Mr. Ness, for this reason: the Archbishop's Mill was a meal mill, *not a wheat mill*, and further, the Archbishop's Mill was the one promised to, and actually possessed by, Captain Crawford as kindly tenant from 1567, and as proprietor from 1573 till his death in 1603.

Clelland, who is responsible for some of the errors that have crept in, gives in a charter, in his *History of Glasgow*, the Mill of Partick as the Town's Mill from time immemorial. I think this charter, stating that the town had immemorial possession of the Mill of Partick, confused Clelland. When he wrote his *History of Glasgow* he seems not to have been aware that the Archbishop had let his mill to the City of Glasgow in 1608, and that the Town's Mill at Partick of his day was the Archbishop's Mill of 1608.

Now I shall show that the Mill No. 1 on Stewart's list—the Mill of Partick—was the Baronial Mill, the Archbishop's Mill, and never belonged to the Incorporation of Bakers, individually or otherwise. The titles give it "The Molendinum de Partik vulga vocat Partik Mill."[1] In 1608 it was

[1] Charter, 1738.

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known as the Old Mill of Partick, which name it held till 1836, when it was changed to Bishop Mill. As it was the mill built by the bishops for Partick Ward of the Barony, I think the name very appropriate.

An interesting document[1] referring to this mill is the grant to Captain Crawford of Jordanhill, for the taking of Dumbarton Castle, in 1571. King James and the Earl of Mar,[2] on 4th July, 1572, promised to cause the Archbishop of Glasgow to infeft Captain Crawford and his heirs in the Mill of Partick, which was done by Archbishop Boyd, on 16th February, 1573. On 10th March, 1573, King James confirmed Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, and his heirs, in the Mill of Partick,[3] Miller's house, and Mill lands, occupied by John Patoun, with astricted multures of that part of the lordship and barony of Glasgow called Govan Ward and Partick Ward, for payment of seven chalders oatmeal and seven chalders malt, and eight bolls of oatmeal and eight bolls of malt in augmentation; total—fifteen chalders victual; or, instead, to pay ten merks for the chalder if he pleased.

In 1595, Crawford paid to Sir David Lindsay[4] and his brother heralds a marriage tax of £8 6s. 8d, due from the Mill of Partick for the King's marriage.

On 26th July, 1576, Captain Crawford,[5] with consent of the Archbishop, granted to the University of Glasgow an annual rent of sixteen bolls of good and sufficient oatmeal yearly to be uplifted from his Mill of Partick. By that annual rent a student or bursar was to be maintained during his philosophical course. The charter instituting this gift is signed by James, Archbishop of Glasgow, as well as by the granter, Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill.[6]

On 28th June, 1604, the Masters of the College resigned the sixteen bolls oatmeal payable from the Mill of Partick for new infeftment by the Duke of Lennox;[7] and again, in 1607, the Masters of the College resigned the sixteen bolls oatmeal payable from the Mill of Partick for new infeftment by John, Archbishop of Glasgow, which was done on 10th February, 1607.

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[1] *Lennox and Magni Sigilli.* [2] P. 97, vol. i., *Charters.* [3] *Magni Sigilli*, No. 2199.
[4] *The Lennox*, by Sir William Fraser. [5] *Lennox.* [6] *Maitland.* [7] *Maitland.*

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On referring to the Maitland Club volumes, I find this chalder of meal was paid by the Archbishop from his Mill of Partick, after he got it back from Crawford, to the bursars whose names are given in these volumes. On 28th June, 1630, in a list of grants payable to the University, there is a note of this—"16 Bolls Oatmeal payable from the Archbishop of Glasgow from his Molendinum de Partick vocat Partik Mill."[1] This bursary is still known as the Crawford or Bishop Bursary. It was redeemed on 27th August, 1890, the University receiving from the Crown the sum of £390 8s. 1d., plus interest of £3 16s. 1d., this being thirty years' purchase, namely, 480 bolls oatmeal converted to money on seven years' averages of fiars' prices previous to 1st April, 1890. This of itself shows that Crawford's Mill was the Archbishop's.

The following extract from a letter of Crawford's in the Lennox papers dated 1594, may be of some interest in that it shows how Captain Crawford was rewarded for his services:

"*The Mylne of Partik, and how I com to it, and for quhat caus.*

"My Lord, my meister the Erle of Lawenox, quha wes slaine in Striueling gaiff it to me eftir Dumbarten wes wind, and for that caus as my infeftment beiris and commandit Mr. Jhone Portarfeild, quha wes bischop for the tyme, be his gift past the grit seil, and sitt in Parlament as bischop, to giff me ane infeftment of the said mylne, quhilk he did, as it will beir of the selff, and also commandit the Lard of Minto for the tyme to put me pecebill possessioune of the said mylne, togidder with the Bischop medow, quhilk he did, and also geff me ane pensioune of twa hundreth lib furtht of the Priorie of Sanct-androis as my gift there of past the priwie seill will schaw in the self, and now my master was deid, the Pryor, his brother, wald newer giff me ony thing thereof, and also the Bischop James Boyd tuik the medow fra me, swa of that thing, my maister geff me for my service done at Dumbartin thair remanit na mair with me bot the mylne only. And I am kyndly tennent be ressoune their wes newir no man tennent of the said mylne bot I, and com in possessioune as said is, and hes bein this 27 yeir."

[1] *Magni Sigilli* and *Maitland.*

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This mill, including multures, was of great value in Crawford's time. He paid annually 240 bolls meal and malt for it, and even then it seems to have been a gift.

Captain Crawford was Provost of Glasgow in 1601, and he is credited with having built a great part of the Bridge[1] of Partick, which crossed the Kelvin at his mill.[1] This old bridge was taken down on 30th September, 1895, and there were then disclosed two sculptured slabs—one with Captain Crawford's coat of arms and the date 1601, the other with the initials L.S.D.L. (Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Lennox)—and the Lennox coat of arms, with the same date as Crawford's, 1601. At the request of Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers, these slabs are now lodged in Kelvingrove Museum.

On 25th April, 1599, for sums of money and other causes, Captain Crawford, with consent of his son Daniel,[2] who had taken the name of Ker of Kersland, granted a procuratory of resignation of that date, giving power to procurators to resign the Mill of Partick into the hands of the King or Duke of Lennox. Crawford died on 3rd January, 1603, and the Archbishop got his mill back.

Early in 1608 the City of Glasgow[3] found themselves in debt, and after several meetings regarding the raising of funds, it was at last decided to have a monopoly of mills and let them together, so application was made to the Archbishop for his Mill of Partick. On 9th May, 1608, the Archbishop and the Duke of Lennox let the Mill of Partick for nine or ten years to the Town of Glasgow for an annual payment of fifty bolls ground malt. On 22nd September, 1608, the Dean of Guild and the whole merchants of the Burgh and City of Glasgow agreed to the inhabitants being thirled to the town's mills, in order that the burgh might be relieved of debt. In 1660 the City considered the matter of giving up the old Mill of Partick, owing to the great duty the town paid yearly. At that time, however, they found that the old mill was very steadable to the town in "tyme of ane drouth and frost," and so they retained it.

On 4th February, 1737, the City presented a petition to the Crown, stating "that for centuries[4] backwards they had been kindly tenants in

[1] See Frontispiece. [2] *The Lennox.* [3] *Burgh Records.* [4] Note—This should read from 1608.



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the Mill of Partick, and that they had no profitable bargain, the rent being very high, and having tendered the keys of the mill when Baron Smith presided in the Exchequer, and which the Court refused to accept, they now desire a charter of the mill in order to lay out money in the improvement thereof." The desire was complied with, and the City received a charter[1] on 3rd July, 1738, from King George the Second, who refers to this mill as the mill belonging to the Archbishop, *Molendinum de Partik vulga vocat Partik Mill.* The annual payment was fixed as before[2] at 50 bolls ground malt. This same charge has now been paid for two hundred and ninety years, at first to the Archbishop, now to the Woods and Forests for the Archbishopric of Glasgow.[3]

When the City leased this mill in 1608 from the Archbishop, they were not to be allowed the multures from the astricted tenants grinding at the mill. These were to be paid to the Lord of Glasgow. It is worth noting what these multures were. Some of them are referred to in titles up to 1607. I would like to draw attention to this—if the Archbishop had lost his mill in 1568 to the Bakers, he would also have lost his multures, which were of considerably more value than the mill. The *Glasgow Records* show that the Archbishop was in possession of his mill and multures as late as 1638.

The list of farms thirled to the Mill of Partick is very interesting. As it contains dry multures, I may say that those are fixed payments for abstracted grain. When farmers wished to be free from the obligation to grind at the mill to which they were thirled, they paid dry multures. The City received these dry multures, which amounted to 24 bolls victual, and on 8th September, 1649, gave them to the ministers of Blackfriars and the Tron as part of their stipends.[4]

The list is as follows:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Geo. Elphinston, | for Gorbals and Brigend, | 8 bolls Meal | to the Mill of Partick. | |
| ,, | ,, Woodside, | Multures | ,, | ,, |
| ,, | ,, Mekil Cowcaldanis, | 3 firlots Meal | ,, | ,, |
| ,, | ,, Nather Newton, | 3 ,, ,, | ,, | ,, |
| John Wallace, | ,, Bromehill, | 6 ,, Malt | ,, | ,, |
| | | 10 ,, Meal | ,, | ,, |

[1] *Charter.* [2] *Burgh Records.* [3] Account, 1898. [4] *Glasgow Burgh Records.*

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| John Hutcheson, Jr., | for | Kenmure, | 2 bolls Oatmeal Dry Multures | to the Mill of | Partick |
| James Foulis, | ,, | Rammishorne and Medowflatt, | 2 bolls 1 firlot Meal | ,, | ,, |
| ,, | ,, | Garderoch, | 5 bolls 1 firlot Meal in name of Dry Multures | ,, | ,, |
| Thos. Hill, | ,, | Ibrox, | 3 firlots 2 pks. Malt, Multures. | ,, | ,, |
| Rob. Wilkie, (Minister of Kilmarnock) | ,, | Borrowfield, | 1 boll 3 firlots 2 pks. Meal for Dry Multures | ,, | ,, |
| John Hutcheson, | ,, | Gairbraid, | With Multures and Sequels | ,, | ,, |
| Wm. Duncan, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Michael Barde, | ,, | Ruchill, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Rob. Mitchell, | ,, | Little Govan, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| ,, | ,, | Keppok, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| ,, | ,, | Over-Newton, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| John Rolland, | ,, | West Mekil Govan, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| | ,, | (Tucherhill quarter), | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| And. Paterson, | ,, | West Shield, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| James Shields, | ,, | Lands of Shields, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Wm. Forret, | ,, | Borrowfield, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Rob. Ottirburne, | ,, | Cowtstoun, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Rob. Crawford, | ,, | Mekil Govan, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| ,, | ,, | Ballahawstene, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| David Cunningham, | ,, | Balschagray, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| David Wylie and Rob. Rawson, | ,, | Garroch, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Nin. Stewart, | ,, | Nether Newton, | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Ninian Anderson, | ,, | Woodside, | ,, | ,, | ,, |

On 10th May, 1608, John Algeo got 300 merks, and James King got 200 merks from the City to give up nine years of their lease of Partick Mill, and James King agreed to remain as miller of the Partick Mill.[1]

The following extracts from the Archbishop's Mill Court completes the identity of the Mill of Partick:

On 23rd April, 1611, there were various complaints by the farmers against James King,[2] the miller of the Partick Mill, now in the town's

[1] *Glasgow Burgh Records*, p. 559. [2] *Glasgow Burgh Records.*

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hands. One of the complaints was that James King had made ane stable in the mill and held his horse therein, and for the better preservation of the neighbours' sacks and stuff, it was decided he should have ane other stable without the mill.

On the 21st June, 1625, at the Mill Court of the Auld Mill of Partick, within the Barony and Regality of Glasgow, held in the Castle and Palace of Glasgow, by the Right Reverend Father James, Archbishop of Glasgow, Lord of the Lordship and Regality thereof, and Sir Walter Stewart, of Mynto, Knight Bailie and Justice Depute of the said Regality Court:

1. It is concluded and ordained that there shall be two Mill Court days yearly anent the said mill, to try all faults and wrongs betwixt the Sucken of said mill and the miller thereof.

2. It is ordained that, so long as James King, present miller of the said mill, remains in service as master miller, he shall be answerable for the good conduct of the two mill servants.[1]

3. James King undertakes to make good and thankful service, both to Burgh and Baronie, and agrees to grind malt on Tuesdays and Thursdays for the Burgh and Baronie, the Suckines meal to be ground at all other times of the week.

On 26th April, 1638, being present the Right Reverend Father in God, Patrick, Archbishop of Glasgow, anent ane complaint by the Provost and Bailies, and most part of the Council, against James King, present miller of the Mill of Partick, being also present himself in the said Castle. The complaint in this case was—the miller and his two servants were taking ane lock of meal upon the back of their bonnet called a pickle. The said James King, with consent of the Archbishop, binds and obliges him for himself and his under millers in the said mill, not to take any pickle nor quantity, less or mair, upon any pretence whatever, but only the multure measure. By this agreement the Sequels seem to have been lost by the Mill of Partick.

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[1] *Glasgow Burgh Records.*

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The Archbishop, as can be seen from the Burgh Records, was holding his Mill Courts seventy years after the Battle of Langside regarding the Sucken of the Old Mill of Partick.

I think I have now shown conclusively (1st) that the Mill of Partick, now the Bishop Mills, was the Bishop's Baronial Mill; (2nd) that the New Walk Mill of Partick, in the Newton of 1517, was changed into Archy Lyon's Mill, and latterly named Clayslap Mills; (3rd) that the Ancient Wheat Mill was built by the Bakers after they got the right and ground on which to build, and is now known as Regent Mills.

For the Frontispiece to this paper—a very fine sketch of the Mill of Partick and Partick Bridge—I am indebted to Miss Louisa S. MacLehose and to the Regality Club, in whose publication the sketch first appeared.

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No. III.

# NOTICE OF ARMOUR AND ARMS AT EGLINTON CASTLE, THREE SCOTTISH SWORDS, ETC.

BY

ROBERT BRYDALL, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th December*, 1898.]

IN the houses of some of our old Scottish families there are examples or small collections of armour which have been preserved from the time when they were in use, and it occurred to me long ago that if drawings of these could be made and brought together, an interesting series would be thus formed; to do, in fact, for armour in Scotland what the late Mr. Drummond has so well done for its arms. It was with some such remote end in view that as opportunity offered I made the few drawings which I now place before you. Like many other objects connected with the history of our country, our art possessions are liable to drop out of sight. Many years ago, while looking over what is perhaps the most valuable private art collection of a Scottish nature, I was disappointed to find that the arms and armour were absent at a loan exhibition; the proprietor told me that some of the pictures and drawings had even then been sold, and, since that time, I have learned that at least one fine piece of the armour has been disposed of in London.

The two suits of armour with the saddle, glaives, and halberd, of which drawings are given, form part of a small collection in Eglinton Castle; they possess an additional interest from the fact of having been used at the celebrated Eglinton tournament in 1839, when the inclemency

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Suit of Gilt Armour worn by the Earl of Eglinton at the Eglinton Tournament.

FIG. 2. Suit of Steel Armour, Eglinton Castle. Used at the Eglinton Tournament.

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of the weather almost completely destroyed the effect of that attempted revival of mediæval pageantry and splendour.

The beautiful suit which is represented by the drawing (Figure 1), is engraved on the surface and gilt, and was worn at the tournament by the father of the present Earl of Eglinton. The helmet is of the kind known as an *armet*, which was considered the most perfect form of armour for the head. This form of helmet dates from about the middle of the fifteenth century, and with certain modifications retained the same shape till the middle of the seventeenth. The entire front of the helmet is called the *mezail*; the vizor, nose-piece, and *ventail* or fan, are movable, and can be raised towards the crest by means of a pivot at each cheek. At the side of the helmet there is a kind of rod, the other extremity of which is screwed on to the back of the right shoulder, for the purpose of keeping the helmet more firmly in its place. This is an arrangement which I have not observed, or seen any notice taken of, except in the very heavy jousting panoply of an earlier date, of which Demmin gives an example from the Dresden Museum, where the appliance is called a *rennhutschraube*, which I take to mean a running hat screw. A small pipe on the lower part of the crest at the back of the helmet is for the insertion of a long flowing plume which streamed behind the wearer, frequently reaching to the waist or lower, instead of rising from the apex of the helmet as in the previous fashion. At the date of this suit, that is, the second half of the sixteenth century, the cuirass was already lengthening, the tassets on that account becoming proportionately smaller, with the exception of the demi-suits, where the tasset protected nearly the whole of the upper part of the leg. On this suit the waist-piece—sometimes called *taces* and sometimes the great *brayette*—is formed of two plates to which the tassets are attached by straps and buckles. A lance rest is screwed upon the breast-plate; the knee-pieces are double-flanged or hinged, which does not occur on armour made prior to the end of the fifteenth century; and the breast-plate is ridged in front, or, as it should be described, with a *tapul*, a feature which disappeared at the close of the fifteenth century, when the breast-plate became more globular, the tapul being revived about 1525.

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The surface is decorated with delicately engraved ornamentation, now slightly effaced, of scroll work, with a small robed figure on the upper part of the breastplate, an anchor at her right side and a small human face at her left; below these there is a wyvern at each side. As the form of armour generally was based upon the civil costume of the time and country, the form of the breastplate gives the readiest and most prominent clue to the period and the locality in which it was made, the place in this case being South Germany, probably Munich or Augsburg.

There are, of course, numerous suits of armour existing of that locality and time, slightly differing in the form of some of the parts, of which I may mention one in the Ambras collection at Vienna which was made in Bavaria; it is richly embossed with ornament and figures, has longer tassets, and is considered to have belonged to the Emperor Rudolf II. (1572-1612). In the Meyrick collection there is a demi-lancer's suit with helmet, cuirass, and waist-piece similar to this, which is also embossed with raised scroll work; it has a complete Italian shape although it is of German make.

The plain suit (Figure 2) is of about the same period as Figure 1. It retains the broad-toe'd solerets for the feet, known as the sabot soleret or *pied d'ours*, a very marked feature in Maximilian armour, and which was in vogue from 1490 till 1560. The lance rest is shown hinged upwards so as to be more out of the way when not in use, and the visor has a small screw for keeping it in its place, either when fully closed or open; the visor is perforated at both sides, and an opening is left on the nose-piece to permit of better vision. It has broader shoulder-pieces; otherwise, except in being of a plainer make and less elegant in form, does not differ materially from the other. It is also German.

While dealing with the subject of armour, more especially in relation to that which was worn in Scotland, it is a curious fact that while tassets, plain and tuile-shaped, are frequent upon brasses and effigies in England and on the Continent, I have, so far, looked in vain for them on our Scottish effigies. Another detail of armour, the palettes or rondelles—circular discs for the protection of the armpits in front—I have only

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FIG. 3. Saddle. FIGS. 4 and 5. Glaives. Fig. 6. Halbert, Eglinton Castle.

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found on one of our effigies, that of Gordon of Ruthven at Ruthven Kirk, of the fifteenth century.

Figure 3 is a beautiful example of a German war saddle of the end of the fifteenth century. It is covered all over with bone or ivory, tastefully engraved, with the letters n m repeated alternately. There are saddles of this form and material in the Ambras and Niewerkerke collections, and in the museums of Monbijou at Berlin, and Brunswick. Examples are given by Demmin and Meyrick—that of the latter is described as being covered almost entirely with bone carved in relief, with figures, and a love sonnet in German. There is another in the Tower of London with the inscription—

> "*Ich hoff des pesten,*
> *Hilf Got wal auf Sand Jorger Nam.*"

—I hope for the best, if God help me in the name of St. George.

In Chaucer's "Tale of Sir Thopas," which one naturally turns to regarding mediæval harness and equipments, the knight is described as having a saddle of *rewel bone*; a footnote to this says, "No satisfactory explanation has been furnished of this word, used to describe some material from which rich saddles were made."[1] Turning to the ancient ballad of "Thomas of Ercildoune," a similar line to that of Chaucer's occurs—

> "Her saddle it was of royal bone,"

with the explanation of the term given as "pure ivory."[2]

Figure 4 is from a glaive of the fifteenth century of a Burgundian type. It is a cutting blade, fixed to the end of a pole, and differs from the war scythe and the bill in having the cutting edge on the outside or convex curve. The origin of this kind of weapon dates from the age of bronze among the Celtic and Germanic nations, at which time many of the tribes were in the habit of fixing blades or scramasax swords to long shafts, the longest arm and weapon having then the same relative value

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[1] *Canterbury Tales*, Edinburgh, 1870.

[2] *Ballad Minstrelsy of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1871. The earliest MS. of this ballad is before the middle of the fifteenth century.

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as the longest range modern rifle. In Chaucer's *Court of Love* it is mentioned as a "gleve":

> "And whet their tongue as sharpe as sword or gleve";

in the *Romaunt of Guy, Earl of Warwick*, by Walter of Exeter, time of Edward II., is,

> "Grand coupes de gleves trenchant
> Les escus ne lur vailut un gans."

> "Great strokes of cutting gleves,
> The shields for them not worth a glove";

in one of the Coventry Mysteries is the line:

> "With axes, glevyis, and swordes bright";

and in the time of Queen Elizabeth by Arden of Feversham:

> "O mistris, the mayor, and all the watch,
> Are coming towards our house with glaves and bills."

Figure 5 shows a form of glaive which is known as the gisarme. The French name *guisarme* is said to be derived from the Guisards, or followers of the House of Guise, who were armed with these weapons. This example of the gisarme glaive is of the same shape as those which were carried by the guards of the Doges of Venice, and were very often richly engraved. As a fighting weapon it was sometimes formed into a combination with the scythe, a long cutting prong being added, in which form it became a very formidable instrument, more particularly in the hands of footmen against men on horseback. The Scottish glaive differed in shape from these, approaching more to the form of the Lochaber axe.

Figure 6 is a halberd of the sixteenth century. It was made in this form by the Swiss, who are said to have introduced it into France about the year 1420. The President Fouchet, writing about the end of the sixteenth century, attributes its introduction there to Louis XI. (1461-1483), when "this prince ordered at Angiers, and other good cities, some new war blades called halberds." The use of the halberd is thus described by an English Dugald Dalgetty, who died in 1587: "The halberde likewise doth only serve in the sacke of a towne, in a breach, in a sallie,

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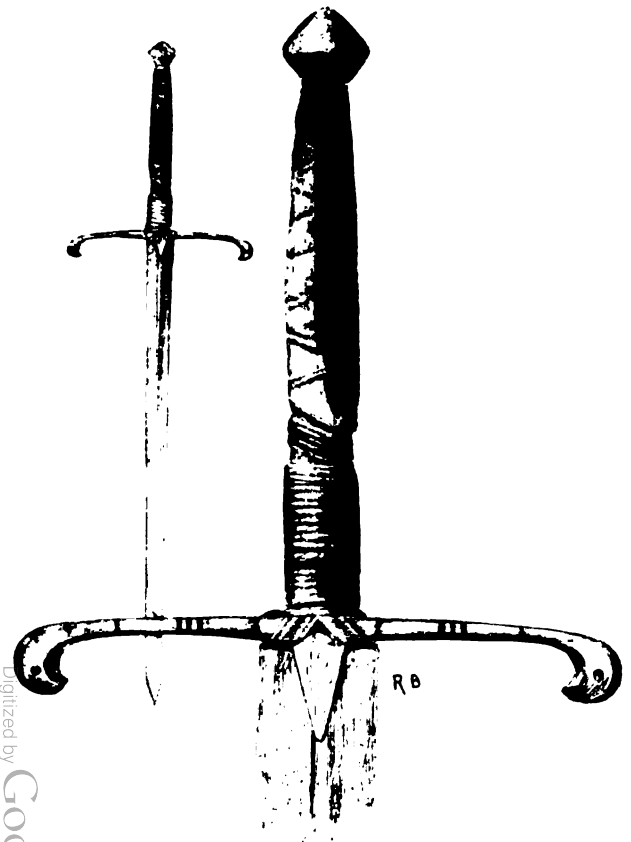


FIG. 7. Two-handed Sword of the Bruce (?).

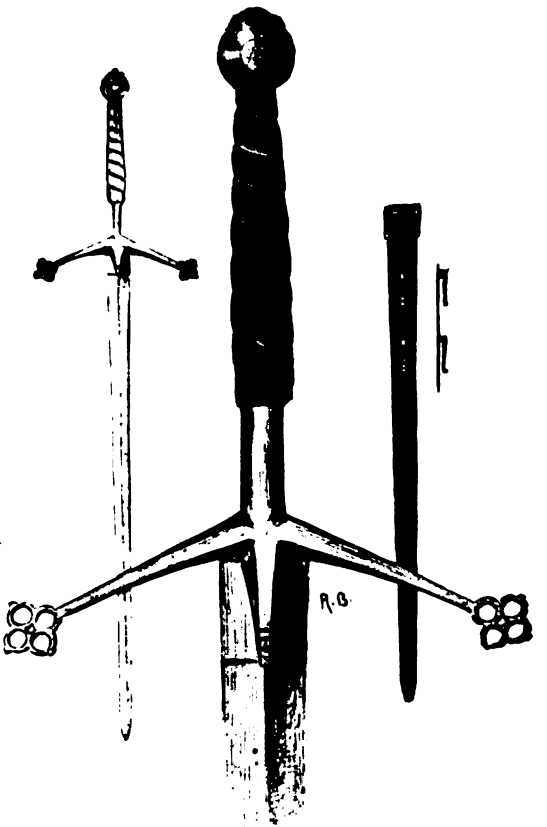


FIG. 8. Two-handed Sword (the Laird of Lundie's).

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or camisado, to enter a house in the throng of a stroken battaille to execute slaughter.[1]

In England halberds are mentioned as early as the time of Edward IV.; their use became pretty general in that reign, and they were always carried by the Yeomen of the Guard during the reign of Henry VIII. They finally ceased to be carried by troops soon after the accession of George III., when they were only used on State occasions, for which purpose they were frequently ornamented. This example corresponds with a Swiss one given by Demmin.

Figure 7 is a two-handed sword of special interest; it belongs to the Earl of Elgin, and was exhibited in the Bishop's Castle collection in the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888. The blade measures about forty-four inches, and the handle about seventeen. The tang forming the handle is covered with wood, bound over with black or very dark coloured leather, the lower part of which is replaced by cord. It is popularly, but erroneously, known as the Bruce's sword, and is the same weapon which is thus referred to by Dr. Adair: "A visit to Mrs. Bruce of Clackmannan, a lady above ninety, the lineal descendant of that race which gave the Scottish throne its brightest ornament, interested his (Burns the poet's) feelings more powerfully. . . . . She was in possession of the hero's helmet and two-handed sword, with which she conferred on Burns and myself the honour of knighthood, remarking that she had a better right to confer that title than *some people*." Clackmannan Tower having belonged to King Robert the Bruce, David II. granted it in 1359 to his kinsman Robert de Bruys, ancestor of the Bruces of Clackmannan, which line became extinct on the death of Henry Bruce in 1772. Henry Bruce's relict was Catherine, the lady above alluded to, who died in November, 1791, when she bequeathed the sword and helmet to the Earl of Elgin, as chief of the family.

I have not seen the helmet, but have read that it is of a much later

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[1] "*The Arte of Warre*, by William Garrard, Gentleman, who served the King of Spayne in his warres" (Meyrick).

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date than that of the Bruce, and, unfortunately, the same has to be said of the sword. The two-handed sword does not date earlier than the fifteenth century; it was the ordinary weapon of Swiss footmen; and in Germany was mainly used for repelling attacks on fortified towns or places of strength. Writing of the two-handed sword, Giacomo de Grassi, in his *True Art of Defence*, says, "Because one may with it, as with a galleon among many gallies, resist many swords or other weapons: therefore, in the warres it is used to be placed neere unto the Enseigne or Auncient for the defence thereof, because, being of itselfe hable to contend with manie, it may the better safeguard the same. And, because its waight and bignes requires great strength, therefore those onlie are allotted to the handling thereof which are mightie and bigge to behould, great and stronge in bodie, and of stout and valiant courage." The same writer tells that, in using the two-handed sword, the swordsman delivered "great edge blows downright and reversed, fetching a full circle or compasse therein with exceeding great swiftness, staying themselves upon one fote, sometimes on the other, utterly neglecting the thrust, and perswading themselves that the thrust serveth to amaze one man onlie, but those edge blowes are of force to encounter many. The hand towards the enemie must take hold fast of the handle neere the crosse, and underneath the other hand above and neere the pomell." Meyrick states that these swords were so well poised as to excite astonishment at the ease with which they may be wielded, and the mode of handling the huge weapon is picturesquely described by Scott, in the combat between Rudolf Donnerhugel and Arthur Philipson. Silver, in his *Paradox*, gives the proportionate size—"The perfect length of your two-handed sword is, the blade to be the length and hilt of your single sword." The power of the weapon is noted in the romance of *Sir Degrevant*, where a warrior is spoken of, who,

> "With his two-hande sword
> He made such playe,
> That sixty lay on the field."

Figure 8 is a beautiful example of a characteristic Scottish two-handed sword, which was exhibited with Figure 7, the property of the Baroness

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FIG. 9. Silver Hilted "Andrew Ferara" (Viscount Dundee's).

10

11

FIG. 10. Iron Stirrup from Bannockburn.
FIG. 11. Silver Spur from Bannockburn.

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Willoughby d'Eresby. The blade is longer and the handle is shorter than the one just described, measuring respectively about four feet and fourteen inches, the length of the quillon, from the handle to the tip, being about seven inches;[1] a much larger specimen is possessed by the Duke of Northumberland. The sword here given is said to have been used by the Laird of Lundie at the battle of Bannockburn, but this must be discarded as a misleading tradition. The stamped leather scabbard shows the two hooks by which it was suspended at the back, over the left shoulder, and the depressed quillons are characteristic of the true Scottish claymore. In the short ballad of *The Laird of Muirhead*, that hero is described standing before the king, presumably at Flodden, where the Laird was slain,

> "Wi' that same twa-hand muckle sword,
> That Bartram fell'd stark dead";

but it could only have been the ordinary claymore that is referred to in *Dick o' the Cow*,

> "He has taen the laird's jack on his back,
> And a twa-handed sword to hang by his thie."

Figure 9 is a drawing of the silver hilt of a beautiful Andrea Ferara broadsword, which belonged to Viscount Dundee, and was exhibited with Figures 7 and 8. The pommel is formed by a savage's head; the intervals of the ribs are filled in with trophies of arms, banners, trumpets, gauntlets, etc.; and the front is occupied by the figure of a Roman soldier standing on two crossed cannons, with a spear in his right hand. This form of sword was in common use in the seventeenth century, and is often erroneously named a claymore, which had plain inverted quillons of the shape of Figure 8, and such as are carved on the West Highland stones. It is believed to have originated among the Venetians, where it bore the name of *schiavona*, from it being carried by the schiavoni, or guards of the Doge, in addition to a glaive. Of these Venetian swords there are examples in various museums on the Continent.

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[1] I give these measures approximately, as the conditions under which I drew them did not permit exact measurement.

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The blade of this example is straight, of the true Scottish type, and is stamped with the name of the Italian sword-smith of whom so little authentic is known. Dr. Joseph Anderson states "that he is said to have been an Italian armourer of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and to have established an armoury in Spain. . . . The date usually attributed to the original Andrea is too early for the majority of the sword-blades bearing the designation, and the probability is that the "Ferara" blade was manufactured by various armourers in different places to supply the demand created, in the first instance, by their superior excellence. It is quite in accordance with what is known in other cases, that the original name Andrea should have been continued through several generations of armourers after it had once become famous." There was a tradition long current in Scotland that he was a Spaniard by birth, and it was claimed for him that he tempered his blades by the same method as that employed by the smiths of Damascus; further, that he came into Scotland after having fled into France from Spain, to avoid the consequences of having put to death an apprentice who had discovered his secret. From an interesting article in the twelfth volume of the *Cornhill Magazine* (1865), it seems to be established that he was born about 1555, and was one of a family of armourers who wrought in Italy for at least two generations earlier. About 1585 he was established as an armourer or cutler in the town of Belluno in Friuli, an ancient Duchy of Illyria, which was under the dominion of the Doges of Venice from 1420 till the general of the French army declared the State of Venice at an end. Andrea had a brother named Giovan Donato in business with him; Piero Ferara was his contemporary; and Cosmo Ferara belonged to a period about two generations anterior. The incessant intercourse between Scotland and the Continent led naturally to the bringing of blades into this country, so highly prized, and these would probably give the name and fashion to the swords of other makers. Further, as an additional reason for the estimation in which the blades continued to be held, it may be remembered that the broadsword remained the national weapon in Scotland for a hundred years after it had disappeared before the rapier and small sword in other nations; and that the private men in the

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Highland regiments, whether raised for Jacobite or Hanoverian, were armed with it.

Ferara blades are, of course, often found fitted with modern handles of different dates, and one played its part in the Indian mutiny. The manner of stamping the name varies; thus, in some specimens we find "Andrea Ferara" on both sides, sometimes repeated twice; on others is "Andrea" on one side, and "Ferara" on the other; and on one which I have seen is "Andreia Farara," with a legend "*Soli Deo Gloria*," very rarely found on these blades. In addition to the name there is sometimes a mark, probably that of the maker—in the specimen under consideration it is a man's head crowned; others have a crown, etc., and the most esteemed have a gilt cross and ball.

Figure 10 is one of a pair of iron stirrups in the possession of Mr. Campbell of Dunstaffnage, which, according to tradition, were left in that castle by the Bruce when he handed it over to the Campbells. The probably oldest existing specimens of stirrups are of the twelfth century, and in their general form are little more than looped or triangular shaped.

Along with the stirrups there is preserved an iron spur, consisting of a simple spike fastened on to the heel of the shank, and, like the stirrup, is quite as old as the time of the Bruce; it is similar to a spur used on the Continent as early as the eleventh century, after which for a very long period it pointed upward, the rowel being introduced in the thirteenth century.

Figure 11 is one of a pair of spurs of silver, said to have been found in the "tomb" of the Bruce, when the body was discovered in Dunfermline Abbey in 1818. Of the tomb itself, I find no notice at that time except of a few fragments of marble believed to have been a portion of the tomb, the body of the king having been found in a kind of stone coffin, covered with slabs of stone. They were lent to the Bishop's Castle collection by Mrs. Kay Brown of Auchingramont, but, although found in the grave of the great hero, can hardly be assigned to so early a period. Of all the accoutrements, the spur is the most difficult to classify in exact chronological order; but this can be done in a broad general way. In this beautiful specimen the shank and neck are of the same type as one

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of iron of the sixteenth century given by Demmin; another of a similar general form, attributed to the time of Queen Elizabeth, is given by Fairholt; and Meyrick gives another, but with a flat circular disk at right angles with the shank where it joins the neck, and with a rowel of six points, which he describes as a Mauro-Spanish spur of the time of Philip and Mary. The rowel of this spur, which would, of course, be held in the cleft of the neck, is absent.

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No. IV.

# THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE DISTANCE-SLABS OF THE VALLUM OR WALL OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

BY

JAMES MACDONALD, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 16th March, 1899.*]

Of the inscribed stones that have been found along the line of the Vallum or Wall of Antoninus Pius, there are eighteen which record the fact that a measured portion of it (left blank in two instances) was executed by a particular body of soldiers. With two exceptions the inscriptions commence with the names and titles of the emperor, some of them being, as is usual, more or less contracted. The stones have been spoken of as distance-slabs—an appellation that seems appropriate enough. Five are claimed by the Second Legion, the same number by a vexillation or detachment of the Sixth, one by the Twentieth and six by a detachment of it—seventeen in all. The remaining stone registers the presence in North Britain of a corps of auxiliaries, the First Cohort of Tungrians, who were probably associated with the legionaries in the construction of the Vallum, although there is a doubt as to the share they had in the work. It may be mentioned that sixteen of the eighteen slabs are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University.

The Emperor Pius is commonly designated on his monuments in all countries where they are found, IMP·CAES·T·AELIVS·HADRIANVS·ANTONINVS·AVG·PIVS; the uncontracted words being put into



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the case proper to the form of inscription deemed most suitable to the purpose for which the monument was specially raised. Omissions and additional contractions are, however, not uncommon. Twelve of the distance-slabs have all those names and titles, either contracted or given in full, two omit PIVS, one omits HADRIANVS, and one T·AELIVS·HADRIANVS; C stands seven times for CAESAR; AE three times, and AEL once for AELIVS; HADRI twice for HADRIANVS; ANT, ANTON and ANTONIN once each for ANTONINVS; while TITVS is written at length three times. Within a year, it would seem, after his accession Pius accepted from the Senate the title of *Pater Patriae*, represented on the slabs before us by the initial letters of these two words. The distinctive epithets of the legions are also abbreviated, but not always in the same way; and in order to denote the extent of work performed by them on the Vallum, we have PER·MIL·P, PER·M·P, M·P·P, M·P, P·P, or simply P, followed by numerals. In the matter of contractions, as in other respects, considerable latitude was evidently allowed to the scribes who drafted, or the workmen who cut the inscriptions.

It must not be supposed that eighteen is the entire number of distance-slabs that stood along the Vallum when it was first constructed.[1] Horsley, basing his calculation on the figures to be read on those known in his day, made the mistake of assuming that, as the results he brought out happened to agree very nearly with what was reckoned by actual measurement to be its whole length, no more such stones had ever existed. New discoveries soon proved this assumption to be groundless; and not a few slabs, it is more than likely, have been broken up, or are still lying under the soil. Besides, some with no numerals on them may have been intended, as Dr. Hübner appears to suppose, to mark off unmeasured portions of the work executed by a legion or detachment. The original number is thus uncertain. Equally so is their first position relative to the Vallum. Seven or eight have been dug up within or near the site of a station, some at a considerable distance from any known station, while of some the exact position when discovered

[1] Notices of two, both imperfect, that have long ago disappeared will be found in *C. I. L.*, Vol. VII. (Nos. 1109 and 1110 *a*).

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has not been properly noted. Clearly the Vallum has been swept, perhaps oftener than once, with the besom of destruction.

No fewer than fourteen of the slabs were set up, if we may judge from what is known of their recent history, between Chapel Hill or Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde, the first station on the west half of the Vallum, and Kirkintilloch, the fifth, a distance which includes only about 13½ of the 36½ statute miles which are supposed to have been its entire length. Two are recorded as having been found 'near Kirkintilloch'; the Tungrian slab, the right of which to be regarded as one of them is somewhat doubtful, belongs to Castlecary, 8½ miles further east than Kirkintilloch; and one, the finest of all, which is now in the National Museum, Edinburgh, was dug up in 1868 at Carriden, on the Firth of Forth. No reason can at present be assigned for this unequal distribution of the slabs. Curiously enough, it is balanced by a similar inequality in the distribution of the altars, of which only two have as yet been discovered between Chapel Hill and Kirkintilloch, while seventeen[1] were turned up to the east of the last-mentioned place.

One other peculiarity deserves to be remembered: there are no corresponding slabs among the numerous examples of Roman epigraphy to be found in almost every country of the Roman world. The builders of the wall between the Solway and the Tyne have left behind them no such memorials of their toil, nor have any as yet been met with along the line of the German *Limes* that runs from the Rhine to the Danube. As regards their most characteristic feature, the distance-slabs of the Pius Vallum are unique.

Except two already referred to, one belonging to the Second, the other to the Twentieth Legion, the inscriptions are all drawn up after the same model. Following the names and titles of the Emperor come the official designation of some body of troops and the extent of work presumably performed by it on a section of the Vallum. F, FEC or FECIT, is expressed nine times, and OPVS · VALLI twice. While the inscriptions agree so far, there are, even as between the stones set up

[1] One of these was found only a few months ago.

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by the same legion or detachment, differences, which, however, are for the most part without any important significance. For example, two, if not four, look as if they had been at first intended to bear merely the name of the legion, other additions being an after-thought. But the points of agreement or distinction will be best seen by examining and comparing the slabs themselves. As this is impossible for all who may wish to study the subject, the inscriptions are here set down with references to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. VII., and the *Tituli Hunteriani*, in the latter of which most of the stones are figured and the inscriptions translated:

A. *SECOND LEGION.*

1. Locality uncertain. *C. I. L.*, VII., No. 1138; *T. H.*, No. 7, Pl. XIII., Fig. 1.

LEG
II
AVG · F ·
P IIII CXL

2. Most probably from Duntocher. *C. I. L.*, No. 1136; *T. H.*, No. 4, Pl. II., Fig. 3.

IMP A NTON
AVG PIO
P P
LEG
II
AVG
F P IIICCLXXI

3. Castlehill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1130; *T. H.*, No. 10, Pl. III., Fig. 2.

IMP CAES TITO AELIO
HADRIANO ANTONINO
AVG PIO P P LEG II
AVG PEP · M P · III DC
LXVIS

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4. Cadder; probably from Balmuildy. *C. I. L.*, No. 1126; *T. H.*, No. 15, Pl. VII., Fig. 2.

IMP · CAES · TITO · AELIO
HADRIANO · ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P · LEG · II · AVG
PER · M · P · III · DCLXVIS

5. Bridgeness, Carriden. *C. I. L.*, No. 1088; *Proc. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, Vol. VIII., Pl. VII.

IMP · CAES · TITO · AELIO
HADRI · ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P · LEG · II
AVG · PER · M · P IIII DCL · II
FEC

REMARKS. These five slabs are separable into two sets, the first comprising A1 and A2, the second the remaining three. Between A1 and A2 there is a marked resemblance, the chief difference being that the name of the emperor is not on A1. Both are ornamented with the emblems of the legion and other objects. The line of numerals may have been put on these stones at a later date than the name of the legion. It is hardly an objection to this that the latter is so placed as if room had to be left for the former (cf. *T. H.*, Pl. X., Fig. 1); and it is more than likely that the crowding of as many as possible of the emperor's designations among the ornamentation at the top of A2, is due to a similar cause.

A3, A4, and A5 are larger stones, and there is nothing about the inscriptions to indicate that any part of them is an addition to the first draft. The words of each are almost identical. But while those on A4 fill nearly the whole surface of a weather-worn slab, a broad space at each end of A3 and A5 bears ornamentation of a pictorial character. This, on the latter, consists of a conventional representation of the triumph of Rome over a barbarian foe and of preparations for a sacrifice. On none of them are contractions used in the personal names of the emperor, except that A5 has HADRI instead of HADRIANO. These three also agree in prefixing PER · M · P to the measurement of work.

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B. *VEXILLATION OF SIXTH LEGION.*

1. Locality uncertain; probably Erskine, opposite Chapel Hill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1140; *T. H.*, No. 2., Pl. I., Fig. 2.

IMP · C · T · AELIO ·
HADRIANO · ANTO
NINO · AVG · P · P ·
VEX · LEG · $\overline{\text{VI}}$ · VIC ·
P · F · OPVS · VALLI
P · ∞∞∞∞ C · XLI ·

2. Broadfield, near Duntocher. *C. I. L.*, No. 1135; *T. H.*, No. 5, Pl. III., Fig. 1.

IMP · C · T · AELIO · HADR
IANO · ANTONINO · AVG
P · P · VEX · LEG · VI
VICTRICS · P · F ·
OPVS · VALLI · P ·
⋈ ⋈ ⋈ CCXL · F

3. Low Millochan, near Summerston. *C. I. L.*, No. 1131; Stuart, *Cal. Rom.*, 2nd ed., Pl. XVL, Fig. 3.

IMP · CAES · T
AELIO HADRI
ANTONIN · AVG
PIO · P · P · VEXILL$^{A}$
LEG · VI · VIC P F
PER · M · P · IIIDCL$^{XV}$

4. Locality uncertain; probably Summerston, near Balmuildy. *C. I. L.* No. 1132; *T. H.*, No. 14, Pl. V., Fig. 2.

IMP · CAESAR · T · AELIO
HADRIANO ANTONINO
AVG PIO · P · P · VEXILLATIO
LEG · VI · VICTR · P · P
PER · M · P · III · DCLXVIS

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5. Near Kirkintilloch. *C. I. L.*, No. 1121; *T. H.*, No. 18, Pl. VII., Fig. 3.

IMP · CAESARI · T ·
AELIO · HADRIANO
ANTONINO AVG ·
PIO · P · P · VEXILLA
LEG · VI · VIC · P · F
PER · M · P ·

REMARKS. The slabs of this legion are also divisible into two sets, one formed by B1 and B2, the other by B3, B4, and B5. The first set is distinguished from the second by having the nature of the work defined as OPVS·VALLI, by introducing the extent of this by a single P and by the use of graphic forms of M, to represent a thousand. But while on B1 the inscription, which fills nearly the entire surface, is enclosed in a simple border, on B2 it is cut on a panel that covers only about a fourth part of the stone. This panel is supported by two figures, both representing the goddess Victory, the rest of the space being occupied by other figures and devices. B3, B4, and B5 are larger slabs closely resembling each other in the style of ornament and in the inscriptions, the latter being almost the same on them all. PER·M·P precedes the numerals that indicate the extent of work, although on one (B5) the numerals have not been filled in.

## C. *TWENTIETH LEGION.*

Three quarters of a mile east of Kirkintilloch. *C. I. L.*, No. 1122; Stuart, Pl. X., Fig. 4.

LEG · XX
V · V · FEC

M · P · III P
III CCCIV

REMARKS. There is but a single slab, so far as is known, belonging to

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the Twentieth Legion. It is one of the two on which the emperor's name is awanting. The distance is recorded in two lines of small letters on the lower left corner; P·III being repeated, as Dr. Hübner conjectures, through a mistake on the part of the stone-cutter. To the right of these letters is the forepart of a boar, the emblem of the legion, running at a tree. The whole suggests the probability of the hinder part of the animal having been either removed or omitted from the stone, to make room for the record of work.[1]

## D. *VEXILLATION OF TWENTIETH LEGION.*

1. Most probably from Chapel Hill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1141; *T. H.*, No. 1. Pl. 1, Fig. 1.

IMP·C
T·AE·HADRIA
NO·ANTONINO AVG·PIO P·P·
VEX
LEG·XX
V·V·FEC
P·P·IIII CDXI·

2. Imperfect. Locality uncertain; probably same as B1. *C. I. L.*, No. 1142; *T. H.*, No. 3, Pl. II., Fig. 2.

·MP·C·T·AE·
·ADRIANO
·NTONINO
··G·PIO·P·P·
···EG·XX·V·V·
····DXI

[1] At the time the *Tituli Hunteriani* was being prepared this slab had got temporarily out of sight and so escaped notice there.

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3. Locality uncertain; probably the neighbourhood of Duntocher. *C. I. L.*, No. 1137; *T. H.*, No. 6, Pl. XIII., Fig. 2.

IMP · C ·
T · AE · HADRIANO
ANTONINO · AVG
PIO · P · P · VEX · LEG
XX · V V · FEC ·
P ·

4. Castlehill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1133; *T. H.*, No. 12, Pl. XIV., Fig. 1.

IMP C
T AELIO
HADRIANO
ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P ·
VEX · LEG · XX · V
P P III

5. Hutchison Hill, near Castlehill. *C. I. L.*, No. 1133*a*; *T. H.*, No. 13, Pl. VI., Fig. 1.

IMP · C · T
AEL · HADR
IANO AN
TONINO · AVG
PIO · P · P · VEX
LEG · XX · V · V
FEC
P P III

6. Locality unknown. *C. I. L.*, No. 1143; *T. H.*, No. 16, Pl. IV., Fig. 1.

IMP · CAESARI
T · AELIO HADRI
ANO ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P ·
VEXILLATIO
LEG · XX · VAL · VIC · F
PER · MIL · P III

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REMARKS. Between the first of these vexillation slabs (C1) and the others there are several points of dissimilarity which not only give it a character of its own but supply some grounds for supposing that on it too the distance numerals are not a part of the original design. In the centre is the goddess of Victory in a reclining posture, holding in her right hand a wreath, within which is the name and title of the legion, together with FEC. Above is what looks like the pediment of a temple, supported by two channelled pilasters. The pediment is filled up with the name and titles of the legion. In the centre of the base is the figure of a boar running to the left, the spaces vacant on each side of it being filled by P · P (the first P probably = PER) and numerals.

The inscriptions on the remaining five slabs closely resemble one another. One of them is incomplete, but the missing letters can easily be supplied.

## E. *THE TUNGRIAN COHORT.*

Near Castlecary. *C. I. L.*, No. 1099; *T. H.*, No. 29, Pl. XI., Fig. 3.

IMP · CÆS · T · ÆL · ANT
· AVG · PIO · P · P ·
COH · T · TVNGRO
RVM · FECIT · –

On this slab we have, after FECIT, $\overline{\infty}$ = M = 1000, which may indicate the strength of the Cohort, or, as Dr. Hübner thinks more probable, the extent of work it performed. The true significance of the symbol in this instance will probably remain uncertain.

These data seem to show that if, as is generally assumed, PER · MIL · P (once), PER · M · P (three times), M · P · P (once), M · P (three times), P · P (three times), and P (five times) are all equivalent, P (when not = PER) denoting some definite measure of length, the extent of work recorded on existing slabs stands thus:—

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A. *SECOND LEGION.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | P 4140 | |
| 2. | | P 3271 | |
| 3. | M | P 3666½ | |
| 4. | M · | P 3666½ | |
| 5. | M · | P 4652 | |
| | | | - - 19396 |

B. *VEX. OF SIXTH LEGION.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | P 4141 | |
| 2. | | P 3240 | |
| 3. | PER · M · | P 3665 | |
| 4. | PER · M · | P · 3666½ | |
| 5. | PER · M · | P [3000]? | |
| | | | - - 17712½ |

C. *TWENTIETH LEGION.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | M · P · | P 3304? | |
| | | | - - 3304 |

D. *VEX. OF TWENTIETH LEGION.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | P · | P 4411 | |
| 2. | | ? 4411? | |
| 3. | | P [3000]? | |
| 4. | P · | P 3[000] | |
| 5. | P · | P 3[000] | |
| 6. | PER · MIL · | P 3[000] | |
| | | | - - 20822 |

E. *TUNGRIANS.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | 1000? | |
| | | | - - 1000 |
| | | | 62234½ |

These inscriptions supply two of what may be called the problems of the Vallum. For a long time they were regarded as honorary in form, the

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names and titles of the emperor being read as in the dative case; and the P that always stands before the numerals was held to represent *passus* (paces). Our older writers without exception are of this opinion. It so happens that in only three of the names and titles—IMPERATOR, CAESAR, and PATER—is the ending of the ablative different from that of the dative; and as the first and the last are always shortened into IMP and P respectively, they cannot be appealed to. CAESAR is also without a case ending on all our slabs except two, which have CAESARI. This to many seems decisive as regards the rest. But Dr. Hübner, in the seventh volume of the *C. I. L.*, takes a different view on both points. In all the six inscriptions which he writes out at length, he puts the names in the ablative as denoting time, and expands P into *pedes* (feet). This is the more noteworthy inasmuch as in his preliminary account of the Vallum he accepts in regard to the first point the current opinion. *Ex illis titulis*, he tells us, *plus minus quinquagentis repertis ad valli stationes singulas, de quibus postea seorsum dicetur, undeviginti dedicationes sunt positae* IMPERATORI CAESARI T. AELIO HADRIANO ANTONINO AUGUSTO PIO PATRI PATRIAE. Why he afterwards substituted the ablative when dealing with the stones separately, he does not inform us. Some of his reasons, however, are not difficult to discover.

Statues of distinguished men were the proper objects on which to place honorary inscriptions. These in their primitive form consisted of the name (in the nominative case) of the person honoured, and some particulars regarding him, such as his official titles. In the days of the later republic and the empire more details were given and the inscriptions often took a dedicatory form. The name was then put in the dative case, followed by that of the person or community which set up the object and the reason that gave origin to it. But the Vallum was not a statue; it was a public work of a totally different kind, and the inscriptions on the slabs must be classed with those common on buildings, bridges, roads, etc. On such works the early form of inscription was the same as that on statues, with the addition of FEC or FECIT. That on the Pantheon is a well-known example:—

M · AGRIPPA · L · F · COS · TERTIVM FECIT

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But like inscriptions on statues, inscriptions on public works were afterwards greatly elaborated, and not seldom so expressed as to convey the idea of honorary dedication. Milestones, which may be called the distance-slabs of the great Roman *viae publicae*, furnish us with examples of both the nominative and the dative. On them, however, we meet with a third variety, which "shows the name of the emperor in the ablative case, serving thus to indicate the date. Such inscriptions are common in Africa, but rare elsewhere. The name in the ablative case may be followed simply by the numeral, with or without M·P, or again by the name, in the nominative case, of the official making the road or supervising the same,"[1] and a verb or verbal phrase. For examples of this ablative, cf. *C. I. L.*, VIII., 10135, 10138, 10139, 10146, etc. Nor was this practice confined to milestones proper. Cut in the natural rock on a road in the south of the ancient kingdom of Numidia, is the following (*C. I. L.*, VIII., 10230):—

IMP · CAES · T · AELIO
HADRIANO · ANTONINO
AVG · PIO · P · P · $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ · ET · M
AVRELIO · CAESARE $\overline{\text{II}}$
COS · PER PRASTINA
MESSALINVM · LEG
AVG · PR · PR · VEXIL ·
LEG · $\overline{\text{VI}}$ · FERR · VIA
FECIT

Expanding we have—*Imp(eratore) Caes(are) T(ito) Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug(usto) Pio P(atre) P(atriae) quartum et M. Aurelio Caesare iterum Co(n)s(ule) per Prastina(m) Messalinum leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) vexil(latio) leg(ionis) VI. Ferr(atae)* [*hanc*] *via(m) fecit*; *i.e.* In the reign of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his country, consul for the fourth time with M. Aurelius Caesar,

[1] Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, p. 253; London, 1896. Cf. Mommsen, *C. I. L.*, VIII., p. 859.

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consul for the second time, as his colleague, a vexillation of the sixth legion, the Cuirassiers, made this road under the instructions of Prastina Messalinus, legate of the Emperor and proprætor.

It will be admitted that there is a resemblance, both in purpose and form, between this inscription and the simpler ones on the distance-slabs, the chief difference being that in addition the exact year is recorded by the names of the consuls, and that as the reference is to the whole and not a part of the work performed, numerals were not of necessity required.

It thus appears that, at least in some of the provinces of the empire —for if in Africa, why not in Britain?—there was no definite rule as between the dative and the ablative in inscriptions of the kind now under review. Both forms became, in fact, conventional, and were accepted as such. When, as frequently happened, the reader was obliged to expand without having an inflected word to guide him, he was at liberty to select whichever of the two cases seemed most suitable to the circumstances. Now the primary purpose of the distance-slabs must have been, as already remarked, to testify that a measured portion of the Vallum was made by a particular body of troops. If so, the name of the emperor, when introduced on them, would, one is inclined to think, be put in a case which expresses that this took place in his reign rather than in one which indicates that it was done in his honour. This is certainly in accordance with modern usage, which, however, cannot always be taken as a safe rule in matters ancient.

It should not be overlooked that on two of the slabs (B5 and D6), and those the only two on which the word appears in full, we have CAESARI. At first sight this favours the belief that the dative is the proper case in all. But since the practice varied elsewhere this cannot be held to follow necessarily. Besides, the dative on those two may be due to the carelessness or ignorance of the original scribe or the stone-cutter. Instances of mistakes arising from one or other of these two causes are common enough. Still it may be safest to take B5 and D6 as they are on the stones. And this we can do without prejudice to our freedom of choice in regard to the others.

The scale of measurement indicated by P is a more complicated

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question. Mr. George Neilson,[1] in consequence of the sum of the numbers recorded on the slabs being so much in excess of the actual length of the Vallum, if P=*passus*, gets over the difficulty by making some of them duplicates set up at either end or face of the same section of the Vallum; Dr. Hübner does so by expanding P into *pedes*, and thus reducing the length of the sections to one-fifth of the former estimate.

*Passus*, as is shown by the inscriptions on milestones, was the measurement used by the Romans for roads that were in use; but the extent of buildings of every kind, especially walls—and inscriptions on town walls have been preserved—was denoted by *pedes*. As the Vallum must be regarded as a wall rather than a road, we should expect to find its length, if taken in portions, reckoned by *pedes* and not by *passus*. No doubt there was a road in connection with it. But if this road could claim the slabs, and even if stages on it were marked off as the work of different legions, it is hard to conceive of a satisfactory reason why distances were not specified by milestones suitably inscribed. Caesar, as every schoolboy knows, gives in *millia passuum* the length of the famous wall which he made from the point where the Rhone issues from the Lake of Geneva to the pass between Mount Jura and that river—a distance of nineteen miles. That, however, was its whole length. Without begging the question as to the value of P we cannot now determine whether the slabs originally stood apart on the Vallum at distances that would lead the surveyors of the ground to measure the space by *pedes* or by *passus*. There is this to be said, that while P may represent either *pedes* or *passus*, M·P, so far as is known, always stands for *millia passuum*. But then we have here P·P, or the simple P as often as M·P.

The fact just mentioned has suggested to Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates another solution of the difficulty. He divides the slabs into two groups, in the one of which the measurement is by *passus*, in the other by *pedes*. "When," he writes, "we meet with M·P on the distance-slabs, we are bound to read the figures following as Roman miles and paces; it is

[1] *The Antonine Wall Report, being an account of excavations made under the direction of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, pp. 9, 10. Glasgow: MacLehose. 1899.

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only when there is a P or P·P before the figures that we are entitled to treat these as feet."[1] This is, he thinks, confirmed by M·P III P III CCCIV (slab C), which he reads "miles 3, feet 3304," a somewhat awkward mode of enumeration, as he admits. To account for the occurrence of several slabs relating apparently to the same section of the Vallum, he supposes that the three legions were employed "concomitantly" in pushing on the three distinct parts of which, as a *limes*, it consists—the trench, the turf wall or Vallum proper, and the military road. OPUS·VALLI on B1 and B2 will then apply solely to the turf wall as distinguished from the other two parts of the work. Since the first slabs met with in the west are marked only with P, this he takes to indicate that the work was begun from that quarter and its progress recorded by the legions in so many feet, as they had been accustomed to do in camps, etc. As they advanced they would find it advisable, owing to the greatness of the undertaking, to adopt a larger scale and to use paces.

The theory—and Mr. Bates advances it only as such—is an ingenious one. But the uncertainty as to the localities in which some of the slabs were found as well as to whether the number for certain distances is complete, somewhat impairs the force of the arguments brought forward to support it. In future discussions of the subject, however, it deserves to receive consideration.

In a word: if the P on the stones is of uniform value, it is *a priori* probable that it stands for *passus*, though this is incapable of proof. The slabs would then have been attached to the Vallum as suggested by Mr. Neilson. On the other hand, if they stood in one long line we are driven to accept *pedes*. A *via media* is to have recourse to some such explanation as Mr. Bates proposes. The problem must, it is to be feared, be set down as one the true solution of which will remain a matter of doubt. It is almost hopeless to expect that we shall ever discover slabs in their original position, and so be able to ascertain the value of P by actual measurement, or that we shall find one with the word for which P stands cut on it at full length.

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[1] *Arch. Æliana*, Vol. XIX, p. 107.

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2⅜ in. × 1⅜ in.

1

2⅜ in. × 1⅝ in.

2

2¾ in. × 1⅞ in.

3

4⅜ in. × 3 in.

4

3⅞ in. × 2¼ in.

5

Actual Size.

6

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No. V.

# THE SEALS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

BY

GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 20th April, 1899.*]

THE earlier seals of the University are known by description only, for neither the matrices nor any impressions of them are now to be found The following excerpt from the records shows that on 6th November, 1453, the second year after the foundation of the University, it was resolved to make two seals, the one for the University and the other for the Rector:

"Congregacione universitatis tenta in domo capitulari ecclesie Glasguensis in festo Sancti Leonardi super duobus articulis · primus fuit ad habendum sigillum universitatis et signetum rectoris qui pro tempore fuerit. . . . Quantum ad primum articulum placuit universitati quod fierat sigillum et quod in eodem esset sculptum ymago Sancti Kentigerni patroni nostri et quod a dexteris ejus una manus se extenderet cum libro et a sinistris piscis cum annulo et quod scribatur in circumferentia **Sigillum commune universitatis Glasguensis.** Preterea ordinavit signetum rectoris ad causas in quo sculperetur piscis cum annulo et in circumferentia scribatur **Signetum rectoris universitatis Glasguensis.**"[1]

In 1482 it was resolved to have a seal *ad causas*, because it was thought hardly becoming to use the great seal *in singulis causis*. The two following excerpts contain the proposal and resolution:

[1] *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (*Maitland Club*), 1854, vol. ii., p. 63.



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"Congregacione generali universitatis tenta in inferiori capitulo ecclesie Glasguensis ix Januarii anno etc. lxxxij per venerabilem virum Magistrum Johannem Broun rectorem universitatis et supposita ejusdem prefatus dominus rector motivo congregacionis in genere exposito infrascriptos in medium proponendo articulos commodum ac honorem universitatis concerventes mature consuluit matrem universitatem super eisdem ac desuper deliberacionem instanter petiit · Articuli sequuntur. . . . Tertius articulus penes sigillum universitatis habendum ad causas quia vix decuit uti magno sigillo in singulis causis."[1]

"Congregacione generali tenta in inferiorj capitulo ecclesie Glasguensis circa finem mensis Januarii anno Domini etc. lxxxij per dominum rectorem supradictum et supposita ejusdem dominus rector in facie universitatis exposuit motivum presentis congregacionis fore ut deliberacio dominorum deputatorum super octo articulis immediate suprascriptis matrj universitatj publicaretur et maxime ut iuxta mentem et ordinacionem deputatorum articulus penes privilegia universitatis quo ad jurisdictionem exequeretur. Sequitur ergo deliberacio deputatorum super articulis supradictis et hujusmodj deliberacionis publicacio. . . . Super tercio articulo deliberantes ordinaverunt sigillum fieri expensis burse universitatis per bursarium ejusdem solvendis in quo sculperetur una virga et quod sculperetur in circumferencia ejusdem **Sigillum universitatis Glasguensis ad causas.**"[2]

This resolution, however, does not seem to have been carried into effect, for twenty-six years later it was repeated as under:

"Congregacione generali universitatis tenta in domo capitulari Glasguensi xix die mensis Junii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo ix per venerabilem egregiumque virum Magistrum Martinum Reid cancellarium Glasguensem rectorem universitatis pro tempore . . . idem dominus rector motivo congregacionis in generali exposito quosdam articulos commodum honorem et privilegia dicte universitatis concerventes in medium proposuit super quibus mature consuluit determinacionemque erundem petiit obnixe · Articuli sequuntur. . . . Secundus articulus est penes sigillum dicte universitatis habendum ad causas quia minime decuit utj magno sigillo in singulis

[1] *Munimenta*, vol. ii., p. 93. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95.

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causis. . . . Quibus quidem articulis in medium propositis supposita dicte universitatis . . . elegerunt de qualibet nacione deputatos ad avisandum super articulis prenotatis. . . . Ad secundum articulum videlicet penes sigillum etc. determinatum est sigillum ad causas debere fabricari impensis burse universitatis et quod in circumferencia scribatur **Sigillum universitatis Glasguensis ad causas.**"[1]

It will be observed that this second resolution, unlike the former one in regard to the same seal, contains no mention of the device.

The Faculty of Arts, which at a later time virtually superseded the University, rose into importance at an early period. The ancient book of its statutes, promulgated immediately after the foundation of the University, contains the following:

"Item, Statuit et ordinat mater nostra Facultas quod decanus Facultatis habeat sigillum sui officii."[2]

And at a meeting of the Faculty held in 1455 it was resolved to cause a seal to be made, the resolution being in these terms:

"Congregacione facultatis arcium tenta in domo capitulari ecclesie Glasguensis anno quo supra (1455) in crastino beati Johannis Baptiste . . . continuatus fuit in decanum eiusdem venerabilis vir Magister Willelmus Sympill canonicus Glasguensis. . . . Insuper in eadem congregacione decanus posuit in deliberacione magistrorum de sigillo facultatis fiendo et de eius sculptura et unanimi consensu magistrorum fuit ordinatum quod fieret sigillum expensis burse communis in cuius medio sculperetur una manus retinens in se librum et in dextra parte libri piscis videlicet salmo in sinistra vero avicula et in eius circumferentia sculperetur **Sigillum facultatis arcium universitatis Glasguensis.**"[3]

Of the seals above described that which was called the *common* or *great* seal was certainly made and used. The care taken for its custody is attested in the following excerpt from the records, of date 1490:

"Congregacione universitatis Glasguensis tenta in capitulo inferiori ecclesie Glasguensis tercio Decembris anno Domini etc. lxxxx . . . Magister Johannes Goldsmyth rector dicte universitatis proposuit in deliber-

[1] *Munimenta*, vol. ii., pp. 121, 122. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 37. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

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atione super articulis infrascriptis cum deputatis prius avisatis et tunc perlectis quequidem universitas super eisdem articulis deliberavit prout cavetur in fine cujuslibet articuli. . . . Item ut sigillum commune universitatis hactenus tentum et habitum apud rectorem ponatur in communi sista universitatis et quod non concedatur ad instanciam alicuius sine deliberacione rectoris et universitatis seu deputatorum deliberavit universitas ut cavetur in articulo."[1]

And it appears from a copy of the deeds preserved among the archives that the same seal was appended to a Charter of Alienation of a tenement in the Rotten Row granted by David Gibson, chaplain of St. Michael's chantry in the Cathedral, with consent of the Rector of the University as patron, in favour of William Chalmers and Agnes Gray, spouses, dated 28th November, 1553;[2] and to two Charters of Alienation of either half of a tenement and garden lying on the east side of Stockwellgate granted in 1559 by John Davidson, Principal Regent of the Pedagogy or University and chaplain of said chantry, with consent of the Rector of the University and the Dean of Faculty as patrons, in favour of William Wilson and Thomas Hogg respectively.[3] We have it on record also that the seal of the Faculty of Arts was appended to a writing produced at the reception of George Crichton as Principal Regent on 19th October, 1485.[4] But the appearance of the Rector's *seal of arms* along with the Chapter's seal *ad causas* on a Tack of the Vicarage of Colmonell, dated 24th July, 1552,[5] seems to show that at that time the *signetum Rectoris ad causas* ordered to be made in 1453 did not exist. Nor have I found any record of the use of the other seals above mentioned.

With regard to the bearings of these early seals, the *ymago Sancti Kentigerni* on the common or great seal would probably resemble one of the figures of the saint on the Bishop's seals given in the paper contributed by the Most Reverend President of this Society to the second volume of its transactions. The *piscis cum annulo* is also to be found on several of these episcopal seals. The *virga* ordered to be cut on the

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[1] *Munimenta*, vol. ii., pp. 104, 105.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 58.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 244.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 56.

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University seal *ad causas* in 1482 would no doubt be meant to represent the rector's staff.[1] The *manus retinens in se librum*, a favourite academic symbol, on the seal of the Faculty of Arts, is borrowed from the common seal of the University. The *avicula* on the left page of the book on the Faculty seal would be suggested by the bird which appears on several of the seals of the bishops of Glasgow, and which, like the *piscis videlicet salmo* on the right page, refers to a well-known incident in the legendary life of S. Kentigern.

The disappearance of the matrices of these seals, particularly the common seal of which so much care was taken, has given rise to some speculation, and it has been conjectured that Archbishop Beaton may have carried them with him to France in 1560, when he took the much prized Rector's staff and "all the silver warke and hail juels of the Hie Kirk."[2] But it should be observed that the matrices of the later disused seals also are no longer to be found, and the disappearance of the whole series may be accounted for by the not uncommon destruction of an old seal when a new one was brought into use.[3]

Of existing impressions of University seals, the earliest is appended to Charter of Alienation by the Masters, with consent of the Rector and Dean of Faculty to Michael Littlejohn, of the three lower yards of the Vicar's Alley formerly belonging to the vicars of the choir, dated 8th March, 1581;[4] but it is much defaced, and a better impression is appended to Tack of the Vicarage of Colmonell, granted by the Principal and Regents to Thomas Kennedy, dated 6th July, 1588.[5] It bears in pale the Rector's Staff or University Mace surmounted in base by a fish lying on its back, turned to the sinister, and holding a ring in its mouth: in chief issuant downwards a

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[1] For the history and description of this staff, now called the University Mace, see "An Account of the Maces of the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, the College of Justice, and the City of Edinburgh," by Alex. J. S. Brook, F.S.A. Scot., in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxvi., p. 440.

[2] *Munimenta*, vol. iii., p. 523.

[3] *The Great Seals of England* by Alfred Benjamin Wyon and Allan Wyon, 1887, p. xv.; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, vol. x., p. 229.

[4] *Munimenta*, vol. i., No. 77 of Table. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 84 of Table.

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left hand holding an open book: on the dexter a bird perched on two branches *in saltire*, and on the sinister a handbell with looped handle. It bears the legend S · CONMVNE VNIVERSITATIS GLASGVE, and the motto VIA VERITAS VITA. Figure 1 is a drawing of it from a lithograph prefixed to Professor Blackburn's *Notes on the Seal of the University of Glasgow*, written about the year 1870. It is incorrectly described by Laing, forming No. 1144 of his Supplementary Volume, and also by Woodward in his *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, p. 447. All the bearings except the bell, and the branches on which the bird is perched, are to be found on one or other of the seals already described; the mace being taken from the University seal *ad causas* ordered to be made in 1482, the hand holding a book from the common seal of 1453, the fish with ring from the same source or from the Rector's Signet *ad causas* ordered to be made at the same time, and the bird from the seal of the Faculty of Arts of 1455. The branches on which the bird is perched were probably derived from the seal of Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow (No. 948 of Laing's *Catalogue*) or some similar seal; and the bell from the seal of the Chapter of Glasgow (No. 1026 of Laing's *Catalogue*). But what is most to be remarked is the disappearance of the figure of S. Kentigern. His place is occupied by the Mace or Rector's Staff which the University continued to regard as one of its most precious possessions, describing it in the "Inventar of the evidents, lettres, gudis and geir pertaining to the College" in 1582, as "the pedellis staff of sylver quhilk was the fairest that was in any university of Scotland."[1] The downward position of the hand holding the book is the same as that of the hand on the seal of King's College, Aberdeen (No. 975 of Laing's *Catalogue*).[2] The motto *via veritas vita*, of which this is the first appearance, occurs in the gospel for the feast of S. Philip and S. James, which used to be the end of the session, and the day on which the prizes were

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[1] *Munimenta*, vol. iii., p. 517.

[2] An engraving of this seal is given in *The Universities of Aberdeen: a History* by Robert Sangster Rait; Aberdeen, 1895; frontispiece. See also an article on "Scottish University Arms and Seals," by Mr. P. J. Anderson, in *Notes and Queries*, sixth series, xi., 250.

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distributed.[1] I believe, however, that the usage cannot be traced further back than the early part of last century, so the suggested origin of the motto is probably only a coincidence.

To the seal last described there succeeded another much resembling it, but having the fish's head, more correctly, turned to the dexter, the bell on the dexter, and the bird and branches on the sinister side. It is also a little smaller, the motto is absent, and the legend, which, unlike the preceding one, begins at the top, is S · VNIVERSITATIS GLASGVEN. A fragment of this seal is appended to a Tack of the teinds of Colmonell granted by the Principal and Regents to Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill, on 19th June, 1607,[2] and more perfect impressions are appended to Charter by the Principal and Preceptors to Robert Love of Corsflatt, dated 25th January, 1611,[3] and Confirmation by the Principal and Preceptors, of a Charter granted by John Crawford of Crawfordland to David Hay, which Confirmation is dated 12th November, 1612.[4]

Professor Blackburn gives another seal, which he says was appended to a Charter of 1631. I have not been able to find that Charter, but in Figure 2 I reproduce his drawing, and I have found the seal appended to a Precept of clare constat by the College in favour of Anna Stirling as heir to her father in a ruinous tenement of land on the north side of the Drygate, dated 6th September, 1656, and forming No. 2712 of the Laing Collection of Charters belonging to the University of Edinburgh. In this seal, as in the arms of the city, the twigs of the legendary history of S. Kentigern have grown into a tree; the hand has disappeared, but the book remains; the academic mace has been converted into a municipal one, and the motto again appears.

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[1] This day is thus alluded to by Captain Thomas Hamilton, brother of Sir William, whose father, grandfather, and granduncle had been professors in the University: "The first of May is the day fixed by immemorial usage in the University for the distribution of the prizes." *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton*; Edin., 1827; vol. i., p. 215.

[2] *Munimenta*, vol. i., No. 108 of Table. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 111 of Table.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 113 of Table.

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The following excerpts contain mention of certain other seals:

"Discharge of the yeir 1656 and utheris.

. . . . . .

Item to Umphra Colquhoune for causing cutt a seall for the College use, 24*l.*

. . . . . .

Item for the cutting and mounting of a new large Seall to the Colledge, 3*l.* 10*s.* (sterling), quhilk is . . . . . 42*l.*
Item for ane uther seall in Steill for waferis, 3*l.* 5*s.* (sterling), is . 39*l.*
Item for ane box of great wafer, 6*s.* 6*d.* (sterling), is . . . 3*l.* 18*s.*"[1]

"October 26th, 1658.

A note of the plenishing belonging to the Colledge besides the Silver Staffe which layeth in the Iron Chest in the Library.

. . . . . .

Item ane arge new seale mounted with ane ivory hand used for chartours.
Item a litle steele seale used with wafers.
Item tuo smaller seales used for tackes and testimoniales.
Item tuo stampes for marking the bookes of the Publict Library, one greater, another less.

Thir four seales and tuo stampes are put up in the Inventare of the Colledge writes, and lie in the Chartour Kist.

AN. BURNET. PATRIK GILLESPIE.
GEO. SINCLAR. R. BAILLY.
RO. ERSKINE. JOA. YOUNG."[2]

There can be little doubt that Figure 3 represents one of the seals referred to in these excerpts, probably one of the "tuo smaller seales used for tackes and testimoniales." The drawing is made from an impression appended to a Master's diploma in favour of John Johnson, dated 20th April, 1698, now belonging to Mr. Robert Guy, writer in this city; and I have seen impressions of the same seal appended to Diplomas of 1700, 1743, 1756, and 1762. A stamp much resembling this, but showing a more realistic treament of the tree, was used thirty years ago to make the impressions on paper, which were then affixed to diplomas.

Figure 4 is drawn from a detached impression on paper, preserved at the University. The same seal, or one so nearly resembling it as to be easily mistaken for it, has been used to make the impression appended to

[1] *Munimenta*, vol. iii., p. 579.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 544, 545.

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the decree of Senate, of 21st January, 1742, appointing William, second Duke of Montrose, Chancellor of the University, and a broken impression in wax is at the University. The bearings on this seal, exclusive of the ornamental border, closely resemble those on Figure 3. In both, the bell is a church-bell, instead of a hand-bell as formerly. The chief difference between them is that on the larger seal the tree is treated in a realistic manner instead of the better conventional treatment of Figure 3. This alone makes me hesitate to say that Figure 4 represents the "new large seall" made in 1656.[1] Certain minute differences between the impression on paper and those on wax lead me to think that in this case also a stamp of the same design as the original seal was afterwards made, to impress paper.

It will be observed that the bearings of all these seals of which impressions remain are virtually the same. They form the armorial bearings of the University, and are referred to as such in the following excerpts from the accounts:

"From 6th Aprill to 10th May, 1658.

. . . . . .

Item given for tuo wryteing tabellis in black marbell with the Colledge airmes, thrie pounds sterling, inde . . . . 36*l.*"[2]

"From Accompt Charge and Discharge the fourt day of Februare, one thousand six hundreth and three scor two years.

Item to J. Clark's man for cutting the flour with the Colledge armes, 2*l.* 18*s.*"[3]

The second of these excerpts obviously refers to the sculptured stone which was over the archway leading from the first to the second court of the old College and is now built into the lodge at Gilmorehill. The University arms, being thus older than the statutes from which the Lyon King derives his authority, have a sanction of antiquity which has been held to be equivalent to a grant.[4] They do not appear in the Lyon Register, but

[1] The Act of Senatus appointing James, First Duke of Montrose, to be Chancellor on 1st October, 1714, bears in the testing clause: "In quorum testimonium Literas hasce *majore Academiae sigillo* munitas chirographis nostris obsignamus" (*Munimenta*, vol. iii., p. 311).

[2] *Munimenta*, vol iii., p. 502. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

[4] *The Procurator-Fiscal of the Lyon Court v. Murray of Touchadam*, 5 Brown's Supt., 490.

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rank among the honourable exceptions referred to by Mr. Balfour Paul, the present Lyon, as implying a title without registration.[1] With regard to the absence of tincture, that objection was raised in the *Touchadam* case (referred to below), but without success.

In 1870, at the suggestion of Professor Blackburn, the University resolved to procure a new seal resembling as nearly as possible the first common seal described in the records, and ordered to be made in 1453. Such a seal was accordingly made after a design by Mr. Powell, of the firm of Messrs Hardman & Co., Birmingham, and is still in use. Figure 5 was drawn from an imperfect impression of it on paper. The use by the University of this non-heraldic seal, while having a coat of arms, is not without parallel. The seals of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are non-heraldric,[2] and the impressions of them appended to the loyal addresses to the Queen in 1897, were enclosed in cases engraved with the arms of the universities.

By the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, it was enacted that the University Court should have a common seal, and to fulfil that requirement, the seal represented in Figure 6 was obtained from Messrs. Hardman & Powell, and is now used by the Court, recalling the use by the old Faculty of Arts of a different seal from that of the University. The head of S. Kentigern, which appears on this seal of the Court, is to be found on the seal of the City of Glasgow which was in use from the beginning of the fourteenth century till 1647, and the position of the fish, bird, and bell, is the same as on the Chapter's seal *ad causas* used from 1488 to 1540.[3]

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[1] "No persons of Scottish descent whose arms are not registered in the 'Public Register of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland' have a right to armorial bearings unless they can prove that they represent families whose arms are known to have been in existence previous to 1672." *An Ordinary of Scottish Arms* by James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, Edinburgh, 1893, p. ix.

[2] These seals are described in Mr. W. de G. Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii., pp. 30 and 148.

[3] Engravings of these two old seals are given in Mr. Andrew Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow*, pp. 21 and 102.

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No. VI.

# NOTE ON THE CHURCH OF SAINT KENTIGERNA, INCHCAILLEACH, LOCH LOMOND.

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM H. MACLEOD, B.A., B.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 16th February, 1899.*]

I HAVE been asked to furnish a Note in regard to the excavations which I have recently had carried out on the site of the ancient Parish Church, dedicated to St. Kentigerna, on the Island of Inchcailleach. The excavations are by no means complete, enough has been done, however, to prove that it is worth while continuing them. And I hope that, by bringing under the notice of the Members of this Society the existence of this hitherto little known church, something may be done to elucidate its early history.

I was led to examine the site owing to my having to write a paper for the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society in connection with the opening of a chapel at Inversnaid. In that paper reference was made to the different ecclesiastical centres in the parish, but I was then unable to give any indication of the style or size of the buildings which had existed on the island. And it was this lack of definite information which urged me to see what could be done to supply the deficiency.

Tradition said that the island had at one time possessed a nunnery, and that the ruins, to which reference is now to be made, formed part of it. And also that the name of Inchcailleach, or the "Island of the



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Nun" (which, by the way, is a more correct rendering than the "Old Woman's" or "Coward's" Island), was given because of the life and labours of a nun who chose it as her abode about the end of the seventh, or the beginning of the eighth, century. The nun was St. Kentigerna, Matron, who is commemorated on the 7th of January. She was the sister of St. Congan, and the mother of St. Fillan of Strathfillan. And from her the island was sometimes called "Inchcalyeth S. Kentigerne." It also bore the traditional name of "Kildarie." That is about all the information that tradition has supplied us with.

The Parish Church remained there until the year 1621, when the boundaries of the Parish of Inchcailleach were enlarged by the addition of the forty-pound land of Buchanan; and as the island-church had then become ruinous, the Chapel of S. Mary, commonly called the Chapel of Buchanan, situated on this newly acquired land, became the centre for worship. This change led also to a change in the name of the parish, which shortly afterwards was designated by the name which it now bears —the Parish of Buchanan.

From 1621 until the other day the church on the island has been allowed to sink into oblivion, and the kindly earth has been busy covering up the stones and hiding them away from the eye of man as if desirous of inflicting as little pain as possible upon him by a comparison between his ideas of church architecture and those of his ancestors!

Bishop Forbes, in his *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, has given us all that is known of St. Kentigerna. Among other things he tells us that she was known as "the recluse of Inch Cailleach," and he also records that "in the end, being deprived of the society of her son and brother, Kentigerna went for the sake of contemplation to Inch Cailzeoch in Louchlomont in Levenax, where, after living as an anchorite, her soul ascended to Christ. The Parochial Church of the island is dedicated to her."

Now, the ruins which have been partly excavated are those of the church. There is no indication whatever of nunnery buildings. If a nunnery ever existed on the island, then it must be looked for elsewhere. But knowing, as we do, that the whole district of the Lennox was studded

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with ecclesiastical settlements, and that Loch Lomond was a veritable Holy Loch, every island almost affording shelter to some recluse or community, it is hardly probable that an island of such size as Inchcailleach would have been left in the sole possession of St. Kentigerna, and therefore the tradition of a nunnery is possibly a true one. There is a story which says that the waters of the loch now cover the nunnery, and this may be the case, for we know of the church ruins which lie beneath the water at Auchenheglish. However this may be, if a nunnery ever existed upon the island, it would be at some little distance from St. Kentigerna's cell. And as the church was dedicated to her, the probability is that it was built in close proximity to her cell.

Now, the church is situated on a commanding height about a quarter of a mile above the landing place which is directly opposite Balmaha Pier. An ancient graveyard surrounds it, and the whole is enclosed by a dry-stone dyke. The church itself stands on a knoll within the enclosure. All the gravestones now to be seen lie to the west of the church. On the south the ground falls rapidly away; on the north there is an open space free from gravestones, which may disclose traces of other buildings, although there are no indications. It is, however, of limited extent. On the east the dyke runs on the line, as was believed, of the east wall of the church.

The church walls, from the filling up of the interior of the church and from the debris of their fall on the exterior, appeared to be only about 18 in. high. The only indication of a doorway was at the south corner of the west wall—a slight depression of the wall-mound suggested the presence of a doorway at that spot. All the rest of the outline seemed to be of the same average height. But as this position was not the usual one for the principal door in churches of the date at which this church was believed to have been built, and as I was desirous of disturbing the ground as little as possible until it was ascertained that the ruins would repay the trouble of excavation, I thought it better to ignore this supposed indication of a doorway and seek for one in the more usual position, viz., at the west end of the south wall. The remains of the doorway were found exactly at this spot.

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Before giving an account of this doorway I shall speak of the discovery of the correct measurements of the church.

Assuming that the proportions of this church would be similar to those of churches of a like size and date in other parts of Scotland, we then uncovered a portion of the north wall and obtained the internal width, and uncovering a small portion of the west wall we measured off from it three-and-a-half times the width. This we found carried us beyond the dyke, which was supposed to stand on the line of the east wall, and on to the edge of some uneven and shelving ground over which it seemed unlikely that the building would have extended. There was no wall-mound here, but on digging we soon laid bare the foundations of the east wall. The dyke was then seen not to be running at right angles to the side walls of the church.

The inside measurements of the church were thus found to be: length, 64 ft. 6 in.; width, 19 ft. 4 in. The foundations of what I take to be the chancel wall were found 23 ft. 6 in. from the inside of the east wall. The walls are slightly off the perpendicular, but these measurements may be taken as correct. The church seems to have fallen from the north, the direction of the strongest gales. The walls are 3 ft. 3 in. thick.

A Priest's Door was also found, the edge of its east jamb being 17 ft. 10 in. from the east wall. It will be noticed that the proportions are not as were assumed; the nature of the ground may, however, account for this.

Now, I am in no position to give a technical description of these two doorways, but I shall describe them as well as I can. They are both on the south wall, and there appear to be no other doorways.

South-west Door.—When this doorway was uncovered the greater part of its stones were found lying among the *débris* of the walls. It had been a deeply-arched door, with, on either side, two columns, one behind the other. Their bases were *in situ*, and one capital and portions of the columns were lying in the earth. Two other capitals and almost sufficient pieces to complete all the columns have since been recovered from the dyke. The bases of the columns are carved out of and form half of the lowest stones of the wall at the ground level. The capitals are also

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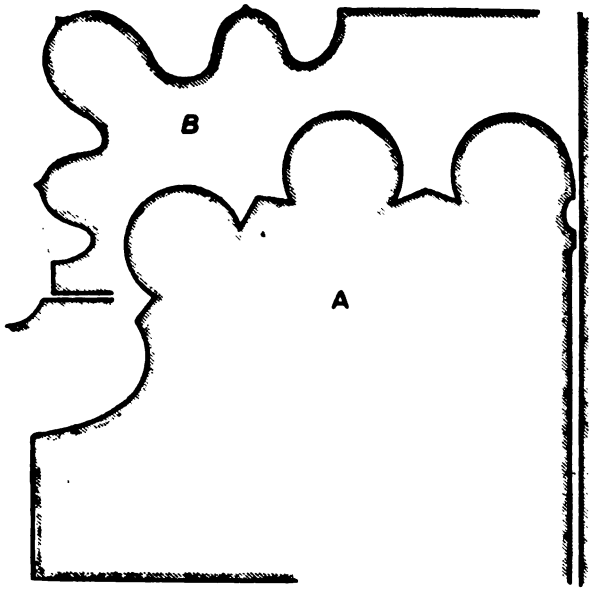
similarly treated. The columns are formed from one block of stone each, and are 5 in. in diameter. The capitals are very simply treated, and are much weather-worn. I shall refer to the mouldings of the arch directly.

This south-west doorway is 2 ft. 10 in. in width. It is difficult to ascertain its exact height.

SOUTH-EAST OR PRIEST'S DOOR.—This has also been an arched door, but without columns. The arch is ornamented with a series of projec-




*A* Mouldings of Arch Stones found in Grave. *B* Mouldings of S. W. Doorway

tions, pointed, and square at their base, somewhat like the facets of a diamond. These are continued up both the inside and outside of the arch. This doorway is only 2 ft. 6 in. wide.

All the moulded and squared stones found are of white sandstone. No sandstone has, however, been discovered on the island.

And now I refer to the arch mouldings. When uncovering the north wall, in order to obtain the width of the church, we came across a large

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gravestone on its side and with one end deeply buried in the earth; and on removing it we had the signal good fortune to lay bare a series of heavily moulded stones, almost sufficient to form a complete arch. They had evidently been placed there to guard a grave. At first they were thought to belong to the arch of the south-west door, and Mr. Honeyman has kindly prepared a sectional drawing of these mouldings, together with the mouldings of the arch stones found at the south-west door, in order to show the probable arrangement of the arch, supposing that the two sets of mouldings formed part of the same arch. He is, however, of the opinion that they belong to different arches. And this opinion is strengthened by the fact that the mouldings found in the grave are in an almost perfect state of preservation, there being no signs of weathering upon them, while the arch stones found at the south-west door are very much worn. It therefore is probable that the moulded stones found in the grave belong to the chancel arch. This arch must have been a narrow one, about 3 ft. 6 in. wide.

I do not describe the mouldings, but leave it to Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, who has seen the stones, to add any explanation that is necessary.[1] I may, however, say that the mouldings are almost exactly similar in character to those of the western doorway of Cambuskenneth Abbey and therefore their probable date is the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century. Now, St. Kentigerna is said to have died on the 7th January, 733, and as the church was dedicated to her, there must have been an earlier building. And there are traces of what I believe to be another building immediately to the south-east. It is small, and appears to be circular. This may be the original site of the saint's cell, and at her death a small oratory may have there been erected. It stands on the edge of the rock, and at the foot there is a spring.

There are a few other points of interest to which I briefly refer.

The grave-stone under which the arch stones were found is carved with the interlacing pattern common to so many stones in the west of

[1] NOTE.—As far as I am able to judge, the mouldings clearly point to the church having been erected about the period mentioned by Mr. Macleod. J. D. D.

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Scotland, and has a two-handed sword upon it. Near it was found a perhaps more interestingly carved stone. It has a cross carved on it, with very beautiful floriation at the end of the arms, and I.H.S. at the intersection, and at one side there is a pair of shears. There is a stone of a similar kind lying in the churchyard, and which has been wrongly described by the late Mr. Guthrie Smith, in his volume upon Strathendrick. He describes the cross as a sword with I.H.S. on the hilt. It is, however, manifestly a cross, with *fleur-de-lys* at the end of the arms and I.H.S. at the intersection.

In the very centre of the east wall, and about 5 ft. from it, just in front of the spot on which the altar must have stood, there is a large slab of white sandstone, 8 in. deep, and though broken, must have been more than 6 ft. long, and beneath it there is a collection of bones. I hazard the conjecture that the bones are those of St. Kentigerna, in whose honour the church was raised. And lying between this slab and the south wall there is a coped stone, 6 ft. 4 in. in length, which may possibly be the memorial tomb of the saint.

There is no trace of a baptismal font. A very beautiful octagonal font, which has just been placed in the present Parish Church, after lying for more than a hundred years on the site of the Chapel of Buchanan, to which the congregation moved in 1621, may possibly have belonged to the island church. Its measurements are as follows:

Extreme breadth, 2 ft. 6 in.
East side of octagon, 12 in.
Diameter of basin, 1 ft. 10 in.
Depth of basin, 9½ in.

It has had a two-lined inscription running round the rim, only one word of which I can decipher—"PACE"—which stands at the conclusion of the inscription, and is followed by the cross of consecration, which is quite clear.

The holy-water stoup I have lately found in Drymen village. The shaft is octagonal, and one side appears to have been fastened to the wall. I hope to have it placed for safety in the porch of the present Parish Church.

There is little more to add at present. As there are no houses on the



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island, the church has escaped the usual depredations, and I have no doubt that all the stones of consequence can be found either in the *débris* or in the dyke. The dyke, from a cursory examination I have made of it, is full of squared stones and portions of the windows. If it were desirable, it would not be difficult to rebuild the whole church.

What strikes me as most peculiar is that nothing whatever seems to have been known in regard to the appearance of the building.

I trust that this meagre description of the Church of St. Kentigerna may awaken interest, and may lead to a more careful survey of the building. I may add that I hope to be able to have the walls completely cleared of rubbish, and the interior cleared out down to the level of the doorways.

I should be very glad to show the ruins to any members of the Society who might care to see them. Perhaps an excursion might be arranged during the coming summer.

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Seal of the Abbey of Inchaffrey.

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No. VII.

# THE SEAL OF INCHAFFRAY.

BY THE

MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D., PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 16th February*, 1899.]

THE origin of the name Inchaffray is from Inis Aifrion, "The Island of the Masses."

In the *Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, by Henry Laing, there are two plates of the seals of Inchaffray Abbey, with the description given of them. The first, Plate XXVII., fig. 1, is described as "a round seal, of excellent work and preservation. The eagle of St. John standing on a scroll, on which is inscribed 'in principio erat verba.' A nimbus surrounds the head of the bird, and in the back ground are five small crosses and six cinque foils. A border of semi-circles surrounds the design. The legend is 'S. Comune ecce Ste Johis Evangeliste De insula missarum,' p. 87." The second, Plate XXVII., fig. 2, is the counter seal of the Abbey. It represents "the front of a Church, within the door a full length figure of a saint, perhaps St. John, holding a palm branch in his right hand, and a book in his left. The inscription is precisely the same as in the last, p. 88." A print of these two seals is given in the Bannatyne Club volume on Inchaffray.

It is of this counter seal that we have to speak this evening. It was in the possession of Mr. Riley, now of Birmingham, but formerly connected with Glasgow. He wrote me, on 12th December last, as follows: "In the autumn of 1893 I attended a sale of coins in Birmingham. In the



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catalogue there was described an old seal, but no particulars could be given of it; however, on examination, I saw it was an old church one, with a Latin legend, and purchased same. I submitted same to an expert whose firm are contractors to H.M. Government, but he could furnish no particulars of it, only on cleaning it he found it had been corroded by long exposure to some unsuitable atmosphere. He took three impressions on soft metal, retaining one for his trouble and presenting me with two. The seal has four brackets by which it was attached probably to an oaken handle. The metal is a brass composition well calculated to resist the ravages of time."

Two points require elucidating—first, why the Abbey was called "Insula," an island; second, why it is called "Insula Missarum," the island of masses. Inchaffray is six miles east of Crieff, thirteen miles from Perth, three miles from the Station of Balgowan, and only one hundred yards from the Station of Maderty. In its palmy days the building of the Abbey stood on an island formed by a swamp. The whole district indeed, except the point on which the Monastery had been erected, was for a considerable extent under water. The "Moss of Methven" exhibits traces of it. Through the swamp there ran the stream called the "Peffer." Hence we have Innerpeffray, *i.e.* the point at which the Peffer falls into the Earn, "inner" being the prefix meaning "at the mouth of." Practically this is the stream on which the Abbey stands, as the bed of the Peffer was utilised as the channel for the present "Pow of Inchaffray," constructed under the Pow of Inchaffray Drainage Act of 1846. What is now called the Pow is just the old "Peffer" deepened and widened. The Act of 1846 is the second Act passed with reference to the drainage of the particular locality. The only thing the Scotch Parliament really did was to pass an Act ordering the construction of a running drain with the Peffer as the basis of operations. The 1846 Act was simply an extension of the former Act.

Why was the Abbey called "De Insula Missarum"? The minister of Maderty writes to a friend: "It was called so because of the frequency of the celebration of Mass there." Such is an obvious and the ordinary explanation of the term. Mr. M. Walcott, in his *History of the Ancient Church of Scotland*, gives the same explanation, saying it was "so called

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from the perpetual celebration of the divine service," p. 309. And in a note, by the translator of Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, the same explanation is repeated, "The Island of Masses," so called from the perpetual celebration of the liturgy there," i., 333.

This, however, cannot be the explanation of the word. The perpetual celebration of the Divine service went on in every abbey and priory. This difficulty occurred to the writer of Murray's *Handbook for Scotland*, who says, "The Abbey was called 'Insula Musarum, or the Island of the Muses,'" p. 263.

Probably the reason why it was known as the "Island of the Masses" is as follows: The Church and Monastery of St. John the Evangelist and Mary was founded by Gilbert, the Earl of Stratherne, and the Countess Matilda, out of love to the memory of their first-born son, who was buried here; just as Bolton Priory was built to commemorate a broken-hearted mother's sorrow for her boy. As it was founded for prayers for their son, and these prayers were to be perpetual masses, it would be called the "Monastery on the Island of the Masses," that were meant to be in all times offered for their intention. Another explanation may be that as "Aifreoun" survives in the names of the rivers Peffer and Peffery, and means a sacrifice or a mass, that may have given origin to the words "insula missarum." But this will depend upon the question whether the name was given to the monastery and from it to the river, or *vice versa*. Earl Gilbert, who founded the Monastery in 1198, and brought the Canons from Scone, made further grants to it in the year 1200, endowing it with seven churches. These seven churches were (1) Maderty; (2) Aberuthven; (3) Strogreth; (4) Auchterarder; (5) Kinkell; (6) Foulis; and (7) Holy Trinity, Gask.

All that remains of the Abbey is the gable of the Refectory—a stone archway with a semi-circular roof—a few lengths of wall on the west and south side of the Refectory, and a very little of the interior. It may be of interest, writes my correspondent, to note that the land in the immediate vicinity of the Abbey, and at one time reclaimed (in 1218 the monks had reclaimed a portion of the vast marsh in which the Isle of Masses stood), tilled and worked by the monks, evidences the value of their labours even to this day, and is let at nearly double per acre of that which is obtainable

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for the rest of the land. Representations of the obverse and reverse of the Abbey seals have been perpetuated on the Memorial Window of Maderty Church.

There is also a third seal, which is "the Abbot of Inchaffray's seal." It is described by Laing thus: "A fine seal, but not in very good preservation. In the upper part, under a Gothic niche, a figure of the Virgin sitting with the infant Jesus: in the centre are two figures, the one appears to be a monk, the other a bishop; in the lower niche is a figure of an abbot with a crosier, kneeling in prayer." The legend is "A'abbatis de insula missarum." A plate, however, is not given of this seal.

While it is abundantly clear why it is called "Insula," the island, it is not equally clear why the term "missarum" is applied to the Abbey. We have ventured on the surmise that it may be from the purpose for which it was founded, or from the locality on which it was erected. We incline to the former, and are led to this conclusion by the fact that if it was from the locality, the word "missa" would have been used in the singular and not the plural. Whereas the word "missarum" seems to point out that the founder wished the masses should be perpetually offered up for the repose of the soul of his son.

It only remains for us to add we wrote to Mr. Riley, asking if he was willing to part with this seal, and return it to this country. To this application an answer was returned on 18th December last, saying, "Early in the year he would forward to me the Inchaffray seal with pleasure." This he has now done, and the seal is the property of the Glasgow Archæological Society.

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## No. VIII.

# PAINTED WALL CLOTHS IN SWEDEN.

BY

MRS. FRANCES MURRAY.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 21st April*, 1898.]

THE price of woven tapestry being very great, painted tapestry on canvas was used as far back as the fifteenth century. In the Hôtel-Dieu of Reims there are a number of examples of that date. They are large sheets of painted canvas containing scenes from the Mysteries of the Passion and other biblical subjects. Two of these are reproduced by Lacroix,[1] and the whole have been described by M. Louis Paris.[2] In the South Kensington Museum there is an *Annunciation* painted in distemper on lawn dated 1472, the work of a German or Flemish artist. The so-called "cartoons" of Raphael at Hampton Court are paintings of this kind intended for wall-hangings. Oil painting was applied to tissues and often combined with the effects of woven material in the times of Henry II., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV., and afterwards fell into desuetude. Its revival has been recently advocated by Julien Godon[3] for ordinary wall decoration. For this purpose a special kind of canvas is used and "liquid colours," and there is produced a flexible fabric with many of the pleasing effects of actual tapestry.

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[1] Lacroix, *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, T. ii., at the end. (Paris, 1849.) See also Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement*, iv. col. 211 (Paris, 1890, fol.); and an article by Gaston le Breton, "Les anciennes toiles peintes et imprimées a l'Exposition de l'Union Centrale," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2de S., xxvii. (1883), p. 170.

[2] *Toiles peintes et Tapisseries de la Ville de Reims.* 4to. 2 vols. (Reims, 1843.)

[3] *Painted Tapestry, . . . Translated by B. Bucknall, architect.* 8vo. (London, 1879.)



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In old English inventories there is frequent mention of "stayned cloths for hangings," "paynted cloths with stories and batailes," and the like. This was cloth or canvas painted in oil representing various subjects and with devices, mottoes, and proverbial sayings interspersed. In the Inventory of the effects of Sir John Fastolfe, one of the heroes of Agincourt, made up in 1459, there are entered:

Item ij clothis portrayed full of popelers.
Item j clothe hangyng of Schovelers.
Item j Hangyng clothe of popelers.
Item ij Tapettis with clowyds.[1]

"Mayster Thomas More in hys youth deuysed in hys father's house in London a goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe, with nyne pageauntes, and verses ouer euery of those pageauntes; which verses expressed and declared what the ymages in those pageauntes represented, and also in those pageauntes were paynted the thynges that the verses ouer them dyd (in effect) declare." In the first pageant "was painted a boy playing at top and squyrge," representing Childhood; in the second, "a goodly freshe yonge man ryding vppon a goodly horse, hauynge an hawke on his fyste," representing Manhood. Then followed Venus and Cupid, Age, Death, Fame, and Time. In the eighth "was pictured the ymage of lady Eternitie sittyng under a sumptious clothe of estate, crowned with an imperiall crown. And vnder her fete lay the picture of Time that was in the seuenth pageant." In the ninth "was painted a Poet sitting in a chayre."[2]

One of the grievances of English artificers in the time of Henry VIII. was that these decorations were brought from Holland. "The Dutchmen," says Holinshed, "bring over iron, timber, leather, and weinscot readie wrought; also nailes, locks, baskets, cupboards, stooles, tables, desks, girdles, with points, saddles, and *painted clothes*."[3] In various inventories painted cloths "of beyond sea work," or "of Flanders work" occur.

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[1] *Archaeologia*, xxi., pp. 258, 263, 264.

[2] *The Workes of Sir Thomas More, Knyght.* (London, 1557, fol.) Preliminary matter, amongst which are "iiii short things written by Syr Thomas in his youthe, for hys pastyme." Cayley, *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More*, i., p. 11. (London, 1808, 4to.)

[3] *Chronicles*, iii., p. 840. (London, 1587, fol.)

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There are numerous allusions in Shakespeare to these cloths. Thus Falstaff says:[1]

"And now my whole charge consists of ancients, corporals, lieutenants, gentlemen of companies, slaves, *as ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth*, where the glutton's dogs lick his sores."

"Who fears a sentence or an old man's saw,
Shall by a *painted cloth* be kept in awe."[2]

Malone gives many references to other writers:[3]

"I have seen in Mother Redcap's hall
*In painted cloth* the story of the prodigal."[4]

The kind of maxims with which they were adorned is thus given in a curious poem by Nicholas Breton.

"Reade what is written on the *painted cloth*:
Doe no man wrong, be good vnto the poore;
Beware the Mouse, the Maggot, and the Moth,
And euer haue an eye vnto the doore."[5]

In one of the rooms of the old Schloss of Quedlinburg there are five pieces of painted huckaback of the date 1539, which are said to have been formerly in the Abbey Church. In the Museum of Saxon Antiquities in the Lust-Schloss at Dresden there is a piece of painted linen of the sixteenth century from the Gottesacker-Kirche of Dippoldeswalde, with figures of St. Ann and St. Mary, St. John the Evangelist and St. Lawrence.

Until comparatively recently the peasants in Skåne and other parts of Sweden used a similar style of wall covering. The cloths were known as *tapette* or tapestries, and were long strips of painted canvas which hung upon the walls and sometimes on the roofs when these were campceiled.

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[1] *King Henry IV.* Pt. i. Act iv. sc. 2.

[2] *Tarquin and Lucrece*, *Works*, ed. Dyce, viii., 294.

It is thought that in his famous description of the Seven Ages of Man, Shakespeare had a wall-hanging of this kind in his mind.

[3] Shakespeare, *Works*, vi., pp. 434-436, xvii., p. 54. See also Dyce, *Works of Shakespeare*, ix., p. 303.

[4] Thomas Randolph, *The Muse's Looking-glass.* (Oxford, 1638, 4to.)

[5] *No Whippinge nor Trippinge, but a kinde friendly Snippinge.* (London, 1601, 8vo.) Edited in the Isham Reprints by Charles Edmonds. (London, 1895, 4to.) Breton, *Works*, ed. Grosart, i., p. xxxiii., 1879, 4to (Chertsey Worthies' Library).

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The figures are stiff and formal and the colourings glaring, but there is a certain conventional type which the pictures follow. To some extent they resemble the sacred pictures of the Russians, but these latter are executed by professional artists, while the Swedish are done by the peasants themselves.

The *tapette* represent incidents in Old or New Testament history, or a parable or miracle, as for example:

Noah and the Ark.
The history of Absalom.
Jesus feeding the multitudes.
The parable of the unjust steward.
The parable of the wedding feast.
The betrayal of Jesus and the Crucifixion.

Great numbers of these pictures have been collected and placed in the various Museums illustrative of Swedish life and history. They are often dated, and the dates are from the middle of the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were no doubt in use at a much earlier period, but I have not seen any of these, and I do not know whether any have been preserved.

As an example of how the subjects are treated, take this of the Three Wise Men, of date 1813. It has three compartments:

(1) The Three Wise Men bringing gifts. Their names are given:

Balthasar. Melchor. Kaspar.

(2) The visit to Herod.

(3) The presentation of the gifts.

The present each one makes is different from that of his neighbours. The Three Wise Men are in military uniforms like two of Napoleon's soldiers, with sashes round their waists and—to use an Americanism—stove-pipe hats. The dress of the one is blue, of the other buff, and of the third red. The Virgin is a pretty woman in a green and red dress in the style of the early nineteenth century; the babe is on her knee; Joseph stands behind her in top boots with his tall hat in his hand.

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Above the picture is the inscription:

"Uf sava Konungar Kommo tre
Kommo tre
Guld, Rökelse mirbam offrade de
Halle halleluia
Solo Deo gloria."[1]

The holy Kings came three,
Came three,
Gold, myrrh, frankincense offered thye,
Halle, Halleluia,
Solo Deo gloria.

As a rule, the reference is given to place in the Bible where the incident occurs. In some cases the picture, instead of being on canvas, was painted directly on the wall itself.

The hanging, which is here represented, is a fair example of this style of decoration. It is painted upon coarse home-spun linen, striped with a blue pattern. This linen undecorated was, in many cases, used as a wall hanging below the painted frieze, which was run round one side or more of the apartment.

Like the painting of 1813 already referred to, the costume of the characters points to the end of last century or the beginning of the present. Unfortunately, its preservation being imperfect some of the detail is lost.

The subjects treated are of a religious kind, and the first three compartments represent the parable of the servant sent to bid the wedding guests.

Above the little personage representing the servant, is the legend: "Jag är sant af min Herrn" (I am sent by my Lord). The servant is small to denote his inferior social standing to the big man in the full wig; and he doffs his hat in the elaborately polite style, still prevalent in Sweden, although out of date here. The invited guest holds a spade in his hand, for he has bought a piece of land and must go to see it; the spade symbolizing the ground which he has acquired.

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[1] Another illustration of the Three Wise Men is reproduced in *Das nordische Museum in Stockholm. Stimmen aus der Fremde*, p. 21 (Stockholm, 1888, 8vo).

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The same dapper little messenger reappears in the second panel:

"Og fing at redo" (and began to speak).

What the big man actually says is, as we know, an excuse: "I have bought a yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them." The oxen are coloured bright vermilion, and the second man only differs from the first in the colour of his clothes. Neither man nor beast is treated with any light and shade. The third division represents the invitation to the newly wedded pair. "I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come." This is explained by the words

"Kommer til Brölopp" (come to the wedding).

So much for the parable.

The last compartment in the upper row represents the crown of life, upborne by two angels, who stand between a design of lilies. The words "lyset crona" (crown of life) can be made out above.

The other short sentences which are still to be deciphered in the upper line of the frieze are: "Guds nöd og callere" (God's grace and calling), and "Jorden Freda" (peace on earth).

The subject to the left of the second row is the Annunciation. The Virgin alone is represented, but the angel would be shown, no doubt, in the linen which joined the painting on the left.

The next panel is broader; it contains seven figures, of which the centre one is Christ with the aureole round His head. Here, again, we have a little man, but this time he represents one really short of stature, and one who was up a tree, for this is Zaccheus in the mulberry, or, as the English version has it, in the sycamore tree. The remaining figures are disciples.

It was about the same time, in the beginning of this century, that little Puritan children in America were instructed in this story through the medium of the *New England Primer*, which was as rude a vehicle of learning in print, as the quaint tapestry painting of the Lutheran peasants who learned their Bible through a wall decoration. The *Primer* tells that

"Zaccheus, he,
Climbed the tree,
Our Lord to see."

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But the Swedish peasant of the present day has preserved a religious temperament, and you still may see many a Bible and hymn-book in the poorly furnished houses of the country people.

The words "at see Jesus, steg derför up in mulbart traed" (to see Jesus, climbed therefore up into the mulberry tree) can still be made out in the line above the painting.

Last but one, comes a representation of Jesus, drawing out the beam out of the eye of the centre figure, that the latter might in his turn see clearly to pull the mote out of his brother's eye on the left.

"Som grandet og balken, Luc vi." (The mote and beam, Luke vi.).

Lastly, we have Elias, discouraged and asleep, under the juniper tree. "And behold, an angel touched him, and said, Arise and eat." Above the words can be read:

"Elias, 1st King."

The rest is illegible. The colour of this painting is as rude as the design. Those who wear wigs have them painted blue, and the natural hair is, like that of most Swedes, represented sandy and fair. Blue, red, and black are the principal pigments, but the dress of the Virgin is dove colour.

While there is a certain conventional type in all these Swedish pictures, each man seems to have felt himself at liberty to treat the subject pretty much after his own idea. Here, for example, is another representation of Zaccheus on a canvas, date 1808, now preserved in Dala Fornsal, a pretty little museum of Dalarne antiquities in Falun, the capital of that interesting province. It is painted in bright colours on a canvas about a yard long, and is dated 1808. Beginning at the spectator's right, we have Christ dressed in red with aureole round His head, riding on a long-legged horse with short body and a neck like a giraffe. Before Him is a stout man in knee breeches and blue stockings, red waistcoat and white shirt sleeves, and no coat. Zaccheus stands on the lower branch of an umbrageous tree, about three feet from the ground; behind the tree a long row of houses fills the rest of the canvas. Three persons stand in the porch towards the tree, while below the tree a man kneels and looks up to Zaccheus.

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The same kind of decoration was in use in Norway, and a number of examples were shown in the Scandinavian Exhibition of Antiquities and other objects collected by Alfred Heneage Cocks. In the catalogue they are styled "tapestry counterpanes," and the manufacture, it is said, was confined to Thelemarken and the parishes of Valders, Vaage, and Lom in Gudbrandsdalen, and in some places in the west of the country. The oldest known piece of the kind is from Thelemarken (now in the Christiania University Museum), dated 1575. The manufacture seems to have been mainly about 1720. The number of subjects does not seem to have exceeded half-a-dozen, the parable of the wise and foolish virgins being the commonest.[1] In some parts of Norway—particularly the province of Bergen—the peasants weave a kind of coverlet called *aakloeder*. These are often in very bright colours, and have scenes on biblical subjects woven into them. Some of them date back to 1600.[2]

It seems strange that such conventional and awkward work could be of much service in aiding people to realize Scripture history, but no doubt the paintings served their purpose, as did the still cruder illuminations of the early manuscripts. Chinese missionaries of the present time find that they succeed in interesting their converts best by illustrations in which the characters of Jewish history are given with pigtail and bound feet; and I have seen a series of drawings of the Prodigal Son in which the quaintness and matter-of-fact local colour, would more than rival the Swedish linen frieze.

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[1] *Catalogue of the Scandinavian Exhibition of Antiquities and other objects collected by Alfred Heneage Cocks, on view at the Royal Archaeological Institute*, p. 11. London, 1891.

[2] Du Chaillu, *The Land of the Midnight Sun*, ii., p. 284. London, 1881, 8vo.

Du Chaillu does not refer to the tapette, although he has much to say of Skåne; nor are they mentioned by Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden*, London, 1870, 8vo; W. H. Wheelwright, *Ten Years in Sweden, by an Old Bushman*, London, 1865, 8vo; Bremner, *Excursions in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden*, London, 1840, 8vo; or by Mary Wollstonecraft, *Letters written during a short residence in Sweden and Norway*, London, 1802, 8vo, second edition.

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## No. IX.

# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON HISTORIES OF INVENTIONS AND BOOKS OF SECRETS.

(*FOURTH SUPPLEMENT.*)*

BY

JOHN FERGUSON, LL.D., F.S.A.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 17th March, 1898.*)

1. Having in the three preceding supplements disposed of such foreign books on secrets as I have recently seen, I come finally to those in English. They stretch over some two hundred and fifty years, from the middle of the sixteenth down to the early years of the present century. They are fraught with more than one kind of interest, and present attractions, literary, antiquarian, practical and historical, as well as bibliographical, to which last, however, I must mainly confine myself.

2. The larger proportion consists of books which swarmed from the press in London from say 1650 to about 1730. Cheap hand-books of practical instruction were in great request, and the flying stationers (however contradictory that title may sound) carried them about and disposed of them all over the country. Some of the books were popular, and passed through endless editions; but, to judge from the examples I shall put before you, there was a steady market for every book of the kind that was printed. In particular, works on household economy were much demanded; they

* This supplement contains English books down to the middle of the seventeenth century.



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embraced a wide range of topics, being intended for women in every rank and condition of life, from the "accomplish'd lady" and youthful maiden to the scullery maid and "widow, etc."

3. The volumes have a strong family resemblance. Chap-books they are, indifferently printed on coarse paper, usually in small 12mo, and bound rudely in brown sheep. The copies one meets with are soiled, worn, and not unfrequently imperfect. On rare occasions, however, one turns up as clean and fresh as if it had just come from Little-Britain, or Duck-Lane, or London-Bridge; and then it is found to be quite attractive, despite its plain exterior. Sometimes, after they have been in the hands of wealthy collectors, they are to be seen masquerading in morocco, but such decoration is incongruous, however complimentary it be to the rarity and curiosity of the volumes so adorned.

4. Of the publishers of these chap-books, it was George Conyers, who, towards the end of the seventeenth century, turned them out in greatest numbers and advertised them freely. By his books he may have been the "Weale" of his day; by their want of dates he is a woe of ours.

5. A considerable number of books and a great number of secrets in other books refer to the toilet, and copious directions were given to ladies for the preservation and enhancement of their personal beauty. It is notable how much attention seems to have been devoted to this topic by the authors of the old receipt books; whereas, so far as I am aware, nothing has been published on it, at least in this country, for a good many years. This makes the older literature all the more curious, even though it be out of date. Special methods and materials have alike fallen into desuetude, and the very phraseology employed is as obsolete as the patches and toupees themselves; still some of the receipts have retained their footing and there are general principles upon which writers, early and recent, seem to be in perfect accord with one another.

6. As in all my previous papers, what I have to say on the subject will be by the chronological arrangement of authors, so that even late reprints may be found in a comparatively early position in my remarks.

7. Albertus Magnus is the bibliographical embodiment of the inevitable:

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one must expect to have to notice his books on every occasion. This time it is a translation of the *Liber Aggregationis.*

The booke | of secretes of Alber- | tus Magnus of the ver- | tues of Herbes, stones | and certayne | Beastes. | ([Also a booke of the same | Author of the mar- uaylous | thinges of the world, and | of certayn effectes cau- | sed of certayne | Beastes. | (.·.)

Small 8vo. A to K (?) in eights. Black letter, 22 lines excluding head-line and catchword. The title is surrounded by a border of four different pieces. As this copy is defective at the end—it wants Kviij at least—and there is no record of place, date, or printer, one can only infer these matters by comparison with other books.

In a MS. note on the cover the type is said to be similar to that of the *Boke of Knowledge*, printed by Robert Wyer; but as I have not been able to make the comparison, I do not know whether this is the case or not. If it issued from Wyer's press, the fact has not been noticed by Mr. Plomer.* I have compared it with two specimens of Wyer's printing which I happen to have, and with one of them it agrees so closely that I should be almost inclined to say that it was really Wyer's work. The book to which I refer is that entitled *The Judgemēt of all Urynes*, described by Herbert, p. 377.† The two books agree closely in type, in the coarse paper, through which the print shines from each side, and generally in their wretched typographical execution. On the other hand, they differ in the size of the printed page, the Albertus being both shorter and narrower, and in having a headline, which the other wants. I am not at all certain, therefore, that it came from Wyer's press. Judging from its appearance, I should suppose its date is about 1540-1550.

Herbert does not quote a copy of this book as printed by Wyer, but he mentions‡ *Albertus Magnus, the boke of Secretes*, printed by William Seres, which might possibly be the volume I have. Herbert gives no particulars about it, and I know of no copy at present.

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* "Robert Wyer, Printer and Bookseller." Printed for the Bibliographical Society, London, 1897.

† The copy I have belonged to Herbert; it has his initials and the above reference to his book.

‡ *Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1786, ii., p. 705.



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8. [*March*, 1899.

As there will be no other opportunity of mentioning it, I may describe here a copy of a very rare edition of the *De Secretis Mulierum* which came into my possession since the above was written. It begins, f. 1 *recto*:

> Scribit ph's | ph'oz4 prin- | ceps. iiij°. | Ethicorum |
> Hō eſt opti | mū eoz4 que | ſunt in mū | do, *etc.*

It ends f. 41 *recto*, line 8:

> Finis h° Tractatuli venerabil' Alberti magni. |

The *verso* is blank.

It is a small 4to, 41 leaves, 33-34 long lines to the page.

The print is $5^{9}/_{16}$–$5^{13}/_{16}$ inches by $3^{3}/_{16}$ inches. It is of a peculiar semi-Gothic shape, with unusual capitals, especially H, M, and R.

It has no date, place, or printer's name; no catchwords, signatures, or leaf numbers.

The initial S at the beginning of the introduction measures $2^{3}/_{8}$ by $2^{3}/_{8}$ inches, and is a rough woodcut, but vigorous, with a dash of humour. On the *verso* of leaf 1, at the beginning of the text, is a large and elaborate Gothic D; these are the only attempts at decoration in the volume.

Hain, who describes this book fully and accurately under No. *550 from an actual copy, says it is printed *Typis Reyserianis*. Reyser printed a large number of books at Eichstadt in Franconia. Kloss, however, to whom my copy belonged—it has his book-plate, and is No. 63 in his sale catalogue—has added a note in his characteristic handwriting to the effect that the edition was unknown to Panzer (which is correct), and that it was printed at Speier by the brothers Hist or Hijst between 1480 and 1485.

It has been said—I do not know with what accuracy—that the books printed by Reyser were all in folio, which, of course, would exclude the present work. It is to be observed, however, that Hain says only *Typis Reyserianis*, which may be quite compatible with Kloss's ascription to Hijst; that is, Reyser and Hijst may have used similar if not identical founts of type. But this is a matter on which, as I have no facts to go upon, I am unable to express an opinion.

So far as I have observed, there is no copy of this edition in the British Museum Catalogue.

This with the above makes now fifty editions of the two sets of *Secrets*

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ascribed to Albertus, which I have brought before the Society; but the number of those which exist is not exhausted.]

9. Next to the work of Albertus, which is *hors concours*, so to speak, the earliest I have to show on this occasion is that by Edward Fenton, *The Secret Wonders of Nature*, London, 1569. The copy here was obtained in 1891 at the Hailstone sale, and makes the sixth or seventh I know of at present. The reason for this rarity will be understood by inspection of this copy. The book was a popular one. Not to speak of the amazing tales which fill it, and which would attract readers old and young at all times, it contains a number of woodcuts which would fascinate far more than even the text would do. The result of this popularity has been the almost complete annihilation of the edition through hard usage, and the only survivors I know of, beside the present copy, are: two in the British Museum; one in the Bodleian; one in the University Library at Cambridge; one at Abbotsford; one in Mr. Huth's library; and one or two others in private hands.

On a former occasion,* when I described the book from the Museum copy and gave some specimens of the anecdotes which make it so entertaining, I was in the belief that Fenton was the author. The title-page declares openly that it is by him; and it is only by a statement at the close of his dedication that one ascertains that it is a translation, though he specifies neither the author nor the language of the original. While, therefore, he just saves his own credit for honesty, he has done his best to get the credit—such as it may be—of being the author of the book.

The fact is, however, as I have already pointed out,† it is neither more nor less than a translation of the work of Boaistuau, *Histoires prodigieuses*, which first appeared in 1566. Of this author and certain of his works I gave a short account in my third supplement,‡ so that it is unnecessary to say more about them at present. I may repeat, however, that after having acquired a copy of the 1574 edition of Boaistuau's book, I found that the woodcuts in it, though on a much smaller scale, bore an

* Part IV., p. 306. (Reprint, p. 8.) † Supplement III., § 33.

‡ *Transactions, Archæol. Soc., Glasgow*, III., pp. 381-85.

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unmistakable likeness to those in Fenton's. Comparison having thereafter revealed identity in the text, there could be no question as to the source whence Fenton had obtained his "secret wonders of Nature." But he ought to have made it quite clear on the title-page.

10. Reference has been already made* to the fortuitous concourse of paragraphs huddled together in Thomas Lupton's book, *A Thousand Notable Things of Sundrie Sorts.* Although devoid of systematic form, it contains such an array of old-fashioned stories and notions that it continues to be of some use and value to the folk-loreist, and is appealed to as a source of information even at the present day.

11. Among the editions in the British Museum formerly quoted (Part IV., p. 313) is one of 1627. I have a copy of it here:

> London, | Printed by E. All-de for N. Fosbrooke, | by the Aſſignes of Io: Wright, and | R. Bird. 1627. |

It is a small 4to, in black letter, and consists of sigs. A to Z, Aa to Gg in fours; or, pp. 6 not numbered, containing the title and author's preface; 174 numbered (but a misprint for 214), containing the text; 19 not numbered, containing the table of contents; and a blank page. This, therefore, is a page for page reprint of the undated edition of about 1596,† and of that of 1601, the earliest in the British Museum.‡ There is nothing to be specially observed in this edition.

12. In 1631 another reprint appeared, also formerly mentioned as being in the Museum.§ Of this, too, I can show a copy, and the interest of it lies in its being probably the first issue of the book in 8vo, and the first step in its degradation into the chap-book and falsified forms in which it was published last century.

This edition is still in black letter. The later ones were in roman type. It contains A to Z in eights, or pp. [6] 336 [26].

13. Another edition has just come to hand. It was printed by Edward Allde for Edward White, and was "to be folde at the little North doore of Pauls, at the ſigne of the Gunne," in 1612. It is in 4to, as usual,

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* Part IV., p. 313. (Reprint, p. 15.)

† Part V., p. 455. (Reprint, p. 39.)

‡ Part IV., p. 313. (Reprint, p. 15.)

§ *Ibid.*

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and black letter. The signatures run from A to Z, Aa to Dd in fours and Ee2, or pp. [6] 214. There is no index; but I suppose that it has been taken out of this copy, not that it was never printed. It is a poorly got-up book.

14. One of my most recent acquisitions is the edition of 1815, of which I gave the title formerly from the copy in the British Museum.* It is a 12mo, uncut, in the original paper boards as it was issued, and it contains sigs.: A to K in twelves, L2; or pp. xxiv., 220.

This edition, it will be remembered, also includes a reprint of the Marquis of Worcester's *Century of Inventions*, to which reference will again be made under the year 1663.

15. Of the *Treasurie of Hidden Secrets*, two editions have been described, dated respectively 1596† and 1600.‡ There is a later one: "At London, Printed by I. W. for Edward White, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the little North doore of Paules, at the ſigne of the Gunne. 1608." It is printed, like the others, in black letter, and is a small 4to with no numbering of leaves or pages, but with signatures A to I in fours. Though it professes to be enlarged "with diuers neceſſary Phiſicke helpes," there is no appreciable difference between it and that of 1596.

16. Still another edition appeared long after, of which I know two copies: one is in the British Museum (1038, i. 35 (8)); the other is in my own collection. It is as follows:

The | Treasury | of | Hidden Secrets, | Commonly called, | The Good-huſwives Cloſet of proviſion, | for the *health of her Houſhold.* | Gathered out of ſundry experiments, lately | practiſed by men of great knowledge: And now newly | inlarged with divers neceſſary Phyſick helps, and knowledge | of the names and diſpoſition of diſeaſes, that moſt commonly | happen to Men and Women. | Not impertinent for every good Huſwife to uſe in her | Houſe, amongſt her own Family. | [Device.]

*London.* | Printed by *Jane Bell*, and are to be ſold at the Eaſt- | end of *Chriſt-Church*, 1653. |

Small 4to. A to I in fours; no leaf or page numbering. In the Museum copy I4 is wanting; it contains the contents of the chapters after Cap. 56. This too is printed in black letter.

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* Part IV., p. 314. (Reprint, p. 16.)

† Part V., p. 454. (Reprint, p. 38.)

‡ Part IV., p. 310. (Reprint, p. 12.)

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Inserted in the Museum copy is a printed slip: "The powder for sore eyes," containing printed directions for the use of the powder enclosed in it.

The device on the title-page is the same as Plantin's, viz. a hand holding a pair of compasses, with the motto: Labore et Constantia.

17. There is a curious and rare tract by a certain Walter Gedde, or Gidde, on a method of drawing designs upon direct and collateral lines. Its title is as follows:

A Booke of Svndry Dravghtes, Principaly ſerving for Glaſiers; And not Impertinent for Plaſterers, and Gardiners: be ſides ſundry other profeſſions. Wherevnto is annexed the manner how to anniel in Glas: and alſo the true forme of the Fornace, and the ſecretes thereof.

London, printed in Shoolane, at the ſigne of the Faulcon by Walter Dight. 1615.

Small 4to. A to R in fours; or pp. [24] 3-103 [1 blank, 8]. Folding plate. The greater part of the book is taken up with representations of various designs.

The second tract about glass occupies sig. R, and it has a title-page:

The Manner, Howe to Anneile, or Paint in Glas: The true receptes of the cullors, The ordering of the Furnace, and all the ſecretes there vnto belonging. 1616.

It contains pictures of the furnace, pot, pan for test pieces, etc.

The first copy of this book which came under my notice was in Pepys' Library, Magdalen College, Cambridge, and at the time I knew of no other. Since then two copies have come to my knowledge—the Ashburnham copy and that which I now exhibit. There is one also in the British Museum (C 21, b (1-2)), where it is specially reserved. It is quite possible that there may be others, and that the book is not so rare after all, but in the meantime I have not had an opportunity to search for them.

18. If one may judge by its price, a book sought after at the present time is that on the arts by John Bate. It is not an absolute rarity, but, on account of its contents and illustrations and the difficulty of getting it in perfect condition, it commands a certain amount of attention.

19. On a former occasion * I was able to describe only the first edition from an actual copy, printed in small quarto at London by Ralph Mabb in 1634, but for the later editions I had to rely upon Lowndes and

* Part VI., p. 12. (Reprint, p. 14.)

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Hazlitt. Of these I have now got copies. The second edition, also printed by R. Mabb, came out in 1635. To this is prefixed a portrait of the author, and the title is in black and red. The book is a small quarto, and contains: the frontispiece and pictorial title (two leaves), and signatures A to Qq in fours, sig. I having two extra leaves with diagrams. The following points may also be noticed: the first leaf of Q is misprinted P. N1 is the title-page of book second; T1 of book third; and Hh2 of book fourth.

The portrait, for which the book is prized, is far from complimentary, and represents Bate, who, doubtless, was a decent law-abiding citizen,* as a person for whom no villainy would be too great to perpetrate. G. Gifford, the engraver, has no reason to be proud of the "lively pourtraicture."

Though said to be enlarged in every part, the chief additions will be found in part one, to which in this second edition has been added an appendix.

20. The third edition did not appear till 1654, and it was printed for Andrew Cooke at London. It has no portrait, but it has a number of illustrations over and above those in the previous editions, but all of rather inferior execution. The book is in small quarto, and besides the engraved and printed titles (two leaves) contains B to Gg in fours and Hh in two.

In some way or other this edition has got modernized—though with only twenty years interval—and it is not nearly so attractive as its predecessors. All the editions, more particularly the first and third, are moderately rare, and are not readily procurable in really nice state. It may, therefore, be of some interest to see them all brought together as in the present instance. So far as I know, there were no more than the three editions now specified.

21. Bate, as I pointed out before, was a practical man, and described receipts and apparatus which he had tried and found would work, not like some of the compilers who often gathered nothing else but mere nonsense.

The first book contains a good many ingenious devices worked by

* His name, notwithstanding, does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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water power. In particular, there is a weather glass, a water clock, force pumps, and other contrivances. The second book deals with pyrotechny; and as it gives minute directions about the materials and various kinds of fireworks, such as rockets, crackers, fire drakes, as well as fixed pieces, it is worth comparing his receipts with those of other writers on the subject.

The third book is occupied with drawing and painting, and an account is given both of mediums and of colours. This part may be compared with Salmon's *Polygraphice.*

The last book, called "Extravagants," is merely a collection of miscellaneous secrets relating chiefly to the metals, and there are a few medical receipts at the end. On the whole the book justifies the demand for it that still exists.

22. As an example of a successful compilation, the Countess of Kent's *Choice Manual of Rare and Select Secrets in Physick and Chirurgery* (first published, I should suppose, about 1651) has been displayed in virtue of its having gone through at least nineteen editions.* One might have expected therefore, to find occasionally a copy of some edition or other for sale. But that is just what very seldom happens; and if one which I have be inspected, the reason of the scarcity, as in the case of Fenton above quoted (§ 8), will be easily comprehended: the books have been simply worn out. When a volume gets into the state exhibited by my copy of the twelfth edition, it is within a very short distance of final destruction. It has been squeezed out of all semblance to a book; it has been blackened by smoke, and fouled by use till it is almost illegible; the owner may have got a fresh copy of a newer edition, and may have had no special sentiment about the old one which had seen so much service, and so it would drift to its end. It has, however, escaped tearing up and burning as waste paper, and it is worth preserving now, as an illustration of the kind of treatment to which useful books are subjected; and how whole editions may disappear merely by bad usage and want of a little care and consideration. Would it not be a pleasant recreation to have a few minutes' talk with the person who maltreated this volume?

* Part IV., p. 318. (Reprint, p. 20.)

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23. The editions I have recently acquired are the fourth, eleventh, and twelfth.

The fourth is a tiny 24mo, similar to the copy of the nineteenth edition I showed in 1885, and it has a queer little portrait of the Countess. It was printed by Gartrude Dawson, and sold by William Shears at the Bible in St. Pauls Churchyard, in 1654. It contains A to Q in twelves, but the two parts of which the book consists are paged separately: [18], 206, [18], 140. This copy is remarkably fresh and clean.

24. The eleventh edition was printed and sold by the same persons in 1659. It is a 12mo, and is printed in larger type than the other two. It had a portrait, but it has been removed by some Grangerising thief, and its existence, therefore, can only be assumed in the collation:—portrait leaf (?); title; A in six, B to M in twelves; l in six, m in twelve, N to R in twelves, S in eight, T, (T2 was probably blank); or, pp. [2? 2, 12], 258, [6]; 20, 154. It contains certain additional secrets of medicine in Part I., pp. 231-258, which were introduced into the work in some edition which I have not seen, subsequent to the fourth.

25. The twelfth edition is of the same size and style as the fourth edition; the portrait is reversed, and is not only more debased in execution but is more disreputable in expression. It contains A to R in twelves, S in six, or pp. [18], 233, [7]; [20], 140, including the added secrets to Part I., pp. 207-233 already specified. This edition was also printed by Gartrude Dawson and was sold by William Shears, who, however, had removed to the Blew Bible in Bedford Street, Covent Garden. The date on the book is 2659, an uncommon kind of misprint.

A curious point in the publication of these books is the issue of the eleventh and twelfth editions in the same year, by the same people, but in quite a different form.

26. Since the preceding was written, a copy of a still later edition has fallen into my hands.

A | Choice Manual, | or, | Rare and Select | Secrets | in | Physick | and | Chirurgery. | Collected, and Practiſed by | the Right Honourable, the | Countess of Kent, | Late Deceased. | Whereto are added several Experiments | of the Virtues of Gaſcon-powder, and | Lapis contra Yarvam, by a Pro- | feſſor of Phyſick. |

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As alſo moſt Exquiſite ways of Pre- | ſerving, Conſerving, Candying, &c. | The 21th. (*sic*) Edition with Additions. |

London, | Printed for Henry Mortlock, at the Phœnix in | St. Paul's Church-yard, 1708. |

12mo. pp. [12] 112; [4] 68 [7, 1 blank]. Portrait extra.

The second part has a title-page as follows:

A True | Gentlewomans Delight. | Wherein is contained all manner | of | Cookery:

Together with { Preſerving | Conſerving | Drying and | Candying. |

Very Neceſſary for all | Ladies, | And | Gentlewomen. | Publiſhed by W. J. Gent. |

London, | Printed for H. Mortlock, at the Phœnix in St. Paul's | Church-yard. 1707.

This copy, too, with one of the Hailstone bookplates, bears evidence of mal-treatment, for it wants a leaf. It has exactly the same portrait as that in the nineteenth edition.

27. When first* I had to speak about the Countess, I consulted Granger† and Walpole.‡ So very different a view, however, of her character (or want of it) is given by Abraham de la Pryme,§ that I have consulted some other authorities, and have found considerable uncertainty and confusion due to a want of agreement among them.

It is unnecessary to go into the details of her life.‖ She is called the second of the three daughters of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; she was married to Henry Grey, seventh Earl of Kent; "she was eminent for her virtue and piety," but "her being an author was not the most estimable part of her character."¶ She died at her house in Whitefriars in 1651.

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* Part IV., p. 318. (Reprint, p. 20.)

† *Biographical History of England*, 5th edition, London, 1824, Vol. III., p. 209. The list of her portraits seems to be contained in the edition of 1775, Vol. II., p. 374, but I have not seen it.

‡ *Royal and Noble Authors*, by Park, London, 1806, Vol. III., p. 44.

§ *Diary*, edited by Charles Jackson, Surtees Society, 1869-70, Vol. 54, p. 8. I have not seen this authority referred to in any notice of either Selden or the Countess.

‖ See *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxiii., p. 181, under "Elizabeth Grey."

¶ *Memoirs of John Selden*, by Geo. W. Johnson, London, 1835, p. 355.

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Selden had been very intimate with the Earl, after whose death in 1639 "he appears to have been domesticated with the widow both in town and country, taking the management of her concerns, and, as Wood says, living with her in a conjugal way: but what he meant by that expression I do not undertake to conjecture."* "There is strong reason to believe," says Johnson, "that he was bound to her by other ties than those of service and friendship." He repeats the "equivocal" words Aikin ascribes to Wood, adding that Aubrey states that he was privately married to the Countess.

Granger says that she was a different person from the Elizabeth "who cohabitated with Mr. Selden, and left him a considerable fortune." There is no equivocating about Granger, but he does not inform us who this other Elizabeth was, and Nichols† says distinctly that Granger is wrong in this supposition. I myself have no doubt that Granger is wrong as to the want of identity.

Lastly, De la Pryme puts the rumour with quite a seventeenth century frankness. Under the year 1686, he says:

> Being reading this day a book entitled "The Countess of Kents receipts," I asked my aunt Prym, who is an ingenious woman, who this Countess was, etc. Shee answered me that when shee, my aunt, lived in London, she lived just over against her, and knew her very well. She sayd that the Countess was a widdow and never had a child in her life: that she was an exceeding good charitable woman, and that she spent twenty thousand pound a year yearly in physick, receipts and experiments, and in charity towards the poor. Shee caused every other day a huge dinner to be got, and all the poor people might come that would, and that which spared they took home with them. My aunt says shee has seen the poor at her tables several times. Sometimes there would have been sixty, sometimes eighty, sometimes more, sometimes less. And shee sent vast quantitys of meat out to those that could not come. She would oft go to the houses of the poor, and visit them and dress their soars with her own hands; and shee distributed a vast deal in money herself yearly to all those that stood in need. Yet for all this (adds De la Pryme) as I have since heard, she lived in common whoredom with the famous Mr. Selden, who (*sic*) she entertained as her gallant.

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* *The Lives of John Selden, Esq., and Archbishop Usher*, by John Aikin, M.D., London, 1812, p. 155.

† *Literary Anecdotes*, London, 1814, viii., p. 510.

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The editor of the *Diary*, Charles Jackson, in a note to this passage here mentioned, says:

> It is but an act of ordinary justice to the character of the noble lady whom the diarist has named in the text, to mention that the story to which he refers, whether true or false, does not, at all events, or in any way, relate to *her*. The "good Countess of Kent," so called from her deeds of charity and hospitality, was Amabel, the second wife of Henry Grey, tenth Earl of Kent * (who died 1651), daughter of Sir Anthony Benn, Recorder of London, and widow of the Hon. Anthony Fane. She lived to be 92 years of age, surviving her husband forty-seven years, and dying 17 Aug., 1698. But the "Countess of Kent" who was the real subject of the evil report, was an earlier lady, viz., Elizabeth, second dau. and co-heir of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and wife of Henry Grey, eighth [seventh] Earl of Kent. The latter nobleman died in 1639, without issue, when the title passed to his cousin, Anthony Grey, ninth [eighth] Earl, the father of Henry the tenth [ninth] Earl, husband of the "*Good* Countess" aforesaid. Elizabeth Talbot was born in or about 1581, and died 7 Dec., 1651, aged 70. John Selden, who is here (let us hope) so unjustly brought under our notice, was the famous patriot and lawyer. . . . Mr. Selden appears to have been employed as solicitor or legal steward to the Earl of Kent, the husband of Elizabeth (Talbot) above mentioned, with both of whom he was necessarily much associated, and lived for many years in the strictest degree of friendship. John Aubrey, the Wiltshire antiquary, a great collector of the rumours of the day, has not omitted to notice that which De la Pryme had heard as to the Countess and Selden. . . . It is difficult at this day, in the absence of any positive testimony, to believe that he was likely to be a party to any shameful intrigue like that suggested. Selden died 30 Nov., 1654, at the Friary House, in Whitefriars, London, which, amongst her other property, he possessed as devisee of the Countess, who, by her will dated 20 June, 1649, and proved 12th Dec., 1651, appointed him her executor and residuary legatee.

Before considering the questions raised by this note, it will be best to let Aubrey † speak for himself, since he is referred to by several writers.

> He (Selden) was quickly taken notice of for his learning, and was solicitor and steward to the Earle of Kent, whose Countesse being an ingeniose woman, * * * * * * After the Earle's death he maried her. He had a

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* She was married to the ninth Earl, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxiii., p. 187.

† Aubrey's MSS. in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, edited by Philip Bliss, London, 1814, iii., cols. 377, 378. It is to be observed that the asterisks and dots in the first extract are Aubrey's own.

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> daughter, if not two, by . . . . . one was maried to a tradesman in Bristowe. * * * * * *
>
> He never owned the mariage with the Countesse of Kent till after her death, upon some lawe account. He never kept any servant peculiar, but my ladie's were all of his command; he lived with her in Ædibus Carmeliticis (White Fryers) which was before the conflagration, a noble dwelling. He kept a plentifull table and was never without learned company.

Consideration of the statements of Wood, Aubrey, De la Pryme and his aunt, shows that Jackson has got into a confusion of his own making, and that there is no reason whatever for importing the name of the 'Good Countess' into the discussion.

In the first place, the diarist has named nobody in the text but the authoress of the *Receipts*; he does not even insinuate any one else. In the second place, Jackson assumes that because "my aunt Prym" spoke of her charity to the poor, therefore *she* meant the 'Good Countess.' There is no foundation for that, and besides there is no proof that the said Countess spent money on "receipts and experiments," whereas the Countess of Kent's *Receipts* are still with us. In the third place, when it is clearly affirmed that the Countess spoken of by "my aunt Prym" was childless, he overlooks the strongest confirmation of his own statement that Henry, the husband of Countess Elizabeth, died without issue, whereas the 'Good Countess' had a family, so that *she* could not have been meant. In the fourth place, he neglects the obvious implication that the Countess Elizabeth was dead, whereas the 'Good Countess' was still living in 1686. In the fifth place, Aubrey does *not* "notice what De la Pryme had heard"; for he says nothing indicative of a "shameful intrigue" at all, but alludes only to a private marriage. If there is any slur on Selden's character, indicated by Aubrey, it is certainly not in connection with the Countess, but with some person unknown. But Jackson takes no notice of that. In the last place, Jackson would seem almost to believe that the *Receipts* were compiled by the Countess Amabella, which was not the case.

Next, with regard to Wood, as he does not refer to any kind of connection between them, I cannot discover whence comes the phrase with which Aikin credits him, and which Johnson styles 'equivocal.'

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Aikin emitted it before the publication of Aubrey's MSS. by Bliss in 1814, and he could hardly have known of De la Pryme's version of the story. One thing seems certain that "my aunt Prym" knew nothing of the report current about the Countess Elizabeth, or, if she did, she could still affirm of her personal knowledge and observation that she was an "exceeding good charitable woman."

De la Pryme evidently believed that the Countess described by his aunt was the same as the Countess Elizabeth who was said to have been intimate with Selden. The aunt was as clearly of opinion that the Countess she was describing was the authoress of the book.

If she meant the Countess Amabel, why did she so emphasise the fact that the person she was thinking of was childless; and why did not De la Pryme correct his aunt's misunderstanding, and remind her that the lady whose book he was reading had been dead for five and thirty years, whereas the Countess Amabel was alive?

It is plain, I think, that De la Pryme got his story about Selden and the Countess from a source different from Aubrey's; "as I have since heard" to use his own words, seems to indicate mere gossip, and without more reliable evidence than that, one inclines to consider it the depreciatory inference which is usually, because easily, deduced from misunderstood or imperfectly known facts, and that both the unauthenticated expression attributed to Wood and the grosser fama of De la Pryme are neither more nor less than the low-minded and vulgar interpretation of an unacknowledged marriage emanating from a shallow cynic. In the most recent notice of Selden,* Aubrey's story is stated to be "probably false," but no reason is given in support of that position; and the other reports —whether true or not—are ignored.

It is no advantage to Selden to gainsay his private marriage, when there was obviously a persistent rumour, good, bad, or indifferent, about him and the Countess, and the most reasonable origin and explanation of it is in what Aubrey says. One can sympathise with Jackson's desire to clear Selden from De la Pryme's aspersions; it can be best done by

* *Dictionary of National Biography*, li., p. 220.

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accepting Aubrey's statement as true. The existence of the two daughters alluded to by Aubrey, is much more difficult to explain away.

Walpole, it may be observed, does not mention the Countess at all in the first edition of his book.* The account of her in the fifth edition was inserted by the editor, Thomas Park, mainly from Granger. He quotes the sixteenth edition, 1670 (which I have not seen), and says that the title-page states that the receipts were "collected and practised" by the Countess, and he then adds the following oddly ideaed note:

> This information, if it were given on any authority, would reduce her ladyship to be considered in the present work as a mere transcriber of receipts for making confections and cordials, unguents and distillations; though it would still leave her the more exalted character, of having contributed with Christian condescension to administer to the comforts or the necessities of others.

Did he too confuse the two Countesses?

As to Mr. Park's remarks, I may say that, in the editions I have seen, the 4th, 11th, 12th, 19th, and 21st, it is stated that they were "collected and practised" by the Countess, so that the 16th edition resembles the others in this phrase. I have not seen the first or second edition, but it is possible that the book was issued shortly after her death in 1651, printed from her manuscript collections, so that even in the first edition she would appear as the Countess of Kent, *late deceased.*

But whether or not she was as black as common rumour has tried to paint her does not concern the bibliographer. All that he has to do with is that she was the compiler of a book which was in constant use for at least fifty years, and, as it was not devoid of intrinsic merit, deserved the popularity it enjoyed.

28. In 1635 N. and I. Okes printed an abstract in English of Dupleix's *Curiosité naturelle*, under the title of *The Resolver, or Curiosities of Nature.*† The absolute ineptitude of this book—as of the original—did not deter the same firm from bringing out a companion volume two years later.

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* *Royal and Noble Authors*, Strawberry Hill, 1758, 2 vols., small 8vo.

† Part IV., p. 316. (Reprinted, p. 18.)

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Curiosities: *or* The Cabinet of Nature. Containing *Phylosophical*, *Naturall*, and *Morall* queſtions fully anſwered and Reſolved. *Tranſlated out of Latin*, *French*, *and Italian Authors*. *by* R. B. *Gent*. Never before Publiſhed. *London*: Printed by *N.* and *I. Okes*. 1637.

It is a small 12mo, A to N in twelves, pp. [24] 287 [1 blank]. Besides the printed title there is an engraved one: Pliny and Plutarch to the left and right; at the top: Natura seated, holding out bare arms, with celestial and terrestrial globes to the left and right; sun, moon, and stars behind. At the bottom: a landscape with mountains, trees, water; and birds, fishes, quadrupeds, serpents, etc.

29. The author, Robert Basset, in a very "conceited" address to the reader, says that this volume was compiled from a French writer mainly, along with a few others. Some of the sections are taken from Dupleix's *Curiosité naturelle*, but it is possible that it is the same author's *Physique* from which he has borrowed the chief part of the book. I have not been able to lay hands on the *Physique*, and cannot say whether this conjecture can be justified or not.

The contents of this book hardly bring it within range of these notes, except in so far as it includes secrets of nature, which it unquestionably does. The secrets of which explanations are attempted remain as such, some of them, to this day; others have been explained, but by a very different method of investigation and with very different results from those of Robert Basset. There is not a single answer to one of the questions propounded that has any intelligible meaning, much less gives an explanation of the natural phenomenon enquired into. Even the questions are generally those of confusion and ignorance, arising from want of perception of what does and what does not lie within man's capacity of investigation.

This book must not be confused either with Dupleix's *Curiosities of Nature*,* or with T. Brown's *Nature's Cabinet Unlock'd*, which will be referred to subsequently under the year 1657.

30. Of Gabriel Plattes' *Discovery of Subterraneal Treasure* a fourth

* Part IV., p. 316. (Reprint, p. 18.)

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edition has to be added to those formerly described.* Although without date, it must be subsequent to 1712; for, in a note at the end of the preface, there is an account of an explosion of fire-damp which occurred during that year in a mine in Durham, whereby 72 persons were killed.† The edition is, probably, several years later than that event. Unless by the dedication of the first edition being omitted, there is no difference between this and the earlier editions as to matter, but as to form there is marked deterioration.

The 1639 edition is a small quarto of 60 pages, in large legible type, with 26 lines to the page, well leaded out, comfortable and agreeable to read. The 1679 edition is also a quarto, but it has shrunk to 24 pages, and contains 41 lines to the page, in smaller type. This undated edition is still further contracted to 22 pages of 43 lines each, and the pages are crammed even to the verge of repulsiveness. The first edition under Plattes' supervision is an attractive pamphlet; the present is a catchpenny impression got up by the "Booksellers of London and Westminster" for selling—not for reading—and they have made it as nasty as they could for its cheapness. A similar falling off is not unobservable in successive editions of books at the present day.

31. There comes next by date a gathering of receipt books which I lighted on accidentally in the British Museum, very much as I discovered the volume made up of the Italian pamphlets described in the first Supplement. It shows the difficulty of exhausting the tale of these books, especially as there is no clue usually either to the name of the author, even when it is given on the title-page, or to the title under which the book was published, if it appeared anonymously. One becomes acquainted with them merely by chance. Past experience convinces me that there may be collections still to be discovered and described.

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* Part I., p. 194. (Reprint, p. 15.) Part II., p. 251. (Reprint, p. 41.) Part III., p. 226. (Reprint, p. 41.)

† Oddly enough the date of another book, White's *Hocus-Pocus*, is fixed by the same catastrophe.



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32. I shall now give the titles of this new set of pamphlets in order.

The | Ladies | Cabinet | Opened: | Wherein is found hidden ſeverall Expe- | riments in Preſerving and Conſerving, | Phyſicke, and Surgery, Cookery | and Huſwifery. | [Device.]
London, | Printed by M. P. for Richard Meighen, next to the | Middle Temple in Fleetſtreet. 1639. |
Small 4to. Signatures: A to H in fours; or pp. [2] 59 [3].
The device is a winged skull surmounted by an hour-glass resting on a crossed bone and scythe with the motto: Non Plvs, surrounded by a border of scrolls and flowers.

It is a shabby pamphlet, containing receipts for making preserves, jellies, cordials, medicines, for cooking, for perfumes, rather confusedly arranged.

*The Ladies Cabinet Enlarged and Opened*, 1654, if it can hardly be called a new edition of the above, certainly contains a large number of the receipts. The present, therefore, seems to be the first form of the collection, which was afterwards extended and rearranged by "M. B.," who signs the preface to the later form of the book. I shall consider the question under the edition of 1667.

The present copy is in the British Museum, 1038, i. 35 (1).

33. The next four works deserve a little attention, as the problem of authorship which they present does not yield a solution all at once.

The tracts may be first taken in order, and the question arising out of them then considered.

34. A Precious | Treasury | of | Tvventy | Rare Secrets. | Moſt neceſſary, Pleaſant, and Pro- | fitable for all ſorts of People. | Published | By La Fovntaine | an Expert Operator.
London, | Printed Anno Dom. 1649. |
Small 4to. Sig. A, 4 leaves.
A1, Title leaf. A2 *recto*, Contents. A2 *verso* to A4 *verso*, the Text.
From the copy in the British Museum (1038. i. 35 (2)).

Among the twenty receipts are these: Writing by black or indigo transfer paper; writing secret letters with alum, and juice of lemon; dyeing hair with silver nitrate; perfuming wine by a lemon or orange stuck full of clovés, hung up in the barrel; appeasing toothache by cotton dipped in essence of cloves; taking out grease spots; making instantaneous ink, and so on.

La Fountaine was what is termed a quack, but part at least of his

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quackery is recognised now as legitimate, and is licensed regularly under the name of Dental Surgery. He undertakes to do what is done by the dentists of the present day.

At the conclusion of his tract (A4 *recto*) he says:

I have ſome things extraordinary which I cannot communicate to any but them that have neede of my helpe, and will make uſe of me. I have written here ſomething to ſatiſſie the curious but I muſt confeſſe they are but trifles in compariſon of my manuall opperations which I preſume to be as expert in as any man in Europe whatſoever he be, as my approbation of ſome of the beſt Doctors of this age ſhall juſtify if need requires.

I glory not in knowing or doing much, but in doing well that little which I undertake, and the things which I undertake are these:

Firſt, I pull out hollow Teeth or roots, though ever ſo ſhor, (*sic*) with wonderfull dexterity, facility, and eaſe.

(A4 *verso*) | I make even smooth, and plaine Teeth, that are extravagant or ſharper, longer or ruggeder than the reſt.

Hollow Teeth that for ſome reaſon you would not have drawn, as the falling in of the cheek, or an invincible apprehenſion or fear, or the like, I can ſtop them ſo that they ſhall neither ake, putrifie, nor ſmell ill.

I have the beſt ſecret in the World abſolutely and infallibly, to make Teeth moſt perfectly white and clean, though they be ever ſo black or ruſty.

I can ſet in Artificiall Teeth ſo well that none can poſſibly know them from naturall ones.

Finally, I cannot chooſe but convince their ignorance that are againſt drawing hollow Teeth or roots, their common fooliſh objection is, that I do it more for my own profit then the patients eaſe. I ſay they may as wel object the ſame againſt all other Arts, Sciences, or Trades in the world, for it is evident and cleare that the drawing of Teeth from others is as neceſſary for them as the profit is for me, by reaſon that all the Art in the world cannot make a periſhed Tooth found again, nor hinder it from infecting the next adjoyning teeth in time. Besides, hollow teeth breed often a ſtinking breath, a canker in the mouth, and other diseaſes in the body, and their intolerable aking is able to make a body fall into a dangerous Feaver; all which inconveniences may be ſhunned by having ſuch teeth and roots neatly drawn. Laſtly, if it be true that it is good to take the broken from the whole, or that one ſcabbed ſheep may ſpoyl a whole flock, or that it is good and neceſſary to repaire imperfections of nature with Art; then all that I have ſaid herein is true, and ſo I reſt fully ſatiſfied.

I live at preſent in St. Martins Lane, at the next Belcony to the Signe of the Anchor neere Charingcroſſe, where they that have need of me, may finde me to give them all reaſonable ſatisfaction, God willing.

Per me La Fountaine Operator.

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35. In the same year a similar collection appeared, as follows:

A New | Dispensatory | of Fourty Phyſicall | Receipts. | Moſt neceſſary and Profitable for | all Houſe-Keepers in their Families. | Beſides three other pleaſant arts fit for | young Gentlemen. | *Published by* SALVATOR WINTER *of* Naples. | *An Expert Operator.*
London, | Printed in the Yeare, | 1649.

Small 4to. A, B, in fours; or pp. [6] 9 [1 blank]. From the British Museum copy (1038, i. 35 (4)).

Winter's preface "To the Reader" is worth quoting:

In my manifold Travels through *Europe*, *Asia* and *Affrica*, I have observed and learned many secrets, yea there is scarce anything profitable for mans body, but I have knowledge thereof. Here I do freely present unto you fourty, most necessary Receipts and very useful in every family, whereof I have oftentimes made good proofe; accept of them thankefully, and as you shall have occasion make use thereof, So Farewell.

Salvator Winter.
Operator.

The receipts are entirely medical and surgical, as for sore eyes, deafness, toothache, palsy, to heal a cut, for the squinzie, for the jaundies, for the swelling of the legs, for piles, for the itch, pleurisy, spitting of blood, scrophulus or King's Evil, for the plague, to break a carbuncle, for worms in children, for the ague, falling sickness, a stitch, sore throat, a scald with fire or hot liquor, to ease the gout, for a tympany, "for an Eare wigg in the Eare," for the green sickness, convulsions in young children, to dye hair black, and three receipts for young gentlemen, which are as follows:

To make a stone which catches fire when spit upon. It consists of lime, saltpetre, tutia, calamine, brimstone, and camphor. To make two waters which turn like milk when mixed, viz. Lead Acetate and oil of Tartar, or potassium carbonate. To make a bullet to hit all marks; take pewter, lead and quicksilver—melt together and cast into bullets. When fired they burst and scatter.

At the very end he states that he pulls out "all manner of Hollow Teeth stumps or roots, with great dexterity, and ease without almost any paine. I make Teeth Smooth and White, set in Artificiall ones, that they shall not be discerned from the naturall ones, yea I doe all to Teeth: (without arrogancie and prejudice to others) as well as any whosoever, and I know none shall goe beyond me in that art." Winter lived at that

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time "in Bedford-street next doore unto the signe of the Foxe over against the New Exchange."

This may be compared with La Fountaine's advertisement. Were they rivals?

36. A third work, subsequent to the preceding, appeared the same year:

A Pretious | Treasury: | or a New | Dispensatory. | Contayning 70. approved Phyſicall rare Receits. | Moſt neceſſary and needfull for all ſorts of people to have | in their Families. | Collected out of the moſt approved Authors, both in Phyſick and Chyrurgery: | by *Salvator Winter*, and Signieur *Franciſco Dickinſon*, expert Operators. | *in two Bookes.* | [Vignette.]

London, Printed by *Tho. Harper* for *Richard Harper*, and are to be ſold | at his ſhop in Smithfield, at the Bible and Harpe. 1649. |

Small 4to. A and B in four, C2, or pp. [1-6] 7-20. From the British Museum copy (1038, i. 35 (3)).

The vignette is a quack doctor on a platform handing out doses to the public below. He says: "Me cure all Diſeaſes." His servant has a small pamphlet and a box of pills or some sort of drug, and says: "Your money Gent." The costumes are of the time.

The first book by Winter consists of receipts for some very common complaints, and is identical with the preceding *New Dispensatory*, with the same address to the reader and the same short statement about teeth at the end.

The second book, claimed by Francisco Dickinson, is in reality a reprint of La Fountaine's *Precious Treasury of Twenty Rare Secrets* of the same date, only the long advertisement about teeth is omitted. This volume, therefore, consists of the two preceding pamphlets printed together, with La Fountaine's name changed to Francisco Dickinson.

37. The fourth collection is in the Museum (1038, i. 35 (5)), and is by La Fountain.

A Brief | Collection | of many Rare | Secrets. | Moſt of which are approved, | and Phyſical, and the reſt moſt | Pleaſant and Recreative. | Very neceſſary for all ſorts of People. | Newly ſet forth and publiſhed by *La Fountain* | an Expert Operator, living over againſt *Eſſex* | Houſe in the *Strand* near *Temple-bar.* | [Device of a burning heart.]

*London*, Printed *Anno Dom.* 1650.

Small 4to. A in four, B in two. No pagination. Very closely printed. The note to the reader is signed Edw. Fountain.

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The secrets, which are quite different from those in the above two issues of the *Pretious Treasury*, are medical, cosmetical (to take out wrinkles and spots from the face, etc., to dye hair, to remove hair, to grow a beard), to make perfumes, some chemical experiments, the tree of Diana, to melt a metal, etc.; and once more his dentistry advertisement in full.

In his note to the reader, he speaks of the general acceptance of his little *Book of Twenty Secreets*, which has obliged him to present this which is "farre better"; and from what he says, it appears that this was sold for twopence.

In this *Brief Collection*, B1 *recto*, receipt No. xxxv. shows how to remove hair and prevent it growing again, by laying on the place a piece of the finest gold, heated red hot, and then anointing the place with oyle of roses, or of violets. He adds: "The Author hereof found this Secret, much practised among the Moores, and since used it much himself throughout Europe, to many Ladies and Gentlewomen to their great content, and to his own Fame and Credit." He does not explain that the author he means is not La Fountain but is Alexis!! in whose work it will be found, Part I., English Translation, 1558, f. 80 *recto*, dated 1521.

38. Looking at these results, it is a question if the names La Fountaine, Salvator Winter, and Francisco Dickinson denoted different people, or were aliases assumed by one person for professional purposes. That La Fountaine and Winter were distinct might be inferred from their having consulting rooms at different places, and from their advertisements indicating that they were rival dentists. But that may have been an essential part of the alias. That they were not rivals, however, may be inferred from their tracts being printed together, and one of the dentistry advertisements being dropped. That La Fountaine and Dickinson were identical is made certain by the identity of the tracts assigned to each, and by no objection being raised by La Fountaine in his *Brief Collection* in 1650 to Dickinson's appropriation of them.

It is curious that the first and last tracts by La Fountaine and that by Winter have no printer's name. This may be a mere coincidence, but when taken in connection with their other peculiarities, it seems rather to

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point to their having been issued by the same individual. But why suppress the printer's name unless there was something questionable in the transaction?

Transformation of name was not unknown to one at least of these reputed writers. In the 1650 tract, though the title-page bears the name of La Fountain, the prefatory note is signed Edward Fountain. I have doubts as to the Neapolitan origin of Mr. Winter, and still more as to the nationality of Signieur Francisco Dickinson, who, I take it, was none other than Edward Fountain himself. The good people of the sixteenth century must have been indifferent, or uncritical, if so transparent a bit of mystification could be passed upon them for any reason whatever.

Anyhow, whether these authors are to be identified or not—and there may be a doubt about La Fountaine and Winter—there can be no question that there was juggling with their respective writings somewhere. It is amusing to get them together, for otherwise this curiosity of authorship could hardly have been detected. It may be observed that these names are not mentioned by Lowndes.

39. One more hand-book of medicine for household use has to be mentioned. Of the author, Daniel Border, I have found no notice. He is not included in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

ΠΟΛΥΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΣ καὶ ΧΥΜΙΣΤΗΣ: | Or, the Engliſh unparalell'd (*sic*) | Physitian | and | Chyrurgian: | Shewing | *The true Vſe of all manner of Plants and* | *Minerals.* | In which is Explained, *The whole Art and Secresy of* | Phyſick and Chyrurgery. | wherein is contained, |

1. *The cure of any Internal Diſeaſe, which hath taken effect, and* | *brought forth Symptoms, either outwardly or inwardly, in the* | *Head, Stomack, Back, Belly, etc.* |
2. *The making of diverſe rare and excellent Balſames, Oyls, Plai-* | *ſters, and Waters, with the effects thereof.* |
3. *The making and uſe of Purges, Vomits, Drinks, and Cliſters,* | *according to Rules of Phyſick and Aſtrologie.* |
4. *The nature and temperarure* (sic) *of Herbs, Plants, and Vegetables,* | *and the uſe thereof, and the Influence of the Planets as well over* | *Herbs and Plants, as over the Bodies of Men.* |
5. *The way to extract the Spirits and Quintaeſſences of ſeveral ſorts* | *of Herbs and Minerals, and the rare Operations they have.* |
6. *The making of Salt of Wormwood, Balm, or any other Herb.* |
7. *The Cure of any Wound, Contuſion, Puncture, or Vlcer in any part* | *of the Body.* All which have been preſcribed and practiſed by ſe- | veral Learned Doctors and Chyrurgians. |

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*By* D. BORDER, *Practitioner in Phyſick.* |
*London*, Printed by *B. Alſop*, and are to be ſold at his | houſe in Grubſtreet, near the Upper Pump. 1651. |
Small 4to. A, *, B to T in fours; or pp. [16] 144.

Black letter, but with a great deal of roman interspersed for headings to chapters, etc.

Though the actual word "Secrets" does not occur in the title, but only the very unusual form "Secresy," it is used by the author several times when referring to different sections of his receipts. It is an illustration of the difficulty of excluding a book of the kind from the category, even if it wants the name. The title gives as full an account of the book as is necessary here. From the copy in the British Museum (1038, i. 35 (6) ).

The next supplement will deal with English books subsequent to 1650.

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No. X.

# NOTES ON TWO COPIES OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, PRESERVED IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

[*Read at a meeting of the Society held on 17th February*, 1898.]

## I.—INTRODUCTION.

By Professor John Young, M.D.

There are in Glasgow six copies of this document:

1. The General Band of 1588, - - - University Library.
2. The Solemn League and Covenant, signed in the University of Glasgow, 1643-8, - - Hunterian Museum.
3. The same, signed at unknown locality in the west, - - - - - - - - - Hunterian Museum.
4. The same, signed at Biggar, - - - Mitchell Library.
5. The same, - - - - - - - - Corporation Galleries.
6. The same, unsigned, - - - - - Mitchell Library.

No. 3 was bequeathed by Miss Brown of Lanfine. No. 2 was the gift of Mr. James Graham, one of a family long and intimately associated with the University. These will be referred to as the Lanfine and Graham copies respectively.

The Solemn League had predecessors, each with a purpose of its own.

1 and 2. The Bands of 1556 and 1557, the First Covenant or Godlie Band, signed by Erskine of Dun and his friends, and that of 1557, preserved



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in the Antiquarian Museum at Edinburgh, were a general affirmation of Protestantism.

3. The Second Covenant of 1559 followed the prohibition of meetings save under Episcopal sanction—an order aimed at Erskine—and it was anti-prelatic. The Congregation at Perth deputed six of their number to sign it on their behalf: that was in May.

4. On 1st August, at Stirling, the Third Covenant went a step farther: the signatures carried the bond to act together and to hold no separate dealings with the Queen Regent and the Bishops.

5. The Fourth Covenant, 27th April, 1560, went again farther: the French were driven out, and the death of the Queen Dowager rendered less urgent the need for the joint action subscribed to the previous year.

6. The Confessio Scotica was adopted by the Estates of Parliament. In 1562 the West of Scotland set its seal, by the meeting at Ayr, to the common cause.

7. In 1572 an Edinburgh Band was subscribed. In that year the Tulchan Bishops frustrated Knox's plan to keep the Church funds for the Church.

8. In 1581 "The King's Confession," abjuring Papacy, was signed by the King and thirty-one persons, chiefly of the royal household. This was signed in 1585 and 1587 by the Regents and Students of Edinburgh University, headed by Rollock.

9. In 1588 a "General Band for the maintenance of the true religion and the King's Majesties person and Estate" was signed by the King and others: the original is in the Glasgow University Library. This was in print, but Laing is unable to say to what extent it was signed in Edinburgh and elsewhere: this is the Renewal of the Covenant by the Assembly at Edinburgh in response to the stimulus of the Service Book.

10. In 1638 the National Covenant abjured Prelacy as its predecessor of 1586 abjured Papacy. This is the unsigned document in the Mitchell Library, a beautiful parchment skin, finely engrossed by William Lawrie in Edinburgh, with ornamental border and the opening words in gold. Why was it not signed? It bears to be authorised by the Assembly at Glas-

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gow, which was held, though forbidden. The mystery is the greater that the Covenant had been largely signed in the Greyfriars Churchyard at Edinburgh, while the defections at Glasgow and Aberdeen had been few, though Zachary Boyd was among them.

11. In 1643 the Solemn League and Covenant was adopted as a means of uniting England and Scotland in a common policy. The Parliament and the Westminster Assembly desired a civil league against the King's party, the Scottish Assembly adding thereto religious elements. The resulting document adopted for both countries was ordained to be signed by "all His Majesty's good subjects, under civil penalties as well as Church censures." The document, printed by Evan Tyler, King's printer, was issued with blank leaves for signatures, and copies were scattered broadcast.

## II.—NOTES ON THE LANFINE COPY OF THE COVENANT.

By Professor Young.

This copy is without place of signature. A writer in the *Scottish National Memorials*, Glasgow, 1890, says it was signed at Bridgeton or on the south side of Glasgow, for the first signature is that of Pa. Gillespie: but it is not, it is Al. Gillespie, without possibility of doubt. And even if it had been Pa., that with the second signature of Ninian Anderson, bailie, need not have proved anything, for it was not unusual to have leading names at the head of parish subscription sheets, to encourage the signatories. The analysis of signatures is less interesting than Mr. Addison found those of the Graham copy (*infra*). There are 148 surnames, most of them characteristic of Glasgow: Anderson, Bogle, Hamilton, Coatts, Woodrow, Walkinshaw, Tennent; no English names; two Campbells, one Gordon, four Stewarts, nine Macs, a result similar to that among the University names.

Ninian Hill occurs, probably one of the ancestors of Dr. W. H. Hill of Barlanark, whose family has been so closely associated with the University

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professoriate, and through the firm with the University business. Ninian Hill married Helen Hutcheson, sister of the founders of the Hospital. He was thus Hill of Lambhill and Gairbraid: his son, Ninian, who (1649) married Jean Caldwell of Caldwell, is, I suppose, the subscriber, and, if so, father of him who married Mary Crawford of Jordanhill. Was Ninian's signature given at his parish of Caldwell?

Ninian Anderson was appointed bailie, in 1634, by the Archbishop, having already, as a cordiner, been deacon-convener (1605) and treasurer.

There is a ghostly look about the list: names pass before one, each associated with the active life of the city and the times, yet not one fixed to any event, none permitting of certain identification. It is more distressing that, in a place evidently near to the city, the names familiar for good or brave deeds are absent. If Kincaid points to the Lennox, Kid, Lyell, Lytoun indicate an eastern source. The names that have disappeared, in the west at any rate, are few: Briscat, Carbarnes (farm near Milnwood), Hoggisyaird, Hyndstraw, Stappart, Stennie, a small number out of 148 in 250 years.

Of 243 subscribers 79 were unable to write, adding their names by notarial proxy. The notaries are John Selkirk, John Neil, Archibald Lowe, who cautiously describe their clients, "scribere nescientes ut asseruerunt," while John Neil states the fact as if he believed it. If the notaries are certainly of this diocese, we might get nearer to the locality.

## Notarial Attestations.

(*A*) Decimo septimo Decris 1648. We Johne Robesoune, Mungo Hyndstraw, Ninian Andersonne elder, James Braidwoode, Andro Lie, Jon ———, Jon Patersoune, Jon Tennent, Jon Carruthers, Rot. Glen, Jon Walker, Jo. Mekynnie, Jon Miller, Jon (?) Allasoune, Jam. Fergusoune, James Charters, Jon Clark, Rot. Cuik, Johne Cuminge, Tom. Jack, Niniane Locheid, James Gairdner, Thomas Cauldwall, Henrie Finlay, Jo. Glen, Leonard Kid, Gawane Lang, Jon Stok, wt our hands at ye notaries pen beand we cannot write.

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Ita est Joannes Selkirk, notarius publicus in premissis requisitis de mandato dictarum personarum scribere nescientium ut asseruerunt.

(*B*) We Peter Patoun, William Fairie, Johne Logie, David Echeirn, Robert Pollok, Niniane Andersoune elder, James Locheid, Patrick Howstoun, James Pollok, cowper, George Huchesowne, George Thomsoun, Robert Mitchell, David Riddell, William Crik, Thomas Glen, baxter, Robert Forsyth, Mathew Fawsyd, Jon Miller, William Craig, Michaell Blaire, David Peter, William Montgomerie, John Maxwell, John Wylie, Johne Neill, cordiner, Alexr. McKenzie, Thomas Gordoun, James Bryssoune, and William Glen with our hands at ye pen led be ye nottry following because we cannot write.

Ita est Joannes Neill, notarius publicus in premissis requisitis de mandatutis predictarum personarum scribere nescientium.

(*C*) We Robert and William Scottis, James Low, James Andersoune, James Wood, younger, cordiner, Mathew Currie, Arthour Jardine, Johne Mair, Thomas Macalpene, Walter Maxwell, Robert Linlithgow, Alexander Gray, James Scott, Robert Bonar, Thomas Stewart, John Gilkersone, Robert Derroche, younger, John Norie and William Carbarnes, with our hands at ye pen because we cannot wrett.

Ita est Magister Archibaldus Lowe notarius publicus ni premissis requisitis de mandato dictarum personarum scribere nescientium ut asseruerunt.

After these, on the blank space, are the following names irregularly disposed:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| William Norwill, | | |
| Alexander Woudropp, | Johne Lowk, | |
| Robert Adame, | Hendrie Craig, | |
| James Cuik, | David Andersoune, | John Lowk. |
| John Burne, | Johne Pinkcaitsoune, | |
| Robert Hodge, | John Kinkcaid, | |
| Robert Waird, | | |
| James Lyill, | | |

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## Alphabetical List of Signatures to the Lanfine Copy.

Adam, John.
Adam, William.
Adame, Patrick.
Adame, Robert.
Aitkin, William.
Alen, Robert, elder.
Allasoune, William.
Andersone, Ninian, bailie.
Andersonne, Ninian, elder.
Andersoune, Ard.
Andersoune, David.
Andersoune, Hen.
Andersoune, James.
Andersoune, Ninian.
Arnot, John.

Bell, James.
Bell, William.
Biggart, Johne.
Birsbane, J.
Birscatt, Jhon.
Blair, James.
Blair, Michaell.
Bogell, Robert, younger.
Bogill, James.
Bogill, William.
Bogle, Georg.
Bogle, Robert, elder.
Bogle, Williame.
Bonar, Robert.
Bontein, Robert.
Boyd, Jhone.
Boyd, John.
Braidwood, James.
Brone, Grihame.
Bryssoune, James.
Burne, Johne.

Campbell, Cuthbert.
Campbell, Robert.
Carbarnes, William.
Carruthers, Jon.
Cauldwall, Thomas.
Clark, Gabrial.
Clark, James, fil. major.
Clark, John.
Clerk, John.
Charters, James.
Coatts, John.
Colquhoune, Patrick.
Cook, George.
Craig, Hendrie.
Craig, Williame.
Crafurd, Robert.
Craufurd, Geo.
Crik, William.
Cruick, James, yr.
Cuik, James.
Cuik, Jon.
Cuik, Robert.
Cuming, Johne.
Cuming, Mathew.
Cuming, Robert.
Currie, Mathew.
Cuthbert, James.
Cuthbert, James.

Dainzell, Johne.

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Deluine, Robert.
Dennistoune, Andro.
Derroch, Robert.
Donelsoune, Robert.

Fairie, Robert.
Fairie, William.
Fawsyd, Mathew.
Fergison, John.
Fergusoune, James.
Ferlie, Thomas.
Finlay, Henrie.
Finlay, Robert.
Finlay, Willem.
Forsyd, Hendrie.
Forsyth, Robert.

Gairdner, James.
Gib, John.
Gibsonne, Andre.
Gifen, James.
Gilespie, Alexander.
Gilespie, William.
Gilfillane, Colin.
Gilkersone, John.
Glen, John.
Glen, Robert.
Glen, Thomas.
Glen, Thomas.
Glen, Thomas baxter.
Glen, William.
Gordoun, Thomas.
Grahame, J.
Gray, Alexander.
Gray, James.
Gray, Robert.

Hamiltoun, James.
Hamiltoune, Arther.
Hamiltoune, Patrick.
Hammil, Mathew.
Hastie, James.
Hendersone, Johne.
Hepburne, James.
Herbertsoun, John.
Hill, Niniane.
Hodge, Robert.
Hoggiszaird, Robert.
Hoggiszarde, William.
Howstoun, Patrick.
Huchesoune, George.
Huchisoune, David.
Hyndschaw, William.
Hyndstraw, James.
Hyndstraw, Mungo.

Inglis, Jacus.

Jack, Mungo.
Jacke, Johne.
Jak, William.
Jardine, Arthour.
Johnstoun, James.

Ker, Johne.
Kerr, James.
Kid, Leonard.
Kinkaid, James.
Kinkcaid, John.

Lamoun, Archd.
Lang, Gawane.
Lang, Patrick.
Lang, William.

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Lawsoune, Johne.
Lie, Andro.
Lindsay, James.
Linlithgow, Robert.
Listoune, Johne.
Locheid, J.
Locheid, James.
Locheid, Niniane.
Locheid, Walter.
Lochid, Hend.
Logie, Johne.
Look, David.
Louk, Georg.
Louk, Johne.
Low, James.
Lowk, Erd.
Lowk, John.
Lowk, —
Lyill, James.
Lytoune, John.

Macalpene, Thomas.
MacCherrell, John.
McClain, Charles.
McCuir, Robert.
McKenzie, Alexander.
McKynnie, Jo.
MacLane, Mathe.
Mair, Johne.
Makclae, Johne.
Makeleu, Thomas.
Marschell, Thomas.
Marshall, R.
Mathie, John.
Mathie, Mungo.
Maxwell, Alexander.
Maxwell, Ard.
Maxwell, John.
Maxwell, Walter.
Mer, James.
Miller, John.
Miller, John
Miller, Robert.
Mitchell, Robert.
Montgomerie, William.
Moresoune, Thomas.
Morisone, John.
Mour, John.
Muirhead, Williame.
Mure, Erchbald.

Neill, Johne, cordiner.
Neill, Johne.
Nisbit, Johne.
Nisbit, Johne.
Norie, Johne.
Norwill, William.

Orr, Johne.

Park, James.
Parke, Johne.
Patersoune, Jon.
Patoun, Peter.
Peter, David.
Pettigrew, Johne.
Pinkcartoune, Johne.
Pirman, John.
Pollok, James, cowper.
Pollok, James.
Pollok, Robert.

Rae, Robert.
Rid, John.

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The subscribers of the League and
COVENANT

Facsimile of two pages of Lanfine Copy.

THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE
LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

Facsimile of one page of Graham Copy.

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Riddell, David.
Robesoune, Henrie.
Robesoune, Johne.
Robesoune, Robert.
Robertson, John, yr.
Robertsonne, Patrick.
Robison, E.
Russell, Johne.

Scott, James.
Scott, James.
Scott, Jhone.
Scott, John.
Scott, Robert.
Scott, Thomas.
Scottis, Robert.
Scottis, William.
Selkirk, John.
Sempill, John.
Smith, John.
Smith, Thomas.
Stapart, Jhone.
Stennie (?), Johne.
Sterrling, William.
Steuart, Jhone.
Stewart, James.
Stewart, Thomas
Stewart, William.
Stok, John.

Tenent, Johne.
Tennent, Jon.
Thomsoune, George.
Thomsoune, John

Waird, Robert.
Walker, Jon.
Walker, John.
Walkinshaw, John.
Wallace, John.
Whyt, Walter.
Wilsone, Andrew.
Witherspone, Johne.
Woddrow, James.
Wodrow, John.
Wood, James, yr., cordiner.
Wood, John.
Woudropp, Alexander.
Wylie, John.
Wyllie, Johne.

## III.—NOTES ON THE GRAHAM COPY OF THE COVENANT.

By W. Innes Addison.

The signatories are all Members (Officers or Students) of the University of Glasgow.

The dates of signing are six in number, namely, 1643-44, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, and 1649.



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The total number of signatures, as detailed in the annexed Table A, is 532, but the 72 marked with a "D" are duplicates, so that the actual number of persons subscribing is 460. These are made up as follows:

| | Officers. | Students of Theology. | Students of Arts. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1643-4 | 15 | 30 | 146 | 191 |
| 1645 | ... | ... | 57 | 57 |
| 1646 | ... | ... | 34 | 34 |
| 1647 | ... | 2 | 19 | 21 |
| 1648 | 1 | 12 | 90 | 103 |
| 1649 | ... | ... | 54 | 54 |
| | 16 | 44 | 400 | 460 |

The duplication of signatures was probably due to carelessness on the part of those who supervised the signing. As already stated, the signatures were adhibited in six different years, and it is quite conceivable that the authorities would not always trouble to ascertain whether or not a student had subscribed on some previous occasion; a signature too many being safer than the omission to sign.

The statistics of the signatures, according to surnames, are fully given in Table B.

The subscriptions have been exhaustively compared with the official records of students, as printed in the *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* [Maitland Club, 1854]. With the exception of the 68 marked with a "U" in Table A, all have been identified with names in these records.

The Matriculation Albums of that period (reproduced verbatim in the

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*Munimenta*) do not, as a rule, contain any information beyond the names of the students, but a separate unindexed record (also printed in the *Munimenta*) supplies additional particulars, the parentage of the student being in many cases stated. From this the nationalities of 233 of the students have been ascertained. These are allocated as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Scotland, | 210 |
| England, | 15 |
| Ireland, | 8 |
| | 233 |

The *Scotsmen* are divided geographically thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Glasgow, | 31 | Dumbartonshire, | 4 |
| Other parts of Lanarkshire, | 22 | Linlithgowshire, | 5 |
| Ayrshire, | 39 | Fife, | 2 |
| Renfrewshire, | 17 | Kirkcudbright, | 2 |
| Wigtownshire, | 2 | Bute, | 2 |
| Forfarshire, | 1 | Aberdeen, | 1 |
| Stirlingshire, | 7 | Dumfriesshire, | 1 |
| Argyleshire, | 11 | Miscellaneous, | 57 |
| Edinburgh, | 4 | | |
| Perthshire, | 2 | | 210 |

*Englishmen*:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| "Anglus," without further specification, | 8 | Cheshire, | 2 |
| London, | 1 | Cumberland, | 1 |
| York, | 1 | | 15 |
| Lancashire, | 2 | | |

*Irishmen*:

| | |
|---|---|
| "Hibernia," without further specification, | 6 |
| Derry, | 1 |
| Down, | 1 |
| | 8 |

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The whole of the information as to parentage is given in italics in Table A, at the right-hand side of the pages. A few of the better-known families whose sons were subscribers may be here noted:

Agnew of Lochnaw.
Baillie of Lamington.
Ballantyne of Corhows (Corehouse?).
[1] "Dominus Archibaldus Campbellus, filius primogenitus illustrissimi Marchionis Argatheliensis."
"D. Nigellus Campbell," another son of the Marquis.
Campbell of Dunstaffnage.
Campbell of Auchinbreck.
Campbell of Knapdale.
Campbell of Loudon.
Cathcart.
Colquhoun of Luss.
Crawford of Jordanhill (doubtful—two students of same name).
Dunlop of Garnkirk.
Edmonstoune of Strathblane.
Hamilton of Bathgate.
Hamilton of Aernoke (Earnock?).
Houston of Houston.
Hunter of Hunterston.
Ker of Kersland.
M'Aulay of Ardencaple.
Maxwell of Eastwood.
Napier of Kilmahew.
Pringle of Torwoodlee.
Prymros of Culross.
Shaw of Greenock.
Stirling of Glorat.
Walkinshaw of Cardonald.
Whiteford of Milton.

Of the 233 signatories with whom we are at present dealing, 31 were sons of ministers, viz., in

Glasgow, 5 (including son of Prof. Baillie and son of Prof. Dickson).
Denny.
"Inchalleoghe" (now Buchanan).
"Noviodunens."
"Divum Macolum" (Kilmalcolm).
Alloa.
Stentoun.
Barnwell.
Craigie.
Carmunnock.
Inchinnan, 2.
Kippen.
Dreghorn.
Girvan.
Kirkhill.
Kirkmichael.
Mauchline, 2.
Leith.
Baldernock.
Lochrutton.
Roberton, 2.
Crawford-Douglas.
"Carhame in Anglia."
"Hibernia."

[1] Afterwards 9th Earl of Argyle—beheaded at Edinburgh, 30th June, 1685.

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Probably the most striking name (occurring in 1644) is "Joannes Snell, filius Andreae Snell in M'Calanstone," the founder (thirty-three years afterwards) of the Snell Exhibitions to Oxford. Assuming that his signature to the Covenant was a purely voluntary act, and the outcome of well-reasoned convictions, his opinions must have undergone a very remarkable evolution when from a strenuous advocate of Presbyterianism he became (in intention at least) the most munificent endower of Episcopacy in Scotland. That, by force of circumstances, his princely bequest turned out to be practically inoperative, so far as its prime object was concerned, is perhaps no less astonishing. It is not improbable, however, that in 1644 Snell was merely following the example of his fellow-students, or yielding to the pressure which was said to have been sometimes exerted in the procuring of signatures,—a pressure the measure of which is got in the order that "those indisposed to the Covenant shall be *delated to the Presbytery*." It must also be borne in mind that Snell was then a youth of fifteen, and that consequently his sentiments could not be very fully matured.

It is worthy of note that only 13 (or 2½ per cent.) of the 532 signatures have the Gaelic prefix "Mac," a fact which would seem to indicate that the Highland students were few in number, or that they did not largely subscribe, or were admitted to have signed elsewhere. In an index recently made up of the Glasgow matriculations from 1728 to 1858, and containing 17,083 names, the "Macs" mount up to 1866, or about 11 per cent., and for the present session (1897-98) they reach the still higher percentage of 14.

The following members of the staff subscribed:

John Strang, Principal.
Robert Ramsay, „
Zachary Boyd, Vice-Chancellor.
Robert Baillie, Professor and Dean of Faculty.
E. Wright, Dean of Faculty.
David Dickson, Professor.
Robert Maine, „
John Dickson, „
David Forsyth, Professor.
John Young, „
James Monro, „
William Sempill, „
Hugh Binning, Regent.
James Dalrymple, „
John Kirkpatrick, „
William Strang, „

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## Table A.—Alphabetical List of Signatures to the Graham Copy.

N.B.—The Arabic figures shew the year of signature ("16" being, of course, understood as prefixed in each case), and the Roman figures indicate the University class for that session.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| U. | Undeciphered | 44 | III. | |
| U. | Undeciphered | 49 | IV. | |
| U. | —— Adaire | 49 | IV. | |
| | Alexr. Adair | 49 | IV. | |
| | Andreas Agnew, major | 48 | III. | *filius primogenitus comarchi de Lochnaw.* |
| | Andreas Agnew, minor | 48 | III. | *filius Andreae de Killumpha.* |
| | Franciscus Aird | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Robertus Allexander | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus Roberti de Corsclayes.* |
| | An. Andersone | 47 | V. | *filius Georgii typographi Glasguensis.* |
| | Johannes Andirsone | 47 | IV. | |
| D. | Johannes Andersone | 48 | III. | *filius Johannis de Blook.* |
| U. | Joannes Andersonn | 49 | IV. | |
| | Joa. Ainslie | 45 | I. | |
| | Sam. Arnot | 46 | IV. | *filius Davidis Ar. de Barcaple.* |
| D. | Samuel Arnot | 48 | I. | |
| | Gulielmus Baylie | 44 | II. | |
| | Gulielmus Baillie | 48 | III. | *filius Jacobi de Carnbru.* |
| D. | Gullielmus Baillie | 49 | I. | |
| | Jacobus Ballie | 44 | IV. | *filius primogenitus Gul. Bailie de Lethem.* |
| U. | Joannes Baillie | 44 | II. | |
| | Robertus Baleus | 43 | Professor. | |
| D. | Robert Baillie | 48 | Dean of Faculty. | |
| | Robertus Baylie | 49 | IV. | *filius Magistri Roberti Baylie Professoris Theologiae.* |
| | Samuel Baillie Lamingtoune | 44 | V. | *filius primogenitus Gulielmi Baillie Equitis de Lamington.* |
| | Thomas Baylzie | 49 | IV. | *fileus Roberti civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Adamus Bairdius | 46 | IV. | *filius Adami Baird civis Sellae-Mornoci.* |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| D. | Ad. Baird | 48 | I. | |
| | Andreas Baird | 45 | V. | *filius Johanis Baird civis Glasgowansis.* |
| U. | J. Baird | 46 | IV. | |
| U. | J. Baird | 48 | I. | |
| | Johannes Ballantyne | 48 | II. | *filius Domini de Corhows.* |
| | Joa. Barclay | 45 | IV. | |
| D. | Mr. Joannes Barclay | 48 | I. | |
| | Georg. Barnes | 48 | IV. | *filius Joannis civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Humphridus Bell | 44 | II. | *filius Humphridi in Anglia in Comitatu Cumbriae.* |
| | James Bell | 44 | IV. | |
| D. | Ja. Bell | 45 | III. | *filius Magistri Johannis Bell quondam pastoris Glasguensis.* |
| | Hugh Binning | 43 | Regent. | |
| D. | Hugh Binning | 48 | Regent. | |
| | Hugh Binning | 44 | III. | *filius Joannis Binning in Maybol.* |
| | Bryce Blair | 44 | I. | |
| U. | Hugo Blair | 47 | III. | |
| | Hugo Blair | 48 | III. | *filius Magistri Hugonis ministri Glasguensis.* |
| D. | Jacobus Blair | 47 | IV. | |
| | Jacobus Blair, major | 48 | III. | *filius Roberti Blair de Bankend.* |
| | Jacobus Blair, minor | 48 | III. | *filius Jacobi civis Irviniensis.* |
| | Joannes Blair | 45 | III. | |
| | M. William Blair | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Johannes Blakader | 48 | III. | |
| | Geo. Bogille | 44 | V. | *filius Roberti Bougle civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Johna Bogle | 46 | I | |
| | Alexander Boyd | 45 | IV. | |
| | Andreas Boyd | 45 | IV. | |
| U. | J. Boyd. | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Johne Boyd | 44 | III. | *filius Johannis civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Robertus Boyd | 44 | I. | |
| | Robert Boyd | 44 | IV. | *filius Roberti Boyd de Cranberrimose.* |
| | Zacharias Boyd, Vice-Cancellar | 43 | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| U. | G. Birsbane | 47 | IV. | |
| | Gullielmus Brisbane | 48 | III. | *filius Magistri Mathei Birsbane.* |
| | Jo. Birsbane | 47 | IV. | |
| | Johannes Brisbane | 48 | III. | *filius Magistri Mathei Birsbane.* |
| | Matheus Brisban | 44 | III. | |
| | David Brone | 45 | V. | |
| | Gul. Browne | 45 | IV. | |
| U. | Gulielmus Broune | 49 | IV. | |
| | Joa. Broune, maj. | 45 | IV. | |
| | Joan. Browne, min. | 45 | IV. | |
| | Ric. Browne | 46 | IV. | *filius Ricardi civis Cellae-Mornoci.* |
| D. | Ricardus Brown | 48 | I. | |
| | Robertus Broun | 44 | III. | *filius Ricardi Broun civis Cellae-Marnoci.* |
| | Samuel Bruen | 44 | III. | *Anglus filius Calvini Bruen in Comitatu Cestriae.* |
| | William Brownesword | 44 | III. | |
| D. | Gulielmus Brounsword | 45 | II. | *Anglus filius Joannis in Comitatu Lancashire.* |
| U. | J. Browse | 48 | I. | |
| U. | G. Buchanan | 47 | IV. | |
| | Gilbertus Buchanan | 48 | III. | *filius Joannis Glasguensis pistoris.* |
| | Gull. Burnett | 48 | I. | *de Cringelti.* |
| | Ricardus Callender | 45 | V. | *filius Alexandri Callenderi Pastoris apud Dennie.* |
| | Archibald Cameroune | 44 | IV. | *filius Magistri Archibaldi Cameroune pastoris de Inchalleoghe.* |
| | Johannes Camerone | 44 | IV. | *filius M. Eugenij Cameronis pastoris Noviodunensis.* |
| | A. Campbell | 44 | IV. | *Dominus Archibaldus Campbellus filius primogenitus illustrissimi Marchionis Argatheliensis.* |
| | Archibaldus Campbell | 48 | II. | *filius Georgii Shireff de Argadia.* |
| | Collinus Campbell | 46 | V. | *filius Archibaldi Campbell de Dunstafnig.* |
| | Colinus Campbellus | 47 | IV. | *filius Magistri Niniani Cam. pastoris apud Divum Macolum.*[1] |

[1] Kilmalcolm.

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dugaldus Campbell Auchinbreck | 44 | V. | *filius primogenitus Duncani Campbell Equitis de Auchinbreck.* |
| | Duncanus Campbell | 48 | III. | *filius Magistri Dugaldi Campbell apud Knapdail.* |
| | Hew Campbell | 44 | III. | |
| U. | M. J. Campbell | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Jacobus Campbell | 44 | IV. | *Dominus Jacobus Campbellus a Machline Vicecomes filius primogenitus Comitis de Loudun regni Cancellarii.* |
| | Jacobus Campbell | 44 | IV. | *filius Jacobi Campbell Novimulensis.* |
| U. | Joannes Campbell | 44 | II. | |
| | Johne Campbell | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus Roberti in Stenranert.* |
| | Johne Campbell | 44 | III. | |
| | Johne Campbell | 44 | III. | |
| | D. Nigellus Campbell | 46 | V. | *filius Marchionis Argatheliae.* |
| D. | Nigellus Campbell | 48 | III. | |
| | Patricius Campbell | 48 | III. | *filius Magistri Dugaldi Campbell apud Knapdaile.* |
| U. | M. Alexander Cant | 43 | Theology. | |
| | Gulielmus Carmichael | 47 | II. | *filius Mauritii Carmichael in Eastend.* |
| D. | Gulielmus Carmichel | 48 | I. | |
| U. | M. J. Carmichaell | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Mr. J. Carstairs | 47 | Theology. | |
| | Al. Cathcart | 44 | III. | *Dominus Alanus Cathcart de Cathcart.* |
| | James Cathcart | 44 | III. | |
| U. | Jo. Cathcart | 44 | IV. | |
| U. | William Cathcart | 44 | III. | |
| | Wm. Cathcart | 44 | IV. | *filius Gulielmi Cathcart in Cariltoune.* |
| | Guliellmus Cauldwell | 44 | IV. | *Glasguensis.* |
| D. | Will. Cauldwell | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Robertus Caustonus | 49 | I. | |
| | Gulielmus Cheislie | 46 | V. | |
| D. | Gul. Cheislie | 48 | II. | |
| | Ja. Clark, fili. | 48 | III. | *filius Jacobi Glasgowensis.* |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Guilielmus Cleland | 44 | II. | |
| | Jacobus Cleland | 44 | I. | |
| | Gulliellmus Cochran | 48 | V. | *primogenitus Domini Cochran.* |
| | Jacobus Cockburne | 49 | IV. | |
| U. | James Colquhoune | 44 | III. | |
| | Johannes Colquhoun | 44 | I. | |
| | J. Colquhoune Lusse | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus Domini Lusse.* |
| U. | Johne Colquhoune | 44 | III. | |
| | Jacobus Craig | 49 | III. | |
| | Joannes Craigingelt | 45 | V. | *filius Magistri Joannis Craigingelt pastoris Alluensis.*[1] |
| | Andro Craufurd | 44 | IV. | *filius Guil. Craufurd de Drings.* |
| | Hend. Craufurd | 45 | V. | *filius Henrici Craufurd civis Glasguensis.* |
| D. | Henricus Craufurd | 49 | III. | |
| | Hugo Craufurd | 44 | V. | *filius Patricii Craufurd ab Achnaimes,* or *filius primogenitus Cornelli Crafurd a Jordanhill.* |
| | James Craufurd | 44 | III. | |
| | Claudius Crechtoune | 46 | IV. | *filius Magistri Joannis Crichtoun in Hibernia.* |
| D. | Claudius Crichtonne | 48 | I. | |
| | Andreas Cruiks | 44 | III. | *filius Joannis Cruikes apud Cellam-Marnoci.* |
| | Guleilmus Cruix | 44 | IV. | |
| D. | Guleilmus Cruiks | 45 | III. | *Irvenensis.* |
| U. | Alexr. Cunninghame | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Alexander Cunninghame | 46 | I. | *filius Gulielmi civis Edinburgenae.* |
| | Allanus Conynghame | 44 | Theology. | |
| U. | D. Cunynghame | 43 | Theology. | |
| | David Cuninghame | 47 | III. | |
| D. | David Cunninghame | 48 | II. | *filius Joannis Airae.* |
| | Richard Cunynghame | 44 | I. | |
| | William Conynghame | 44 | II. | |
| U. | William Cunynghame | 44 | III. | *filius Gulielmi defuncti Custodis Deputati Privati Sigilli.* |
| | William Conninghame | 44 | III. | *filius Alexandri a Corssel.* |

[1] Alloa.

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gui. Cunningham | 47 | IV. | *filius Johannis Cunninghame in Erskine.* |
| U. | Gullielmus Cunynghame | 48 | II. | |
| | Guilielmus Cunningham | 48 | III. | *filius Magistri Adami de Privik.* |
| U. | James Cunynhame | 44 | I. | |
| | Jacobus Cunyngham | 44 | IV. | *filius Christiani Cunyngham de Waterstoun.* |
| | Johannes Cunynghame | 48 | IV. | *filius Joannis de Bedland.* |
| | Robertus Conynghame | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus Johannis de Gilbertfeild.* |
| | Andreas Dalrymple | 44 | III. | |
| | Jac. Dalrymple | 43 | Regent. | |
| | Jacobus Dalrymple | 44 | III. | *filius quondam Magistri ministri de Stentoun.* |
| | Jacobus Dalrymple | 44 | IV. | *filius Magistri Andreae Dalrymple in Mauchlein.* |
| | Jacobus Daliell | 47 | III. | *filius Jacobi de Jhonstone.* |
| D. | James Dalzell | 48 | II. | |
| | Jo. Deckie | 45 | III. | *de Bagret.* |
| | Alexander Dickson | 44 | I. | |
| U. | Alexr. Dickson | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Archibaldus Dicksone | 49 | IV. | *filius Magistri Davidis Professoris Theologiae in Academia Glasguensi.* |
| | David Dickson | 43 | Professor. | |
| D. | David Dickson | 48 | Professor. | |
| | Johne Dickson | 43 | Professor. | |
| | Jo. Dicksonus | 46 | IV. | *filius Quintini Dicksone civis Dalmellingtonencis.* |
| | Joa. Dicksone | 48 | I. | *filius Hairtrie.* |
| | Gulielmus Douglas | 44 | V. | *filius Valteri Douglasse de Caystoune.* |
| | Johne Douglas | 44 | III. | |
| | Joannes Drew | 49 | IV. | |
| | Alexr. Dunbar | 49 | IV. | |
| | Joannes Duncansone | 48 | II. | *filius Roberti Inverariensis.* |
| | Alexr. Dunlop | 48 | IV. | *Magistri Alexri. Dunlop filius.* |
| | Hugo Dunlope | 48 | IV. | *filius Gulielmi Glasguensis Edilis.* |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Jacobus Dunlop | 48 | V. | *filius Magistri Johannis de Garnkirk.* |
| U. | Jacobus Dunlop | 49 | III. | |
| | James Edmonstoune | 44 | III. | *filius quondam Jacobi in Streblaene.* |
| | Guilielmus Edmonstoune | 48 | III. | *filius Magistri Johanis de Broich.* |
| | Jacobus Esdail | 48 | III. | *filius Johannis Caellavinensis.* |
| | Gulielmus Euart | 45 | III. | |
| | Robertus Ffairlie | 49 | IV. | |
| D. | Thom. Fforgous | 46 | IV. | |
| | Thom. Ffergous | 48 | II. | |
| | Alexr. Fergussone | 47 | III. | |
| D. | Alexander Fergussone | 48 | II. | *filius Magistri Joannis ministri a Barnweil.*[1] |
| U. | Archibald Fergusone | 43 | Theology. | |
| | Gulielmus Fergusson | 44 | I. | |
| | James Ferrier | 44 | III. | *filius Petri civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Mr. Johne Ferrier | 43 | Theology. | |
| U. | Jacobus Ffindlay | 49 | IV. | |
| | Edmundus Ffleetwood | 49 | III. | |
| | Alexr. Fleiming | 49 | IV. | |
| U. | Jacobus Fleming | 44 | I. | |
| U. | Joannes Flemyng, filius natu maximus Domini Flemyng | 49 | IV. | |
| U. | Patricius Fleming | 49 | IV. | |
| | Johannes Fork | 48 | II. | *filius D. Gul. Fork Galstonensis.* |
| | Da. Forsithe | 43 | Professor. | |
| | Wal. Forsythe | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Gul. Ffrieland | 47 | IV. | *filius Roberti Frieland, Erskine.* |
| D. | Gulielmus Ffriland | 48 | III. | |
| | J. Frilandus | 47 | IV. | |
| D. | Joannes Firland | 48 | III. | |
| | Gulielmus Fullartoune | 49 | IV. | |
| | Jacobus Fullertoune | 45 | IV. | |
| | Thomas Ffultoune | 48 | IV. | |
| | Archibald Galbraith | 44 | II. | |

[1] Barnwell, Ayrshire.

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gu. Galbraithe | 44 | IV. | *filius Johannis Galbraithe in Blardardie.* |
| | Gull. Galt | 45 | IV. | |
| | Jacobus Gardiner | 47 | III. | |
| D. | Jacobus Gardiner | 48 | II. | *filius Jacobi G. Britanno-Dunensis.* |
| | Gulielmus Garner | 45 | III. | *Anglus.* |
| | Gulielmus Gemil | 49 | IV. | |
| | Petrus Gemmil | 46 | IV. | |
| | Al. Gibsone | 43 | Theology. | |
| | Hendricus Gibsoune | 44 | II. | |
| | Gul. Gilkrisonne | 45 | IV. | |
| D. | William Gilkrisoune | 48 | Theology. | |
| U. | Jacobus Gillespe | 49 | III. | |
| | Joannes Glen | 47 | V. | |
| D. | Johannes Glen | 48 | IV. | *filius Thomae civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Alexander Gordoun | 44 | I. | |
| U. | Alexr. Gordoune | 48 | Theology. | |
| U. | Mr. James Gordoune | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Archibald Grahame | 44 | I. | |
| | Matheus Grahame | 48 | II. | *filius Walteri in Mauchlane.* |
| | George Gray | 44 | III. | *filius Nigelli, Irviniae.* |
| | Jo. Gray | 46 | IV. | |
| | Joannes Gray | 47 | IV. | |
| D. | Joannes Gray | 48 | III. | *filius Joannis Gray Lanarkae.* |
| | Alexander Hamiltone | 45 | V. | *frater Thome.* See *infra.* |
| | Alexr. Hamiltoune | 47 | II. | *filius Joannis Ham., in Keneil.* |
| | Alexr. Hamiltonne | 48 | I. | |
| | Alexander Hamilton | 48 | IV. | *frater Comarchi de Bathgat.* |
| U. | Archibaldus Hamiltonius | 49 | III. | |
| | Carolus Hamiltone | 47 | IV. | |
| D. | Carolus Hamilton | 48 | III. | *filius Francisci Hamiltone Equitis Aurati.* |
| | David Hamiltone | 49 | IV. | |
| | Geo. Hamilton | 45 | IV. | |
| | Gulielmus Hamiltone | 49 | IV. | |
| | Jacobus Hamiltoune | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus Roberti de Akinheid.* |
| | James Hamiltone | 44 | III. | *filius Edvardi a Silvertounhill.* |

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|---|---|---|---|
| | Jacobus Hamiltoune | 44 III. | *juneor de Dallserffe.* |
| | Jacobus Hamiltone | 49 IV. | *filius Joannes Ham. de Aernoke.* |
| | Joannes Hammiltoune | 44 III. | *filius Magistri Joanis ministri de Cragy.* |
| | Johanes Hamiltoune | 44 IV. | *Alexandri Hamiltone de Hags filius primogenitus.* |
| | Mr. Johne Hamiltoun | 44 Theology. | |
| | Joannes Hamiltounus | 47 III. | |
| U. | Joannes Hamiltoune | 47 III. | |
| | Jo. Hamiltoune | 47 IV. | *filius Joannis Hammiltoune de Wdstoune.* |
| D. | Joannes Hamiltonius | 48 II. | |
| U. | Joannes Hamiltonius | 48 II. | |
| | J. Hamiltonne, minor | 48 III. | *filius Joannis Dariensis in Hibernia.* |
| | Joannes Hamiltonne, major | 48 III. | *filius Joan. in Mochlinholl.* |
| | Joannes Hammiltoun | 49 IV. | *filius defuncti Claudii in parochia Hamiltoniane.* |
| | Robertus Hamiltoune | 45 IV. | *frater Thomae.* See *infra.* |
| | Rob. Hamiltone | 48 IV. | |
| U. | Thomas Hamiltoune | 44 II. | |
| | Thomas Hamiltoune | 45 V. | *a Bathgait.* |
| | Johannes Hatrik | 48 IV. | *filius Jacobi de Kilmacolme.* |
| | M. Andrew Hay | 44 Theology. | *filius Domini J. Hay.* |
| | G. Hay | 46 I. | *frater Thomae.* See *infra.* |
| | Gul. Hay | 45 IV. | |
| | Hen. Hayus | 46 I. | *frater Joannis Haii qui proxime sequitur.* |
| | Joa. Hay | 46 I. | *filius Magistri Gulielmi Scribae Fori Supremi.* |
| | Thomas Haius | 46 I. | *filius Domini Joannis Haii Equitis.* |
| | Ffrederick Hendryson | 44 IV. | *filius Magistri Davidis Hendrysone in Kilmauria.* |
| | Georgius Herbertsoune | 49 IV. | |
| | Josephus Heriote | 48 I. | *filius quondam Jacobi Herioti Angli.* |
| | Ninian Hill | 43 Theology. | |
| | Robertus Hodgsyaird | 48 V. | *filius Roberti Hodgsyaird civis Glasguensis.* |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Daniel Hodson Anglus | 45 | III. | *Anglus.* |
| | Johannes Hopwood Anglus | 45 | III. | *Anglus.* |
| | Joannes Horner | 44 | I. | |
| | Gulielmus Houstoune | 49 | III. | |
| | J. Houstoune | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus Ludovici Equitis de Houstoune.* |
| | Georgius Hunter | 47 | IV. | |
| D. | Georgius Hunter | 48 | III. | *filius Hugonis Hunter Machlenensis.* |
| | Hen. Hunter | 46 | IV. | *filius Patricii de Hunterstoune.* |
| D. | Hendricus Hunter | 48 | I. | |
| | Mr. Andrew Hutchesoun | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Georg. Huchisone | 46 | IV. | |
| D. | Georgius Hutchisone | 48 | II. | |
| | Jacobus Hucheson | 44 | II. | *filius quondam Magistri Jacobi ministri Carmunocke.* |
| | Joannes Huchisoune | 44 | IV. | *filius Johannis Huchesoune de Glangall* |
| | Joannes Hutchison | 45 | IV. | |
| | Mr. William Jack | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Joseph Johnson | 44 | III. | *filius Richardi in Comitatu Cestriae.* |
| | Gul. Kelso | 45 | IV. | |
| | Robertus Kelso | 49 | III. | |
| | Alexr. Kennedy | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus Jacobi de Bogend.* |
| | Georgius Kennedy | 49 | III. | |
| U. | J. Kennedie | 44 | I. | |
| | Tho. Kennedy | 47 | IV. | *filius Thomae Glanebuensis in Hibernia.* |
| | Robertus Ker | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus Hugonis de Kersland.* |
| | Joa. Kirkpatrik | 43 | Regent. | |
| D. | Joa. Kirkpatrik | 48 | Regent. | |
| | Alexander Knox | 44 | V. | *filius Joannis Knox in Bernes.* |
| | David Landaill | 48 | IV. | |
| | Gul. Lang | 46 | IV. | *filius Roberti in Dumdocher.* |
| D. | Gullielmus Lang | 48 | I. | |
| | Gulielmus Lauder | 48 | V. | *filius Alexandri Edinburgeni.* |
| | Georgius Laurie | 47 | V. | |

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| D. | Georgius Laurie | 48 IV. | *filius Davidis Lawrie civis Glasguensis.* |
| U. | Johne Laurie | 48 Theology. | |
| | James Law | 44 III. | *filius primogenitus Magistri Thomae pastoris Inchinen.* |
| | Joannes Law | 48 IV. | *filius defuncti Davidis civis Kirkaldiensis.* |
| | Joannes Law | 49 IV. | |
| | Robert Law | 44 III. | *filius Magistri Thomae ministri de Inchinnane.* |
| | Tobias Legge | 45 II. | |
| U. | Richard Leighe Anglus | 45 III. | |
| U. | Patricius Leightoune | 48 IV. | |
| | Alexr. Lennox | 44 III. | *filius Jacobi de Woodhead.* |
| U. | J. Lennox | 44 III. | |
| | Hen. Levingston | 47 IV. | |
| D. | Henricus Levingstone | 48 III. | *filius Magistri Henrici Levingston pastoris apud Kippen.* |
| | Gul. Lightbodie | 44 IV. | |
| D. | Gulielmus Lightbodie | 45 III. | *Glasguensis.* |
| | Jacobus Lindsay | 44 IV. | |
| D. | Jac. Lindsay | 45 III. | *filius M. Gulliellmi Lindsay pastoris de Dreghorne.* |
| | Robertus Lockhart | 44 II. | |
| | Robert Lokhart | 44 Theology. | |
| D.[1] | Lorne | 44 III. | |
| | Gavin Lowdoune | 46 IV. | |
| | Edwardus Lownde | 45 II. | |
| U. | Edwardus Lyall | 44 II. | |
| | Georgius M'Adam | 48 III. | *filius Jacobi Airensis.* |
| | Joannes M'Adam | 48 III. | *filius Jacobi civis Ayrensis.* |
| | Robertus M'Aulay | 44 V. | *filius Walteri M'Aulay de Ardingaple.* |
| | Joannes M'Cersie | 49 IV. | |
| U. | J. MacClain | 44 IV. | |
| | Thomas M'Connell | 44 III. | *filius Thomae in Brockloghe.* |
| | Jacobus M'Ghye | 48 III. | *filius Magistri Gulielmi de Kirkcudbright.* |

[1] See A. Campbell.

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Johne M'Gilchrist | 44 | IV. | *filius Roberti M'Gilchrist praefecti Rothesaiea in Bota.* |
| | Guil. M'Kerrell | 45 | IV. | |
| | Gul. M'Lellan | 46 | IV. | *Kirkcuburgensis.* |
| D. | Gulielmus M'Lellan | 48 | I. | |
| | Jo. M'Letchie | 46 | IV. | *filius Joannis civis Aerensis.* |
| | Donaldus M'Vicar | 48 | II. | *filius Malculmi Inerariensis.* |
| | Johas Madeoke | 46 | I. | |
| | Henri Maine | 47 | Theology. | |
| | Ro. Maine | 43 | Professor of Medicine. | |
| U. | Gullielmus Maxwell | 49 | IV. | |
| | J. Maxwell | 48 | III. | |
| D. | J. Maxwell | 49 | IV. | |
| | Jo. Maxwell | 47 | IV. | *filius Magistri Joanis in Eastwoode.* |
| | Robertus Maxwel | 47 | III. | |
| D. | Robertus Maxwell | 48 | III. | *filius Alexandri civis Glasguensis.* |
| U. | Thomas Melvill | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Andreas Millerus | 46 | IV. | *filius Magistri Andreae Millar ministri Girvani.* |
| D. | Andreas Millar | 48 | I. | |
| U. | Mr. Hew Miller | 43 | Theology. | |
| | Mr. James Mitchell | 43 | Theology. | |
| U. | Robertus Mitchell | 49 | IV. | |
| | J. Moasas | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Ja. Monro | 43 | Professor. | |
| D. | Ja. Monro | 48 | Professor. | |
| | Johannes Monteithe | 44 | V. | *filius quondam Magistri Jacobi Monteith de Santanae.* |
| U. | Jo. Montethe | 46 | I. | |
| | David Montgomerie | 44 | III. | *filius Johannis defuncti de Cokilbie primogenitus.* |
| | Guil. Montgomerie | 45 | IV. | |
| | Guilielmus Montgomerie | 49 | IV. | |
| | Thos. Montgomerie | 44 | IV. | *filius quondam Pastoris de Kirkhil.* |
| D. | James Moore | 48 | I. | |
| | Jacobus Muire | 45 | IV. | |
| | Gull. Muir | 45 | IV. | |



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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Joannes Muire | 48 | IV. | *filius Gulielmi Gavoniensis.* |
| | Joannes Muire | 49 | IV. | |
| | Johne Mowat | 44 | III. | |
| | Jacobus Mouatt | 48 | IV. | *filius defuncti Jacobi de Buslie.* |
| | Robertus Mouat | 44 | III. | |
| | Johne Muirheid | 44 | III. | *filius M. Jacobi M. de Bredingsolme.* |
| | Jacobus Murray | 48 | II. | *filius Magistri Marci pastoris Ecclesiae de Carhame in Anglia.* |
| | And. Myrtone | 47 | Theology. | |
| D. | Andr. Myrtone | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Joannes Napeir | 44 | II. | *trimogenitus Killmahew.* |
| | Thomas Neper | 44 | I. | |
| | Jacobus Nasmyth | 47 | II. | |
| D. | James Nasmyth | 48 | I. | *filius Jacobi Nasmyth de Posso.* |
| | Jacobus Neving | 47 | IV. | *filius Thomae de Munkredding.* |
| | Archibaldus Nisbetus | 46 | IV. | |
| D. | Arch. Nisbitt | 48 | I. | |
| | James Nisbet | 44 | IV. | *filius Gavini Nisbit mercatoris Civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Ja. Nisbet | 46 | IV. | |
| D. | Jacobus Nisbitt | 48 | II. | |
| U. | Jeremias O'Quinus | 44 | I. | |
| | Johne Osburne | 44 | III. | *filius Hendrici civis Airensis.* |
| | Alexander Park | 44 | III. | *filius Joannis Park Kilvinini.* |
| | Andreas Park | 47 | III. | |
| D. | Andreas Park | 48 | II. | *filius Johanis in Kilwinning.* |
| | John Park | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Robertus Patoune | 45 | IV. | |
| | Robertus Patoune | 49 | IV. | |
| | Jacobus Patrick | 48 | III. | *filius Jacobi Cellaevinensis.* |
| | Johanes Peibles | 44 | IV. | *filius quondam Hugonis Peibles Scoto-Hiberni.* |
| | Patricius Peibles | 49 | III. | *filius Magistri Roberti pastoris in Kirkmichell.* |
| | Thomas Peebel | 49 | III. | |
| | Hugo Penmango | 44 | IV. | *Machlinensis.* |
| | George Pitt | 44 | I. | *Anglus filius Rolandi Pitt Londini.* |
| | George Pollok | 44 | I. | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Johanes Pollok | 44 | IV. | |
| D. | Joha. Pollok | 45 | III. | *Glasguensis.* |
| U. | Joa. Pollock | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Jacobus Porterus | 47 | IV. | |
| D. | Jacobus Porter | 48 | III. | *filius Jacobi civis Irvenensis.* |
| U. | H. Porterfield | 49 | II. | |
| | Williame Porterfeild | 44 | III. | *filius Alexandri a Duchall.* |
| | Georgius Pringallus | 46 | III. | *filius Joanis Pring. civis Edinburgeni.* |
| | Georgius Pringallus | 46 | IV. | *filius natu maximus Jacobi a Torwodlie.* |
| | Jo. Prymros | 44 | IV. | *Gull. Prymrosii filius Colrosensis.* |
| | Jacobus Ramsaeus | 44 | IV. | *filius Magistri Roberti Ramsay pastoris Glasguensis.* |
| U. | James Ramsay | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Robertus Ramisaeus | 43 | Principal. | |
| | Gulilmus Reid | 45 | IV. | |
| | Joannes Reid | 44 | II. | |
| | Joan. Reid | 49 | II. | *filius Joannis Irviniensis.* |
| | Donald Richmond | 44 | I. | |
| | Andreas Robertsoune | 44 | I. | |
| | Mr. W. Rod | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Rodolphus Rodger | 44 | I. | *filius Gullielmi defuncti civis Aierensis.* |
| | Jac. Rollok | 46 | I. | *filius Herculis Rolloci Andriopolitani.* |
| | Andreas Rose | 49 | III. | |
| | Jo. Rose | 44 | IV. | |
| D. | Joannes Rosse | 45 | III. | *Joannes Rosa Magistri Joannis Rosae filius quondam pastoris de Machlin.* |
| U. | Joa. Rose | 48 | Theology. | |
| | Jacobus Rowat | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Gul. Sanders | 49 | IV. | |
| | Johannes Sandes | 44 | II. | *filius Gulielmi in Hibernia in Comitatu Medensi.* |
| | George Schaw | 44 | I. | |
| | Gulielmus Schaw | 47 | IV. | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| D. | Guilielmus Schaw | 48 | III. | *filius Johannis Domini Bairgarran.* |
| | Hew Schaw | 44 | III. | *filius Johannis de Grinok.* |
| | James Shaue | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus quondam Patricii in Comitatu Dunensi in Hybernia.* |
| | Thomas Scherer | 49 | IV. | |
| | Gabriel Sempill | 48 | V. | *frater Comarchi de Cathcart.* |
| | Wi. Sempill | 43 | Professor. | |
| | Gulielmus Semplius | 44 | II. | |
| | David Sharpe | 49 | IV. | *filius Magistri Jacobi Sharpe pastoris Lethensis.* |
| | Gilbertus Simson | 48 | II. | *filius Joannis Iravanensis.* |
| | Gulielmus Smyth | 49 | III. | "*his father ... duellis neir Aberdein.*" |
| | Hugo Smith | 47 | III. | |
| D. | Hugo Smith | 48 | II. | *filius Hugonis Smyth Cellivensis.* |
| U. | Jacobus Smith | 49 | IV. | |
| | Joannes Snell | 44 | III. | *filius Andreae Snell in M'Calanstone.* |
| | M. Andrew Snype | 43 | Theology. | |
| U. | Mr. —— Stewart | 43 | Theology. | |
| | Archibaldus Stewart | 44 | II. | *filius Davidis defuncti in Insula Bota.* |
| | Jacobus Steuart | 44 | V. | |
| D. | Jacobus Stewart | 45 | IV. | *filius primogenitus Jacobi Steuart a Chryswall.* |
| | Jacobus Stewart | 47 | II. | *Glasguensis.* |
| | Joannes Stewart | 47 | III. | |
| D. | Joannes Stewart | 48 | II. | *filius Magistri Gavini Glasguensis.* |
| | David Stirling | 49 | IV. | |
| | Georgius Stirlinng | 48 | III. | *filius primogenitus Domini de Glorat.* |
| | Guilielmus Stirling | 44 | II. | *filius Magistri Gulielmi defuncti in Dumblane.* |
| D. | Gulielmus Stirling | 45 | III. | *filius Magistri Joh. Stirling pastoris de Baldernoke.* |
| | Willielmus Stirling | 44 | IV. | |
| | Jacobus Stirling | 45 | IV. | |
| | Joannes Stirling | 44 | II. | *filius Alexandri in Stewartoun.* |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | J. Stirling | 44 | V. | *filius primogenitus Joannis Stirling de Craigbarnard.* |
| | John Strang | 43 | Principal. | |
| D. | John Strang | 48 | Principal. | |
| | Will. Strang | 48 | Regent. | |
| | William Strang | 44 | IV. | *filius Doctoris Strange gymnasiarchae.* |
| | Mr. William Thomson | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Torphichen | 44 | III. | [*Doubtless Scotland*]. |
| | Alexander Tran | 48 | IV. | *filius Magistri Alexandri Tran ministri de Lochrutton.* |
| | Hugh Vauss | 43 | Theology. | |
| | David Vetcheus | 46 | IV. | *filius Magistri Joannis Vetche M. pastoris Robertoune.* |
| D. | David Vetche | 48 | I. | |
| U. | Mr. J. Vetche | 44 | Theology. | |
| | Jac. Vetche | 46 | IV. | *filius praedicti Pastoris*—see David Vetcheus. |
| D. | Jacobus Vetche | 48 | I. | |
| | Hugo Walker | 48 | III. | *filius Jacobi Novimollensis.* |
| | Johan. Walker | 46 | I. | |
| | Ja. Walkinshaw | 48 | I. | *filius Magistri Joannis Walkinshaw a Walkinshaw.* |
| | Jo. Walkinschawe | 46 | IV. | *filius Mag. Jacobi de Cardonald.* |
| | Patricius Walkinshaw | 44 | II. | |
| | Georgius Wallace | 49 | III. | |
| | Guil. Wallace | 45 | IV. | |
| | Gulielmus Wallace | 48 | III. | *filius Roberti Wallace de Brighouse.* |
| D. | Gulielmus Wallace | 49 | IV. | |
| | Joannes Wallace | 44 | III. | *filius primogenitus Roberti Wallace de Brighouse.* |
| | Joannes Wallace | 48 | I. | |
| | Robertus Wallace | 49 | IV. | |
| | Johes Wallworke | 44 | IV. | |
| D. | Johes Wallwork | 45 | III. | *filius Nicholai Wallworke Manchestriensis.* |
| | Samuel Ward Anglus | 45 | III. | *Anglus.* |
| | Robertus Watsoune | 45 | IV. | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Robertus Watsoune | 49 | IV. | |
| | Gull. Weir | 45 | IV. | |
| | Jacobus Weir | 47 | III. | |
| D. | Jacobus Weir | 48 | II. | *filius Jacobi Hamiltoniensis.* |
| | James Welshe | 44 | III. | |
| | John Welsch | 44 | III. | *filius quondam Josiae Ministri in Hibernia.* |
| | Petrus Whetcombe Anglus | 45 | III. | *Anglus.* |
| | Rob. Whyte | 46 | IV. | *filius Joannis civis Sella-Mornoci.* |
| | Thomas White | 47 | III. | |
| | Joannes Quhitfurd | 44 | V. | *filius Adami Quhitfuird ad Kirkmichael.* |
| | Joannes Whytfoord | 48 | IV. | *filius Adami Domini de Miltoune.* |
| | David Whytlaw | 44 | IV. | *filius Davidis Whytlaw civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Joannis Wilkie | 44 | I. | |
| | Zacharias Wilkie | 44 | I. | |
| | Johannes Will | 44 | II. | |
| | Hugo Wilson | 48 | III. | *filius Johannis de Maxwood.* |
| D. | Hugo Wilsonus | 49 | IV. | |
| | Jacobus Wilsoune | 45 | V. | *filius Magistri Joanis Wilsoune Pastoris Craffordi-Duglasii.* |
| | Pathrick Wilsoune | 44 | III. | *filius Joanis civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Rot. Wilson | 44 | IV. | *filius Joa. Wilson in Darngabero.* |
| | Thomas Wilson | 44 | III. | *Anglus filius Christopheri in Comitatu Eboracensi.* |
| | Thomas Wilsonne | 47 | V. | |
| D. | Thomas Wilsoune | 48 | IV. | *filius Roberti W. civis Glasguensis.* |
| | Joannes Winet | 44 | II. | |
| | Thomas Winzett | 44 | III. | |
| U. | Alexr. Woddrope | 44 | IV. | |
| | Johannes Waddrap | 44 | IV. | *filius Jacobi Woddrop in Dalmornoke.* |
| U. | J. Wallace | 44 | III. | |
| U. | Allanus West | 45 | IV. | |
| U. | David Wilsenne | 44 | II. | |
| U. | Mr. J. Wilsone | 43 | Theology. | |
| U. | Alexander Wreittoune | 45 | IV. | |

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|---|---|---|---|
| | Johannes Wricht | 48 | III. *filius Joannis civis Irvinensis.* |
| | E. Wright | 43 | Dean of Faculty. |
| | Johannes Wyllys | 45 | III. *Anglus.* |
| D. | Joannes Wynrame | 48 | II. |
| | Jo. Wynrame | 47 | III. |
| | Hugo Younge | 47 | II. |
| D. | Hugo Younge | 48 | I. *filius Joannis in Hibernia.* |
| U. | Jo. Young | 44 | Theology. |
| | Joa. Young | 43 | Professor. |
| D. | Joa. Young | 48 | Professor. |
| | Pa. Young | 44 | IV. *filius M. Geo. Young pastoris de Mauchlein.* |
| D. | Pat. Young | 45 | III. |
| U. | Pat. Young | 48 | Theology. |

TABLE B.—STATISTICS, ACCORDING TO SURNAMES, OF SIGNATORIES TO THE GRAHAM COPY.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Undeciphered, | 2 | Blakader, | 1 |
| Adair, Adaire, | 2 | Bogille, Bogle, | 2 |
| Agnew, | 2 | Boyd, | 7 |
| Aird, | 1 | Brisbane, Brisban, Birsbane, | 5 |
| Allexander, | 1 | Brown, Browne, Brone, Broune, Broun, Bruen, | 8 |
| Andersone, Andersonn, Andirsone, | 3 | Brounsword, | 1 |
| Anislie, | 1 | Browse, | 1 |
| Arnot, | 1 | Buchanan, | 2 |
| Baillie, Baleus, Ballie, Baylie, Baylzie, | 8 | Burnett, | 1 |
| Baird, Bairdius, | 4 | Callender, | 1 |
| Ballantyne, | 1 | Camerone, Cameroune, | 2 |
| Barclay, | 1 | Campbell, Campbellus, | 16 |
| Barnes, | 1 | Cant, | 1 |
| Bell, | 2 | Carmichael, Carmichaell, | 2 |
| Binning, | 2 | Carstairs, | 1 |
| Blair, | 7 | Cathcart, | 5 |

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Cauldwell, - - - - - 1
Caustonus, - - - - - 1
Cheislie, - - - - - 1
Clark, - - - - - 1
Cleland, - - - - - 2
Cochran, - - - - - 1
Cockburne, - - - - - 1
Colquhoun, Colquhoune, - 4
Craig, - - - - - - 1
Craigngelt, - - - - - 1
Craufurd, - - - - - 4
Crechtoune, - - - - - 1
Cruiks, Cruix, - - - - 2
Cunningham, Cunninghame, Conynghame, Cunynghame, Cuninghame, Conninghame, Cunyngham, - - - 16
Dalrymple, - - - - - 4
Daliell, - - - - - - 1
Deckie, - - - - - - 1
Dickson, Dicksone, Dicksonus, 7
Douglas, - - - - - 2
Drew, - - - - - - 1
Dunbar, - - - - - 1
Duncansone, - - - - - 1
Dunlop, Dunlope, - - - - 4
Edmonstoune, - - - - 2
Esdail, - - - - - - 1
Euart, - - - - - - 1
Ffairlie, - - - - - 1
Ffergous, - - - - - 1
Fergusone, Fergusson, Fergussone, 3
Ferrier, - - - - - 2
Ffindlay, - - - - - 1
Ffleetwoode, - - - - - 1
Fleming, Fleiming, Flemyng, - 4
Fork, - - - - - - 1
Forsithe, Forsythe, - - 2
Ffrieland, Firland, - - - 2
Fullartoune, Fullertoune, - 2
Ffultoune, - - - - - 1
Galbraith, Galbraithe, - - 2
Galt, - - - - - - 1
Gardiner, Garner, - - - 2
Gemil, Gemmil, - - - - 2
Gibson, Gibsoune, - - - 2
Gilkrisonne, - - - - - 1
Gillespe, - - - - 1
Glen, - - - - - - 1
Gordoun, Gordoune, - - 3
Grahame, - - - - - 2
Gray, - - - - - - 3
Hamilton, Hamiltonne, Hamiltoune, Hamiltonius, Hamiltoun, Hammiltoune, Hamiltounus, Hamiltone, Hammiltoun, - - - 27
Hatrick, - - - - - 1
Hay, Hayus, Haius, - - 6
Hendryson - - - - 1
Hebertsoune, - - - - 1
Heriote, - - - - - 1
Hill, - - - - - - 1
Hodgsyaird, - - - - - 1
Hodson, - - - - - 1
Hopwood, - - - - - 1
Horner, - - - - - 1
Houstoune, - - - - - 2
Hunter, - - - - - 2
Hutchesoun, Huchisone, Huchesoun, Huchisoune, Hutchison, 5
Jack, - - - - - - 1
Johnson, - - - - - 1
Kelso, - - - - - - 2

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|---|---|
| Kennedy, Kennedie, | 4 |
| Ker, | 1 |
| Kirkpatrik, | 1 |
| Knox, | 1 |
| Landaill, | 1 |
| Lang, | 1 |
| Lauder, | 1 |
| Laurie, | 2 |
| Law, | 4 |
| Legge, | 1 |
| Leighe, | 1 |
| Leightoune, | 1 |
| Lennox, | 2 |
| Levingstone, | 1 |
| Lightbodie, | 1 |
| Lindsay, | 1 |
| Lockhart, Lokhart, | 2 |
| Lowdoune, | 1 |
| Lownde, | 1 |
| Lyall, | 1 |
| M'Adam, | 2 |
| M'Aulay, | 1 |
| M'Cersie, | 1 |
| MacClain, | 1 |
| M'Connell, | 1 |
| M'Ghye, | 1 |
| M'Gilchrist, | 1 |
| M'Kerrell, | 1 |
| M'Lellan, | 1 |
| M'Letchie, | 1 |
| M'Vicar, | 1 |
| Madeoke, | 1 |
| Maine, | 2 |
| Maxwell, Maxwel, | 4 |
| Melvill, | 1 |
| Miller, Millerus, | 2 |
| Mitchell, | 2 |
| Moasas, | 1 |
| Monro, | 1 |
| Monteithe, Montethe, | 2 |
| Montgomerie, | 4 |
| Moore, Muir, Muire, | 4 |
| Mowat, Mouat, Mouatt, | 3 |
| Muirheid, | 1 |
| Murray, | 1 |
| Myrtone, | 1 |
| Napeir, Neper, | 2 |
| Nasmyth, | 1 |
| Neving, | 1 |
| Nisbet, Nisbetus, Nisbitt, | 3 |
| O'Quinus, | 1 |
| Osburne, | 1 |
| Park, | 3 |
| Patoun, Patoune, | 2 |
| Patrick, | 1 |
| Peebel, Peibles, | 3 |
| Penmango, | 1 |
| Pitt, | 1 |
| Pollock, Pollok, | 3 |
| Porter, | 1 |
| Porterfield, Porterfeild, | 2 |
| Pringallus, | 2 |
| Prymros, | 1 |
| Ramsay, Ramsaeus, Ramisaeus, | 3 |
| Reid, | 3 |
| Richmond, | 1 |
| Robertsoune, | 1 |
| Rod, | 1 |
| Rodger, | 1 |
| Rollok, | 1 |
| Rose, Rosse, | 3 |
| Rowat, | 1 |
| Sanders, Sandes, | 2 |
| Schaw, Shaue, | 4 |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Scherer, | 1 |
| Sempill, Semplius, | 3 |
| Sharpe, | 1 |
| Simson, | 1 |
| Smith, Smyth, | 3 |
| Snell, | 1 |
| Snype, | 1 |
| Stewart, Steuart, | 5 |
| Stirling, Stirlinng, | 7 |
| Strang, | 3 |
| Thomson, | 1 |
| Torphichen, | 1 |
| Tran, | 1 |
| Vauss, | 1 |
| Vetche, Vetcheus, | 3 |
| Waddrap, Woddrope, | 2 |
| Walker, | 2 |
| Walkinshaw, Walkinschawe, | 3 |
| Wallace, | 7 |
| Wallwork, | 1 |
| Ward, | 1 |
| Watsoune, | 2 |
| Weir, | 2 |
| Welsch, Welshe, | 2 |
| West, | 1 |
| Whetcombe, | 1 |
| White, Whyte, | 2 |
| Whytfoord, Quhitfurd, | 2 |
| Whytlaw, | 1 |
| Wilkie, | 2 |
| Will, | 1 |
| Wilson, Wilsone, Wilsonus, Wilsenne, Wilsoune, Wilsonne, | 8 |
| Winet, Winzett, | 2 |
| Wreittoune, | 1 |
| Wright, Wricht, | 2 |
| Wyllys, | 1 |
| Wynrame, | 1 |
| Young, Younge, | 5 |
| | 460 |

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Old Church of St. Kentigern, Lanark.

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No. XI.

# THE OLD CHURCH OF ST. KENTIGERN, LANARK.

BY

HUGH DAVIDSON.

[*Read at the Excursion of the Society on 1st September*, 1898.]

At the settlement of the kingdom of Strathclyde in A.D. 573, under King Roderick, commonly known as Rydderch Hael, St. Kentigern, who had for several years been obliged to seek shelter in Wales in consequence of the apostacy of the times, the oppression of barbarous tribes, and treacherous conspiracies against his life, was restored to the See of Glasgow. It is generally inferred that this event marked the institution or the revival of the primitive Church of Lanark. Joceline in his *Life of Kentigern* narrates that King Rydderch, "seeing that the Christian religion was almost entirely destroyed in his kingdom, anxiously considered how he might restore it"; and that "he found no plan by which it would be more surely brought about than to send messengers to Saint Kentigern to recall him to his first see." Kentigern, who was occupying a distinguished place among the Christian teachers of Wales, consented to his recall to Clydesdale by the pious king. He was then at Llanelwy in Flintshire, where he had founded the Monastery of St. Asaph's; and returning, accompanied by a large number of monks, met Rydderch and his people at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire, where for some time his see was fixed, but afterwards, "warned by divine revelation, he transferred



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it to his own City of Glasgow." These pieces of information are chiefly supplied by Bishop Joceline, but, notwithstanding the fact that the *Life* was written five centuries after the occurrence of the events which it professes to record, and is founded chiefly on tradition, the information claims due attention. Lanark lies in the direct route from Hoddam to Glasgow; and as it was the practice of St. Kentigern in going from one place to another to erect churches, and to ordain priests, it has been inferred that in this journey the Church of Lanark was founded by him—a supposition which is countenanced by the fact that in after times the church was dedicated to his memory.

The Church of St. Kentigern appears to have been a parish church in the time of David I., who acceded in 1124 on the death of his brother Alexander. Previous to his reign it appears to have belonged to the Crown; but by a charter granted by David between the years 1150 and 1153, and addressed to *Francis Anglis et Scotis et Galwiensibus*, he conveyed it to the Monastery of Dryburgh, with the lands, teinds, and others belonging to it. This grant was confirmed by Bishop Herbert of Glasgow, by Malcolm the Maiden, and by William the Lion. The right of the Monastery of Dryburgh to the Church of Lanark was likewise confirmed by Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow and his successors in the see down to 1258; also by Pope Lucius III. in 1183, Pope Celestin in 1196, by Pope Gregory VIII. in 1228, and by King Alexander II. in 1230.

About this time it was not uncommon for proprietors of land in Lanark to make donations to increase the revenues of the parish church. Amfridus *Cornaisarius* de Lanark (manufacturer of implements of horn) granted to the Canons of Dryburgh, between 1165 and 1214, his land in Lanark which he held of the king in burgage, and which lay between the workshop of Henry Well and the tenement of William the Janitor. William de Karamikley, burgess of Lanark, and a member of a family of that name, who in the year 1228 owned the estate of Cleghorn, granted to the Canons of Dryburgh a tenement in the burgh, between the house of William the Weaver on the one side and that of John Blaw (Blair?) on the other, in excambion for another tenement opposite to his house which the canons had granted to him; so that John the son of Enoch and his heirs, who

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held the same burgage tenement from William de Karamikley, should pay yearly five shillings as feu-duty to the abbot and convent. In the time of William the Lion, Jordanus Brac granted to the Church of St. Mary of Dryburgh, and Saint Kentigern of Lanark, certain lands, to be held by him and his heirs as a charitable gift for the soul's weal of King William and others. John Brac confirmed to God, the Blessed Mary, St. Kentigern, the Abbot and Convent of Dryburgh, and the Rectors of Lanark, the lands bestowed on them by his father, which he described as surrounded by a ditch on the east of the church, to be held of him and his heirs, for the soul's weal of King Alexander, free of all service, custom, or demand. These lands gifted by Jordan Brac and John Brac are identified to this day as the lands lying immediately outside of the churchyard wall and extending to the Clyde, and have from time immemorial been known under the name of Braxfield, a name which during the latter half of the eighteenth century gave a title to the celebrated Lord Justice-Clerk Macqueen, who was born at Braxfield, and whose descendants are proprietors of the lands to the present time. William Gillies, for the soul's weal of Kings William and Alexander, granted to the Mother Church of St. Kentigern of Lanark all the tithes and offerings of his lands of Mossplat, with the right of thirlage of his mill.

There were various chantries within the Parish Church of St. Kentigern. Robert the deacon, son of Hugh the clerk of Lanark, granted to God and St. Kentigern of Lanark, for lights to the church, a feu-duty of three shillings per annum, payable from the land which his brother Walter held of him. Alexander, the High Steward of Scotland, who died about the year 1300, gave a yearly sum of five shillings and sixpence, being the whole annual revenue payable from his land in the burgh of Lanark, to provide a light in the greater church and chapel of the town, for the soul's weal of King Alexander. About the beginning of the fifteenth century John Simpson, a burgess, founded a chaplainrie in the parish church. In the year 1500 King James IV. granted to William Clerkson, chaplain at the altar of the Blessed Virgin within the Parish Church of Lanark, a tenement in the burgh, which had reverted to the king by reason of the bastardy of the last owner. There was also an altar or chantry dedicated to the

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Holy Rood, called the Rood Altar, and in the year 1561 was worth seven pounds yearly. The Canons of Dryburgh, who still continued to hold the church by the grant of Saint David, appear to have appropriated the rectorial tithes from the time of the grant in the twelfth century until the Reformation, the cure being served by a vicar and curates. They paid forty pounds a year to three priests of the chapel. The vicar paid ten pounds yearly, with a share in the lesser offerings to a resident curate.

The Church of St. Kentigern, situated as it is outside of the town of Lanark, and in the centre of the parish churchyard, was in ancient times known as the "Out Kirk," or "High Kirk," to distinguish it from the Church of St. Nicholas within the town, which was called the "In Kirk" or the "Town Kirk."

Blind Harry, the minstrel, in his *Life of Sir William Wallace*, 1297, refers to Wallace, when in Lanark, passing

"On fra the Kyrk that was without the toun":

and, if the same authority is to be believed, it was in this church that the Scottish hero first saw the young lady who became his wife. To that circumstance Blind Harry alludes when he says:

"Upon a day to ye Kyrk as sche went,
Wallace hyr saw, as he hys eyne can cast,
Ye prent off luff hym punzett at ye last,
So, asprely, throuch bewte off yat brycht,
With gret uness in presence bid he mycht,
He knew full weyll hyr kynerent and her blud,
And quhew sche was in honest eyss and gud."

They were united in the bonds of matrimony in this church in 1296, the ceremony being performed by a clergyman of the name of Blair, a schoolfellow in Dundee and a personal friend of the patriot, and who afterwards wrote in Latin the story of his exploits.

Lanark was a favourite residence of several of the early Scottish kings, notably of William, Alexander II., and Alexander III., who also frequently held their courts there. Several charters were granted by these sovereigns

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when they resided in the town. The charter to the town of Ayr constituting it a Royal Burgh bears to have been granted by King William at the Castle of Lanark. The kings and their courts doubtless worshipped in the Parish Church of St. Kentigern, which originally must have been an edifice of imposing appearance. As already stated, three priests served at its altars, and the festival of Corpus Christi and other accustomed ceremonials were annually observed.

The ruins of this venerable church are perhaps the oldest ecclesiastical remains in the upper ward of Lanarkshire. The edifice appears to have been built of the hard and durable whinstone found on the estate of Jerviswood in the parish. At the Reformation it was stripped and its revenues confiscated, but for a hundred and fifty years after that event it was used as the parish church. It fell into disuse shortly after the period of the Revolution of 1688. It was then in a state of great disrepair. A proposal to repair or rebuild it was made in the year 1709, but the proposal was opposed by the Town Council, and St. Kentigern's appears then or shortly thereafter to have been abandoned. The Church of St. Nicholas, commonly called the Laigh Kirk, thereafter practically became the Parish Church of Lanark. Repairs and alterations were made on it to suit the requirements of those whose dwellings were in the landward part of the parish as well as those in the town. In 1710, when allocating a seat to Sir James Carmichael of Bonnington, the Town Council recorded a caveat that "nothing herein shall infer the said laigh church to be the parish church of Lanark."

This ruin of St. Kentigern's Church possesses all the features of the Early English or First pointed style of Gothic architecture which prevailed in Scotland in the thirteenth century, the period of the erection of the church. The same style is represented in the crypt and choir of Glasgow Cathedral, in the nave of that of Dunblane, and in the transept of Dryburgh. The thirteenth century parish churches are mostly of small dimensions and simple design, and a considerable number of them are to be found in the Western Highlands. The plan of the structure has been of a peculiar and unusual arrangement, consisting of two aisles, with possibly a chancel attached to each, or one chancel for the whole church,

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but without a nave. The row of six pillars and five lofty, pointed, and elegant arches appear to form the centre, dividing the church into two aisles. These pillars and arches are in a good state of preservation. The pillars are alternately round and octagonal, the latter having eight sides and eight angles, and the two responds are half octagons. The arches have a double splay or sloped surface on each side. The southern aisle is 74 feet in length by 20 feet in width internally. Its walls are in a fair state of preservation. It has a chancel arch at the east end, a little over 8 feet in width. This arch is supported by responds or half pillars attached to the wall, and are half octagons, and it has a double splay on each side. There is a small lancet window with wide internal splay in the east wall, to the south of the chancel arch, and the latter is placed close to the central row of pillars. If there was not a chancel to the east of the northern aisle, the arrangement described may have been adopted so as to bring the chancel as near the centre of the church as possible, with the view of its serving as the chancel for the whole church. Mere fragments remain of the walls of the northern aisle. Excavations were, at my instigation and in my presence, made in the year 1874, when the base of a doorway shaft was discovered at a point 22 feet or thereby to the north of the row of pillars and arches. This was supposed to represent the north doorway of the church. At the east of this northern division, where it is possible there was a chancel, there is a hideous tomb-house for the family of the Lockharts of Lee, erected probably in the seventeenth century. In the south wall are preserved a range of five narrow lancet or acute-shaped windows with wide splayed reveals inside. But it contains also an important object in the remains of a fine First pointed doorway, remarkable in its details. It has had two nook shafts, with First pointed foliage in the Caps, and the mouldings of the pointed arch are bold and characteristic. This doorway is described by Bloxam in his *Gothic Architecture* as exhibiting the "round moulding with a fillet in the face, while the capitals" (which are all that remain of two nook shafts) "are richly sculptured." I was informed by the late Sexton of Lanark Churchyard that numerous students of ecclesiastical architecture, some even from America and the Continent of Europe, had from time to time come to Lanark to study this ancient doorway.

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Attached to the church, opening from the southern aisle by a doorway, and extending outwards from the south wall, is an apartment in the possession as a mausoleum of the family of the Lockharts of Cleghorn. This apartment may have probably been the sacristy in which the sacred utensils were kept and the clerical vestments deposited.

The site of the bellgable or belfry is distinctly visible outside of the west wall. The bell, which dates from the year 1110, was removed to the steeple of St. Nicholas, which is now the parish church, and is rung several times every day. The inscription is interesting, and is as follows:

"1. DATE. ANNO 1110.
I did for twice three cent-ries hing
And unto Lanark City ring.
Three times I Phenix-like have past
Thro' fiery furnace, till at last . . . .
2. . . . . ANNO 1659.
Refounded at Edinburgh
By Ormston and Cunningham,
ANNO 1740."

In the year 1874 certain restorations were executed on the ruin. A large gap in the west wall was built up, and the present polished doorway formed in the centre, with columns and sill of single stones. The masonry was so executed as to correspond with the oldest part of the masonry of the church. The south wall was levelled to two different heights, and a stone cope placed along the top of it and of the west wall, and the walls of the arches. Other operations were executed by which the ruins were strengthened and improved so as to last for a very considerable period. Three sculptured stones were built into the west wall on the outside, which can now be seen. The circumstances of the finding of these stones are not uninteresting. About the year 1822 there was erected on the area inside of the south wall a watch house for detecting those who violated the sepulchres of the dead. The house consisted of one apartment, which was entered by a flight of stone steps outside of the building. Among the improvements effected in 1874 was the demolition of this building, when two of these sculptured stones were discovered doing duty as steps in the stair. The third stone was found buried under



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the surface near one of the pillars. They resemble some of the sculptured stones, drawings of which are contained in *The Sculptured Monuments of Iona and the West Highlands*, by James Drummond, R.S.A., published in 1881.

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## ANNUAL EXCURSIONS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1898 AND 1899.

### 1898.

THE Excursion took place on Thursday, 1st September, the day's programme including Craignethan Castle, Lanark and Douglas. Among those present were J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., Vice-President, P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A.Scot., R. Hunter Dunn, Colonel Stirling of Gargunnock, R. Y. Pickering, W. A. Scott Mackirdy of Birkwood, John Mann, C.A., J. Laurie Coulson, Walter Easton, Alexander Park, J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., Honorary Secretary, Andrew Smith, A. B. Dick-Cleland of Ravenswood, James White, F.S.A.Scot., Walter E. Wingate, W. J. Wood, James Caldwell, F.S.A.Scot., J. Edmiston, the Rev. J. M. Kirkpatrick, the Rev. Ernest Scott, the Rev. J. Young, John Somerville, W. F. Grimston, J. W. Ruddock, J. M. Steven, T. B. Fotheringham, James Mitchell, etc. Leaving the Central Station by the 8.57 a.m. train, the members, on arriving at Tillietudlem Station, proceeded on foot to Craignethan Castle, and made a careful examination of the building. A paper on its history and architectural characteristics was read by Mr. Dalrymple Duncan as follows:

The original name of the lands of Craignethan was Draffan, and they are first heard of under that appellation in 1160, when Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, granted them in feu to Lambyn Asa for a reddendo of two and a half silver merks. In 1271 they were held by Sir Hugh of Crawford and Alice his spouse, but no documents have been discovered throwing any light



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on their ownership for a considerable period after this date, though it is probable they formed part of the vast possessions of the House of Douglas. It is also uncertain at what period they passed into the hands of the Hamiltons, but in all likelihood James, 1st Lord Hamilton, obtained possession of them shortly after the forfeiture of the Black Douglases in 1455. He probably erected the keep of the Castle, which appears to date from the latter half of the fifteenth century. In 1529 the fortalice, under the name of Castre de Nauthan, with the adjacent lands, was bestowed by James, 2nd Lord Hamilton and 1st Earl of Arran, upon his natural son Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, and to this remarkable man it undoubtedly owes alike much of its architectural importance and its historical interest. It is impossible within the limits of a paper of this description to do more than touch upon the salient points in the career of one of the most notable figures of the reign of James V. Hamilton's character is a most complex one, and it is difficult to understand how one possessed of his fine taste and artistic skill should have been conspicuous for ferocity and barbarity, even in the rude age in which he lived. His career up till the period of his fall was one long series of honours and successes, and he became the possessor of a chain of estates running from Crawfordjohn in upper Clydesdale to Finnart in Western Renfrewshire. The offices of dignity and profit he held were innumerable—Captain of the Palace of Linlithgow, Sheriff of the Counties of Linlithgow and Renfrew, Bailie of the Barony of Lesmahagow, Cupbearer and Steward of the Household, the King's Master of Work and Superintendent of the Royal Palaces, Lord High Treasurer and Governor of Dumbarton Castle, and last, but not least remarkable, Grand Inquisitor in all cases of heresy. Every effort was made to efface the stain on his birth. He was twice legitimated—first in January, 1512-13, and second, with three natural sons of his own, in November, 1539, while the King even gave him the right to incorporate the royal double tressure in his coat-of-arms. Amongst the many cruel and violent deeds of his life none was baser than his slaughter in cold blood of the Earl of Lennox, after the battle of Linlithgow Bridge, in 1526, a murder which Hamilton's own father Arran bewailed, exclaiming with anguish that the wisest, best, and bravest man in Scotland had fallen.

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And yet, with all his ferocity and rapacity, he is believed to have been the architect of some of the finest portions of the Palaces of Holyrood, Falkland, and Linlithgow, while the Castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Rothesay were considerably added to and adorned by his genius. It is therefore not surprising that he should have devoted attention to the improvement of his own residence at Craignethan, and to him are attributed the enclosing walls and towers round the keep, with the outer courtyard.

In 1540 King James visited him at Craignethan on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to James, Master of Somerville, but his career of prosperity was soon to close. In the following year he was accused of connivance in a plot to assassinate the King, and though it seems not improbable that the charge was groundless, he was found guilty and executed, while his estates were forfeited.

In 1541 the Lord Treasurer's accounts contain entries of disbursements in connection with the maintenance of Craignethan Castle, and in that year also James again visited it, while on a hunting expedition in Lanarkshire.

The Castle and lands remained annexed to the Crown till after the King's death, when the forfeiture was recalled, and they were restored to the son of Hamilton of Finnart, who subsequently became Sir James Hamilton of Evandale and Sheriff of Lanarkshire. He did not, however, long retain possession of them, as James, 2nd Earl of Arran, was desirous of acquiring them, and they were subsequently conveyed to him.

There is a tradition that Queen Mary was at Craignethan after her flight from Loch Leven on 2nd May, 1568. Mr. Greenshields of Kerse, in his *Annals of Lesmahagow*, seems to consider the tradition as founded on fact, pointing out that it is undoubted that Mary proceeded to Hamilton, where her friends and adherents assembled from all quarters. Sir William Drury, writing to Cecil on 6th May, 1568, informs him that "since the despatch of his last letter" he "could not hear of any more than that the Queen continued at Draffen among the Hamiltons." The tradition of the district is that Mary, after remaining some time at Cadzow Castle, was removed to Craignethan as a place of greater security, and,

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as Mr. Greenshields says, the Place of Hamilton at that time being merely a square tower, altogether unsuited for a royal residence, it is quite likely that Craignethan, both from its strength and its greater distance from Glasgow, where Moray was assembling his forces, would be selected as the most suitable dwelling for the Queen in the district.

Be this as it may, it is undoubted that when after Langside Moray made an incursion into the Middle Ward, he took possession both of Craignethan and the Place of Hamilton.

In 1570, during the struggles between the adherents of Mary and those of her son James VI., Sir William Drury and the English army took the Place of Hamilton and destroyed it. The defenders were, however, allowed to retire to Craignethan, and meeting Lord Sempill, one of the King's party, took him prisoner and carried him with them.

In 1579, when John and Claude Hamilton were attainted for their supposed complicity in the assassination of the Regent Moray, Craignethan was again besieged, and in it was found James, the 3rd Earl of Arran. Despite the fact that he had been insane for many years, he was taken prisoner and kept for some time in captivity.

Craignethan remained in the hands of the Hamiltons till 1665, when the Duchess Anne sold it to Andrew Hay. The latter seems from the arms over the entrance to the mansion which he (in the words of Hamilton of Wishaw) "built with the ruins of the Castle in the corner of the garden," to have been a cadet of the house of Tweeddale.

In 1720 the Castle and lands were acquired by purchase from the Hay family by the Duke of Douglas, and after his death passed, by the decision of the House of Lords in the famous Douglas cause, to Archibald Douglas, son of Lady Jane Douglas, the Duke's sister, and her husband Sir John Stewart of Grandtully. Mr. Douglas was raised to the peerage in 1790, but the title became extinct in 1857. Craignethan now belongs to his descendant and representative in the female line, Charles, 12th Earl of Home.

The Castle, which stands on a rocky eminence overhanging the Nethan, consists of an inner and outer courtyard separated by a dry ditch or moat 30 feet wide. The outer courtyard, 190 feet by 140 feet, is surrounded by

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battlemented walls and has square towers at the north-western and south-western angles and over the gateway. The inner courtyard was entered through a narrow gateway furnished with a portcullis, after passing which the moat would probably be traversed by means of a drawbridge. The wall on the west side of this courtyard must have constituted a very formidable rampart of defence, as, according to Messrs. M'Gibbon and Ross, it was 16 feet in breadth and probably contained embrasures for cannon above and a vaulted passage on the ground level. On the south side the wall of the courtyard is strengthened by three square towers, one of them abutting in the moat, the second in the centre, and the third at the eastern end. The last of these is of large size, being 34 feet by 32. The basement story is on the level of the ground outside, while the first floor is at the level of the courtyard, which latter to the east of the keep is raised on a vaulted substructure. This floor is entirely occupied by a kitchen of fine proportions. In the upper story, under the corbels of the parapet, are embrasures for cannon so constructed as to be able to sweep the steep bank below.

The keep is battlemented, the corbelling being extremely fine and artistic, and has bartizans at the angles and over the entrance. The internal arrangements are rather peculiar, the principal floor being on the ground level and not, as is usually the case, on the first story. The dividing wall in the centre is also not of very common occurrence in Scotland.

The entrance lobby contains a stair leading to the upper stories and a smaller stair down to the vaulted basement, which latter has a well at its east end. Over the doorway there is a panel with the Hamilton arms. On the left of the lobby is a guardroom, from which a newel stair leads to the battlement. The Great Hall is on this floor, and is a fine apartment, 40 feet long by 20 broad. It has a lofty semicircular vault and is lighted by three windows. The fireplace was in the part of the central wall now demolished. The private rooms opened off the eastern end, at which point there was a newel stair communicating with the upper story.

Access to the kitchen (which lay to the north of the hall between the private room and the guardroom) was got from the latter.

The lean-to buildings against the west wall of the outer courtyard seem to have been kitchen offices.

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It is well known that Craignethan was the prototype of the "Tillietudlem" of Sir Walter Scott's *Old Mortality*.

The house to which reference has been made as having been built by Andrew Hay in the outer courtyard was offered as a residence to the great novelist by Lord Douglas, and Lockhart mentions that he was at first disposed to entertain the proposal favourably, though circumstances subsequently occurred which altered his intention.

After a vote of thanks had been accorded to Mr. Dalrymple Duncan for his paper, the Society walked down the beautiful glen through which the Nethan flows, to Crossford, where carriages were in waiting in which the members and their friends were conveyed to Lanark, stopping at Stonebyres Fall on the way, and passing (by permission of Sir Simon Lockhart, Bart.) through the Lee Castle policies. On arriving at Lanark a visit was paid to the old church of St. Kentigern, and a paper on its history was read by Mr. Hugh Davidson.[1]

Mr. Davidson having been cordially thanked for his valuable paper, the Society left Lanark at 3.18 for Douglas. On arriving there the old church of St. Bride, containing the Douglas tombs, was visited, and an interesting paper on them was read by Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers. The party next proceeded to Douglas Castle, which is situated in a fine park about a mile from the town. There are no remains of the original residence of the historic race, whose wide possessions formerly comprehended a great part of the Lowlands, and the present Castle only dates from 1760. By permission of the Earl of Home, the Society was permitted to see the interior of the house, and a number of historical relics which it contains were exhibited.

Returning by train to Lanark, the Society dined in the Clydesdale Hotel under the presidency of Dr. J. O. Mitchell. In addition to those whose names have been already mentioned there were present at the Dinner, the Provost of Lanark, Sheriff Fyfe and Mr. Hugh Davidson, with Mr. William George Black, F.S.A.Scot., Honorary Secretary, who had been prevented from taking part in the earlier portion of the day's proceedings.

[1] Mr. Davidson's paper appears *in extenso* at p. 155.

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## 1899.

THE Excursion took place on Thursday 7th September, when a visit was paid to Tulliallan, Culross, Pitfirrane Castle, and Dunfermline. About forty of the members were present, among whom were J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., Vice-President; Principal Dyer, J. T. T. Brown, A. W. Gray Buchanan of Parkhill, Colonel Stirling of Gargunnock, Robert Guy, J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., Hon. Secretary, James Caldwell, F.S.A. Scot., T. L. Galbraith, Andrew Smith, Walter Easton, William Anderson, F.S.A., Scot., A. B. Dick-Cleland of Ravenswood, P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A. Scot., John Mann, C.A., D. R. Clark, William Gibson, Charles E. Whitelaw, Thomas Adam, J. A. Petrie, Campbell Douglas, F.R.I.B.A., P. Hill Normand of Whitehill, J. D. Roberton, D. S. Miller, J. A. Brown, W. J. Wood, R. Y. Pickering of Conheath, the Rev. E. Scott, the Rev. J. Young, John M'Intyre, W. F. Grimstone, C. R. Cowie, J. M. Steven, George Ainslie, William Howatt, W. Anderson Baillie, etc.

Leaving Queen Street Station at 9.10 A.M., the Society proceeded by train to Kincardine-on-Forth, where carriages were in waiting in which the members were conveyed to Tulliallan Castle. A careful examination of the building was made, and a paper on its history was read by Mr. Dalrymple Duncan as follows:

In Scotland, as in other countries, the introduction and improvement of artillery put an end to the erection of castles of the type which had prevailed in the early days of feudalism, the main purpose of which was fitness for standing a siege. It being found that it was vain to attempt to construct walls which were proof against the battering effect of cannon, the barons, to a large extent, abandoned the disused strongholds in which they had been living, the discomfort and squalor of which it is almost impossible to picture, and set about the construction of more commodious dwellings. Tulliallan Castle is a fine specimen of the Scots castellated architecture of the period, which includes the latter half of the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries, when the defensive qualities which had been the paramount requisites of such buildings in the age preceding,

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while still largely retained, were combined with the necessary characteristics of a reasonably comfortable place of residence.

The early history of the lands on which the edifice stands seems, to a large extent, veiled in obscurity, but in the 15th century they were the property of the Edmonstones of that ilk. In the latter part of the 15th century they were acquired by Sir Patrick Blackadder through his marriage with Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir James Edmonstone of Edmonstone. Sir Patrick was the younger son of Sir Robert Blackadder of that ilk, a Berwickshire knight, in whose person the lands of Blackadder were erected into a free barony in 1452, and who sat in the Scots Parliament of 1464. Patrick Blackadder was involved, along with his elder brother and other members of the family, in a criminal prosecution, chronicled in Pitcairn under date 18th August, 1499, for the "cruel slauchter of umquhile John Nisbet and Philip Nisbet, and for spulzieing of their goods"; but he seems to have escaped punishment. His son and successor, John Blackadder, was less fortunate in regard to a somewhat similar offence, for which he was tried some 30 years later, though possibly it was the rank and importance of his victim which secured his condemnation. This crime was the murder of no less a personage than the Abbot of Culross, James Inglis by name, who had held high court appointments, and who was also a poet of some merit, if we are to believe Sir David Lindsay—

> "Who can say more than Sir James Inglis says,
> In ballads, farces, and in pleasant plays?
> But Culross hath his pen made impotent."

Ill-feeling seems to have arisen between the Abbot and the Laird of Tulliallan in consequence of the former having granted to Lord Erskine a lease of the lands of Balgownie, which were in the occupation of Blackadder. The latter swore that he would be revenged, and shortly afterwards encountering the Abbot at Rosyth, near North Queensferry, attacked and slew him. For this he was executed, as recorded by Sir James Balfour in laconic terms: "This zeire 1530 the Laird of Tulliallane was beheidit the first day of March for killing Mr. James Inglis, Abbot

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of Culross, and with him a monk of the said abbey, a chief author of the Abbot's slauchter." The monk, who was named William Lothian, had the previous day been unfrocked and deprived of his orders on a public scaffold at Edinburgh in presence of the king and queen and an immense crowd. Three retainers of Blackadder's were also charged as accomplices in the murder, but having taken refuge at Torphichen, they claimed the privilege of sanctuary. Being brought to trial, but "acquitted of forethought felony," they were "judicially re-delivered to George, Lord of St. John, Master of the said sanctuary."

Another John succeeded his father in Tulliallan and in 1532 crossed to the continent on a pilgrimage of atonement for his father's crime, a royal warrant of protection to his tenants and servants being granted during his absence. He was a devoted adherent of the ill-fated Mary, and his son William, who had served in her army at Langside, being taken prisoner after the battle, was carried to Edinburgh, and there hanged and quartered on 24th June, 1567.

The other Blackadder lairds of Tulliallan were undistinguished. The last of them, John Blackadder, was created a baronet in 1626, but being of a spendthrift disposition he so embarrassed the estate that it passed out of the hands of the family, and he himself was compelled to retire to France, where for a time he served as an officer of the Guard. He died in America about 1651.

The most distinguished member of the Blackadder family was Robert, the first Archbishop of Glasgow. This distinguished ecclesiastic was a brother of Patrick Blackadder of Tulliallan. Held in high esteem by James IV. he was employed by that monarch in various delicate and important missions, the most notable of these being the negotiation of the king's marriage to Margaret Tudor. Appointed by Pope Sixtus IV. Bishop of Aberdeen in 1480, he was four years later translated to Glasgow, which was then merely a bishopric. Blackadder's influence at Rome was, however, so great that he was able in 1491-2 to secure its erection into an archbishopric, and thus to place himself on a level with the holder of the see of St. Andrews. He seems to have been a man of very considerable artistic taste, and has left his mark

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on several buildings in Scotland. He erected the tower at Jedburgh (of which he was for a time Abbot), and his arms and initials are still to be seen in its N.W. corner. An aisle of the church of Edrom in Berwickshire was also erected by him, while in our own cathedral we owe to him the building in continuation of the south transept known as Blackadder's Crypt. He is further commemorated by the two altars in front of the rood screen on which his carved arms and initials may still be seen.

At Culross he, in 1503, founded a chapel in honour of St. Mungo at the reputed place of the saint's birth, and endowed it with a grant of the lands of Craigrossy in Strathearn. The terms of the foundation were as follows, "*Robertus Glasguensis Archiepiscopus primus a reditibus terrarum de Cragrossy quas ecclesiae donavit fundavit unam capellaniam in ecclesia beatissimi Kentigerni confessoris ubi idem natus erat per archiepiscopum constructa et edificata prope monasterium de Culros.*"

The ruins of this chapel still exist at the south-eastern extremity of the Abbey grounds. Its length was 54 feet, and breadth 20 feet, and its eastern termination was a three-sided apse.

It was only natural that an archbishop of Glasgow, who, from his connection with the locality knew well the legend of St. Mungo's birth, should thus have commemorated it by the erection of a place of worship. I may in a few sentences recall to your recollection that curious and interesting story.

Thanew, the mother of the saint, was, by the cruelty of her father, the king of Lothian, placed in an open boat, without oar or rudder, and sent to sea from Aberlady. The boat drifted first to the Isle of May, but eventually grounded at Culross, where, as the morning of the next day dawned, the unfortunate princess gave birth to her son. The aged St. Serf, who lived near, while engaged in his devotions, heard the sound of angelic voices calling him to the spot, and found on the rugged shore the young mother and her child. Seeing the infant the venerable anchorite exclaimed, "*Mochohe*," "My dear," whence the derivation of Mungo. He, however, subsequently christened the babe by the name of Kentigern, "head chief." The education of Mungo or Kentigern was

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carefully supervised by St. Serf, whose favourite pupil he became, and many wonders are told of his school-days. After a time he was warned by an angel that he must leave Culross, and to avoid the opposition which he would have encountered from St. Serf, he stole away secretly. He was, however, followed by his master, who overtook him just as Mungo had crossed the Forth, whose waves divided to let him pass. St. Serf implored him either to return or let him go with him, but Mungo remained deaf to his entreaties, and pursued the journey by which he eventually reached the banks of the Molendinar.

A visit to Culross and Tulliallan is thus of peculiar interest to a body of Glasgow archæologists, for here two of the most notable figures in our city's history meet each other across the long centuries which divided their lives; on the one hand, the humble Christian missionary of the 6th century, on the other, the powerful and haughty prelate of the 16th.

To return for a moment to the Tulliallan Blackadders, it may be mentioned that another member of the family was the famous Covenanting preacher, John Blackadder, who was punished for his opinions by a four years' captivity on the Bass Rock, where he died in 1685.

On the downfall of the Blackadders, Tulliallan passed by purchase into the possession of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, an important personage in Scotland in the first half of the 17th century. Third son of Edward Bruce of Blairhall, grandson of David Bruce of Clackmannan, and brother of the eminent diplomatist who became the first Lord Kinloss, it would have been only natural if he had sought distinction in court or camp, but the bent of his genius lay in other directions. Possessed of unbounded energy and enterprise, he turned his attention to commercial pursuits, and was eminently successful. Embarking in the coal and salt trades, he exported large quantities of these commodities, and erected numerous and extensive works both at Culross and elsewhere. In developing one of his mines, he had the courage to sink a shaft on the shore, well within the tide-mark, encasing the shaft in a circular wall which rose above the surface of the water. This was connected by an underground gallery with the shore workings, and when James VI. on one occasion paid him a visit, he had the monarch conveyed under the

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sea, and, to his great consternation, brought up the shaft to find himself at its extremity surrounded on all hands by the angry waves.

Besides Tulliallan, he acquired extensive estates in the parishes of Culross, Carnock, Torryburn, and Dunfermline, and it was through his influence that Culross was, in 1588, constituted a royal burgh. He does not seem to have lived much at Tulliallan, his favourite place of residence being in Culross, where the mansion in which he lived can still be pointed out. During his proprietorship of Tulliallan a crime was committed within its walls of a particularly cruel and barbarous description. Pitcairn chronicles that in 1619 four persons were accused of "carrieing umquhle Thomas Davidson to the pit of Tulliallan, quhair through want of enterteenment he famisched and deit of hunger." Sir George was not accused of complicity in the crime, but he would seem not at any rate to have disapproved of it, for, on the hearing being adjourned, he became security for the appearance of the culprits at a subsequent diet, and possibly used influence to secure their acquittal, as nothing more is heard of the case. He married Margaret, daughter of Archibald Primrose of Burnbrae, and was succeeded in Tulliallan, Culross, and Carnock by his elder surviving son George, while the estates in Dunfermline parish passed to his younger son Robert. George Bruce was created Earl of Kincardine by Charles I., at Carisbrooke Castle in 1647, but dying unmarried, was succeeded in the title and estates by his brother. In his hands, and those of his successors, the vast property which their ancestors had acquired became so burdened with debt that, in 1700, it was brought to a judicial sale, where the greater part of it (including Tulliallan) was purchased by Colonel John Erskine, son of David, second Lord Cardross. The new proprietor (who was known as "the black Colonel," to distinguish him from a relative who rejoiced in the appellation of "the white Colonel") lived in Culross, and being of a troublesome and litigious character, kept the place in hot water during the whole period of his residence. He was succeeded by his son, John Erskine of Carnock, the eminent jurist, author of the *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, who left the estate to James Erskine, the eldest son of his marriage with his second wife Anne, daughter of James Stirling of Keir. James Erskine's son

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David sold Tulliallan to the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, better known as Admiral Keith, who was raised to the peerage as Lord Keith in 1797.

Lord Keith was twice married: first, to Miss Mercer of Aldie, by whom he had an only daughter, Margaret, who succeeded him in the peerage, and married Comte Flahault de la Billarderie. Lord Keith married, secondly, Hester Maria Thrale, daughter of Mrs. Thrale, the friend of Dr. Johnson, and by her had an only daughter, Georgiana, who married, first, the Hon. Augustus Villiers, and secondly Lord William Godolphin Osborne. Tulliallan was left by Lord Keith to his two daughters in succession, and afterwards to the representatives of the elder of them. Under this destination it is now held by the present Marquess of Lansdowne, whose mother, the late Marchioness, was the eldest daughter of the Comtesse Flahault.

The castle, in old days, must have been situated close to the Forth, the tract of ground which now divides it from this water having been reclaimed, and was encompassed by a rectangular enclosure, defended by a ditch and mound.

The principal entrance to the castle is at the S.W. corner, which was protected both by a drawbridge and portcullis and by machicoulis. There is a postern at the S.E. corner.

The ground floor contains two apartments with fine groined and ribbed vaulting. One of them has a fireplace with a large projecting hood and moulded jambs; corbels for supporting lights stand on either side. The upper floor contained the Great Hall, 38 × 22 feet, and a with-drawing room 21.6 × 22.6. There is an entrance from outside to the Great Hall which is a very peculiar feature. It would be reached by a temporary wooden stair.

Leaving Tulliallan the Society drove to Culross, where, in the first place, a visit was paid (by permission of Miss Luke, the proprietrix) to the so-called "Palace," the former residence of Sir George Bruce. It is a very fine example of an old Scots town residence, and consists of two ranges of buildings on the west and north sides of a courtyard. The former of

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these bears the date 1597, with the arms and initials of the founder, while the latter dates from 1611. One of the rooms has a wooden ceiling on which are painted emblematic subjects, each with an appropriate text, while some of the other apartments have been decorated with patterns in colours of various designs. The house received the name by which it is generally known from the fact that James VI. stayed in it on the occasion of his visit to Culross in 1617. It was observed with extreme regret that the interesting old mansion is rapidly falling into a state of dilapidation, and earnest hopes were expressed that steps would be taken in the immediate future for its preservation.

The quaint old town of Culross contains besides the "Palace" a number of interesting specimens of domestic architecture, and among those which were shown to the Society may be mentioned the house known as "The Study," part of which dates from pre-Reformation times, and the Town House or Tolbooth, built in 1626.

The remains of Culross Abbey were next visited, and a paper on the history of the building was read by Mr. Charles E. Whitelaw, as follows:—

The site of Culross Abbey is hallowed by memories of St. Mungo and his reputed teacher, St. Serf; but, unfortunately, of the history of the Abbey almost nothing is known.

According to Dr. Skene it was founded by St. Serf at the close of the seventh century, and in 1217 Malcolm, third Earl of Fife, re-founded it, introducing Cistercian monks from Kinloss. Of this period there are considerable remains and also some of what may be considered earlier, although most of what we see is much later.

The most remarkable feature of this building is the arrangement of the plan—a cruciform eastern church separated from a western church by a tower pierced only by doorways. Both of these churches are about the same dimensions, 78 ft. by 21 ft. 6 in. The whole floor and the ground to the S.E. are on the same level, the cloister garth is 10 ft. lower, and on the S. of the cloister garth there is again a drop of about 20 ft., where there were originally extensive vaults.[1]

[1] Slezer, 1693.

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The West Church shows in the masonry indications of the Transition; it was lit from above on either side by six or seven round headed windows (Slezer), and, as seen by remaining jambs, they belong to fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. This upper work was removed by the late minister, Dr. Erskine, for the purpose of building dykes. The West Door was where the entrance gate now stands, to judge by the still extant buttress.

The Tower shows two periods, the lower part being the older, which, with the westmost door, is probably of the thirteenth century; the vault and work above it, including the eastmost and internal doors, is probably of the sixteenth century. The original finish, shown by Slezer, was a parapet and saddle-back roof, as at Torphichen, Dundee, etc. The chapel to the north is late fourteenth century.

The North Transept was built in 1640 by Sir George Bruce of Carnock, doubtless on the old foundations. The South Transept is original, and had an Eastern aisle with a lean-to roof against the transept (now removed), as shown by Slezer.

The same arrangement was evidently carried out in the North Transept, to judge by the existing two-light east window.

The present century is responsible for the culminating misfortunes, the original windows which were large and handsome have been built up, with the exception of that in the East Gable.

The Sacristy is just recognisable in its modern garb, now serving as a vestry.

The Chapter House, of which there are but scanty remains, shows only the northmost of the usual three openings, here a fine example of first pointed (thirteenth century), with indications in the still remaining springers of three rows of columns.

The Manse dates from 1647, as indicated by one of the dormers.

About a quarter mile north there are remains of what is considered to have been the Lodge, with indications of an arched pend, showing the probable extent of the enclosing walls.

The most interesting point in this building is the dividing tower, for whose position two solutions may be propounded.

1. That the Tower separated the Abbey Church from the Parish



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Church of the town and coast line, the other Parish Church, at about one mile distance, being for the country folk. This is feasible, seeing the ancient parish was very large and included Kincardine. Such an arrangement is unusual in Scotland, although Mr. Freeman has described several churches in England where one portion belonged to the parishioners and the remainder to the monks.

2. Docking of the church towards close of fifteenth century on account of shrinking revenues. However, against this latter, there is the serious evidence that one finds the jambs of windows attached to and apparently coeval with the west side of the tower, and thus pointing towards the first conclusion as the more probable.

Previous to leaving the Abbey precincts, the Society was allowed to examine the fine seventeenth-century monument erected to the memory of Sir George Bruce, which is in a burial aisle built against the east gable of the church. The monument itself is of freestone, but the recumbent statues of Sir George and his wife, placed in a square recess at some distance from the ground, and the kneeling effigies of their three sons and five daughters, ranged in front of the base, are of alabaster.

The Society drove from Culross to Dunfermline, stopping on the way to visit Pitfirrane Castle, where they were most courteously and hospitably received by Sir Arthur and Lady Halkett. Pitfirrane has been in possession of the Halkett family from an early period. The Castle is a very interesting specimen of an old Scots mansion. Originally it was evidently a simple oblong keep of four stories, but towards the end of the sixteenth century considerable alterations were made on it, the effect of which was to convert it into a structure of the L plan. Further additions were made to it in the sixteenth century.

Dunfermline was reached about five o'clock, when the Abbey Church and the ruins of the Palace were visited, and a paper on their history was read by Mr. Dalrymple Duncan. The Society had previously visited Dunfermline in 1879.

In the evening the members and their friends dined together in the Royal Hotel, Dunfermline, under the presidency of Dr. J. O. Mitchell.

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INSTITUTED 1856.

The object of this Society is the encouragement of the study of Archæology generally, and more particularly in Glasgow and the West of Scotland.

Meetings are held in the Society's Chambers, 207 Bath Street, at *Eight o'clock p.m.*, on the *third Tuesday* in the months of November, December, January, February, March, and April. The Annual Excursion takes place in August or September.

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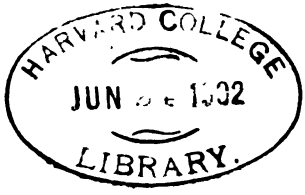


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No. XII.

# MOUND-DWELLINGS AND MOUND-DWELLERS.

BY

DAVID MACRITCHIE, F.S.A.Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 18th January*, 1900.)

In discussing the early races of the British Islands, the late Dr. W. F. Skene tells us that "there are just two people mentioned in the Irish records who had settlements in Ireland, and who yet were connected with Great Britain and the region lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. These were the people termed the *Tuatha De Danann*, and the Picts. The traditionary migration of the *Tuatha De Danann* brings them from the country between the Rhine and the Elbe, where they possessed four cities, to Scotland, where they inhabited a district termed Dobhar and Iar Dobhar; and from thence they went to Ireland, where they drove out the Firbolg, to be subdued in their turn by the Gaels. The Picts are likewise brought from the Low Countries to Ireland, and from Ireland to Scotland, where they founded a kingdom which included, till the seventh century, the Picts of Ulster, and which was subverted in the ninth century by the Gaels. These two tribes were thus the prior race in each country. Both must have been prior to the Low German population of the Netherlands. The Picts were the race prior to the Gaels in



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Scotland, and the *Tuatha De Danann* the prior colony to the Gaels in Ireland."[1]

The name of the *Tuatha De Danann* often appears under the abbreviated form of *Tuatha De* or *Dea*, and sometimes also they are spoken of as "the Dananns." It is Professor Rhys, I think, who explains the

---

[1] Page lxxvi. of Dr. W. F. Skene's Introduction to *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Edinburgh, 1862.

For the sake of clearness, I have modified Dr. Skene's words to the extent of substituting modern place-names and racial terms for those employed by him, except in the case of the *Tuatha De Danann*. But all the equivalents given are, with one reservation, those given by Dr. Skene himself in the work quoted from. The following list shows the alterations:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "Great Britain" . . . | is substituted for | "Albin" and "Breatan." |
| "The region lying between the Rhine and the Elbe" . | ,, | "Lochlan." |
| "Netherlands" . . . | ,, | "Lochlan." |
| "Low Countries" . . . | ,, | "Lochlan." |
| "Picts" . . . . | ,, | "Cruithne." |
| "Scotland" . . . . | ,, | "Alban." |
| "Ireland" . . . . | ,, | "Erin." |
| "Gaels" . . . . | ,, | "Scots" and "Milesian Scots." |

The one reservation is in the case of "Breatan," and this also implies a partial correction of the definition of "Alban" as "Scotland." Dr. Skene thus defines "Alban" and "Breatan" (*op. cit.*, p. lxxv.): "Alba or Alban was Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Breatan was not Wales, but the southern districts of Scotland, of which Dunbreatan, now Dumbarton, was the chief seat."

On the other hand, the Rev. Dr. M'Lauchlan, who translated and annotated *The Dean of Lismore's Book*, states (p. 8) that "Breatan" denoted "either Wales or England and Wales together"; and again (p. 49) that the term "included then as now England, Scotland, and Wales."

Of "Lochlan" Dr. Skene says: "Lochlan was the north of Germany, extending from the Rhine to the Elbe; and the name of Lochlanach was originally applied to the ancient traditionary pirates termed the Fomorians. When the Norwegian and Danish pirates appeared in the ninth century, they were likewise called Lochlanach; and the name of Lochlan was transferred to Norway and Denmark, from whence they came." "Historically, 'the land under the waves' [a poetical expression; in Gaelic, *Tir fo thuinn*] was the low-lying coast of Holland and Germany, extending from the Rhine to the Elbe." (*Op. cit.*, pp. lxxv.-lxxvi., and p. 148 of "Additional Notes": also pp. 303 and 603 of Dr. Standish Hayes O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, English translation; London and Edinburgh, 1892.)

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term as signifying "the People of the Goddess Danu," or, in the shorter form, "the People of the Goddess." According to this interpretation, therefore, the name does not necessarily imply anything racial, belonging as it does to the same order as Buddhist, Christian, or any other term denoting the followers of a certain deity or religious leader. A much earlier interpretation is, however, given in a manuscript (now in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh), which formerly belonged to the Argyllshire family of the M'Lauchlans of Kilbride, and which is supposed to have formed a portion of the famous library of Iona, dispersed at the Reformation. In this Kilbride manuscript, then, it is explained that the *Tuatha De Danann* were so called because they were men of science, and were, so to speak, "gods" (*dé*), in contradistinction to laymen, who were *andé*, *i.e.* "no gods."[1] Then, again, the Hon. Algernon Herbert regards the name as meaning "the people devoted to the gods and to bardic sciences."[2] In each of these last interpretations the *Tuatha Dé* are held up to us as a people possessing or claiming superior attributes, which were understood to raise them above the level of other contemporary castes.

These *Tuatha Dé* or "Dananns," then, are said to have come from the Low Countries to Scotland, and after living there for several generations they are understood to have crossed to Ireland, at that time inhabited by the race of the "Fir-Bolgs," whom they subdued. The rule of the Dananns, however, only lasted two centuries; at the end of which time the conquering Gaels made their appearance. It was at this period that Angus, son of The Dagda, was king of the *Tuatha Dea*. The story goes that the Dananns, recognizing that the Gaels came as powerful and warlike invaders, and as colonizers, told them on their first arrival that if they could effect a landing in open day, and in spite of the Dananns, then one-half of Ireland would be ceded to the new comers. The Gaels were successful in landing; but the two parties could not agree as to the

[1] See Dr. Hayes O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica* (English translation), p. 522.

[2] See a paper by the late Herbert Hore on "The Origin of the Irish Superstitions regarding Banshees and Fairies," in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, p. 121.

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division of Ireland, apparently because the Dananns, while willing to surrender one-half of the island, wished to retain the sovereignty of the whole. Then, after the simple fashion of the heroes of ancient chronicles, the rival forces came to the agreement that the matter should be laid before the first person whom a party of deputies from either side should happen to encounter at the outskirts of a certain town on an appointed day, and this man's decision should be held as final. Now, although the Dananns are remembered as "adepts in all druidical and magical arts," the Gaels also had a *druidh* (*i.e.* wizard or *magus*) among their number; and he proved more than a match for the Dananns. For, between him and the leaders of his party it was arranged that the man whom the deputies should accidentally meet at the appointed place should be no other than this *druidh* of the Gaels, whose person was unknown to their opponents. The unsuspecting Dananns walked into the trap. The first man that the delegates met was a strolling harper. "It is a great thing thou hast to do to-day, good master of the sciences!" was the greeting of Angus Mac-a-Daghda, who was one of the company. "What have I to be doing to-day?" quoth the wise man, "except to go about with my harp, and learn who shall best reward me for my music."[1] "Thy task is far greater than that," answered the Danann king; "thou hast to divide Ireland into two equal portions." Thereupon the *druidh*, having obtained the promise of either side that they would abide by his decision, pronounced as follows:—"This, then, is my decision. As ye, O magical Dananns, have for a long period possessed that half of Ireland which is above ground, henceforth the half which is underneath the surface shall be yours, and the half above ground shall belong to the sons of Miledh (the Milesians, or Gaels). To thee, O Angus, son of the Dagda, as thou art the king of the Tuatha De Danann, I assign the best earth-house in Ireland, the white-topped *brugh* of the Boyne.[2] As for the rest, each one

[1] The Dananns themselves were notably "professors of musical and entertaining performances"; and, indeed, the term *druidh*, applied to them also, seems to have indicated the possessor of many accomplishments in art and in a pseudo-science. Compare the interpretation of Tuatha Dé as "gods," already referred to.

[2] "*Brugh barragheal na Boinne*" is the phrase given in *The Glenbard Collection of*

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can select an earth-house for himself." Against this grotesque decision there was obviously no appeal, and the Dananns surrendered the surface of Ireland to the Gaels; and, in the words of Dr. Skene, "retaining only the green mounds, known by the name of Sidh, and then being made invisible by their enchantments, became the Fir Sidhe, or Fairies, of Ireland."[1]

In this legend of the "halving" of Ireland Dr. Skene recognizes the memory of a historical fact—the conquest of Ireland by the Gaels, and the terms meted out by them to the natives. The tradition has, of course, its defects, like most traditions. The "earth-houses" referred to[2] must have already been in existence before they could be spoken of, and particularized, by the magician of the Gaels. The inference to be drawn from the story is that the Dananns were already dwellers in earth-houses or chambered mounds, and that the terms imposed upon them by the Gaels restricted the conquered people to their own habitations, presumably with the reservation of a small portion of the adjoining territory. That, in short, the Gaelic conquest denoted a state of things analogous to the European conquest and settlement of North America, where the native races, having once submitted, were allowed to live on "reservations" scattered here and there throughout the country. Thus, as in America, the two races would live side by side, though perhaps, as in America, presenting the most opposite characteristics.

The Dananns, it has been seen, were famous for the possession of "magical power," or "druidism"; terms which probably can best be translated into modern language by such expressions as shamanism, hypnotism,[3]

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*Gaelic Poetry* (Haszard, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 1888, p. 78), where the above story is told.

[1] Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. III. pp. 106-107. See also p. 93 of the same volume, and pp. 178 and 220 of Vol. I.

[2] The words translated "earth-house," as used by the *druidh*, are "*brugh*" and "*bruighin*."

[3] In a paper on "Mediaeval Glamour and its Antidotes," read before the Folk-Lore Congress held at Memphis, Tennessee, United States, on 23rd January, 1895, I have brought together a number of instances tending to show that "glamour" or "the druidic sleep" was identical with the "mesmerism" and "hypnotism" of modern times.

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and a more or less uncertain amount of scientific knowledge. To a great extent, their so-called magical power was not likely any greater than, or different from, the shamanism of the Lapps, who, down to the present century, were considered to have power to raise tempests and to allay them again; a purely imaginary power, but nevertheless believed in by other races, if not by themselves. One recorded instance of the druidic or magic power of the Dananns is childish in its simplicity. We are told that Cormac Mac-Art, King of Ireland, met his death at the house of Cletech on the Boyne, through "the enchantment (*siabrad*) which Mailgenn the druid practised upon him, after Cormac had turned against the druids, because he worshipped God rather than them."[1] Now, this "enchantment" was very simple in its nature. A fish-bone had been designedly kneaded into some bread which was given to the king, and the bone stuck in his throat and choked him.[2] That is an instance of the "enchantment," "druidism," or "*siabrad*," practised by Mailgenn the druid; and it is one of several indications that the power of those pagan priests was based upon nothing higher than cunning deception and trickery.

The Gaelic word *siabrad*, signifying "enchantment," which has just been quoted, visibly connects itself with another version of the same

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[1] Quoted by Dr. Whitley Stokes from the "Four Masters," at p. 512 of *Folk-Lore*, December, 1892.

It may here be noted that the word "druid," as above used, is the Gaelic word denoting a priest. That Dr. Hill Burton and others should ever have questioned the former existence of druids in the British Islands is simply a proof of their ignorance of Gaelic and of Gaelic records. For an interesting account of druids see pp. 107-119 of Vol. II. of Dr. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*. The situation is there (p. 119, *note*) summed up in these words:—"Dr. John Hill Burton was the first to expose the utterly fictitious basis on which the popular conceptions of the so-called Druidical religion rests, and he has done it with much ability and acuteness in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1863, and in his *History of Scotland*, vol. i. chap. iv. But he undoubtedly carries his scepticism too far, when he seems disposed to deny the existence among the pre-Christian inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland of a class of persons termed Druids. Here he must find himself face to face with a body of evidence which it is impossible, with any truth or candour, to ignore."

[2] See *Silva Gadelica*, p. 289 (Eng. trans.); also the eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, fol. 41 b., as quoted in Petrie's *Round Towers*, pp. 96 and 98.

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story recorded in an ancient Irish manuscript;[1] wherein it is stated that Cormac was killed by "the Siabhras, *i.e.* the Tuatha De Danann, for they were called Siabhras." And on examining these two forms it becomes evident that *siabrad*, "enchantment," is derived from the name applied to the enchanters themselves, *siabhra*.

But this etymological question is still further complicated by the fact that *siabhra* is itself a transference of meaning from the dwellings occupied by those enchanters to the enchanters themselves. To understand this properly we must go back to the name mentioned by Dr. Skene as associated with the Dananns,—the name of *Fir Sidhe*. They were so called, he says, because they lived in "green mounds, known by the name of *sidh*"; whence they became spoken of as *fir-sidhe*, or "mound-men,"—this term being often shortened into *sidhe*.[2] Thus it is stated in an ancient metrical life of St. Patrick that before he began to preach Christianity "the people of Ireland worshipped the *Side*"[3]—by which the mound-

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[1] The *Senchas na Relec*, or History of the Cemeteries. The passage here cited does not appear in the pages of the twelfth-century *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* (of which the *Senchas na Relec* forms a part), but in "a second copy of the same tract [*i.e.* the *Senchas*] preserved in an ancient vellum manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, Class H. 3, 17." (See p. 96 of Petrie's *Round Towers*.)

[2] For a full consideration of this word see my "Notes on the word 'Sidh,'" in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, December, 1893. Owing to the frequent confusion between *sith*, "peace," and *sith* (or *sidh*), "a mound or hill," it is important to cite the remarks in this connection made by the late Dr. Thomas M'Lauchlan, who spoke Gaelic as his mother-tongue, and who also knew the language as a scholar. "This word," he observes, "is found in the names of several Scottish hills, as 'Sìth challain,' *Schihallion*; 'Beinn shìth,' *Ben Hi*; 'An t-sìth mhòr,' *the great pointed hill*"; as well as in "'sìthan,' *a hillock*." And he goes on to say:—"The word has been often mistaken for '*Sìth*,' *peace*, whence the name 'Sitheach [sometimes written phonetically "sheogh" by modern Irish writers], sithichean,' *a fairy*, *fairies*, has been absurdly rendered *the peace folk*, instead of *the folk of the hills*, referring to their reputed residence in earthen mounds" (*The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Edinburgh, 1862, p. 30, n.[2].).

[3] This, it will be seen, is only another way of referring to the condition of things which was illustrated by Cormac's conversion to Christianity and his consequent murder. For his death was brought about by the *Tuatha De Danann*, or *Siabhras*, otherwise the *Fir-Sidhe*, "because he worshipped God rather than *them*."

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dwellers, and not the mounds, are indicated. This one word, *side*, was therefore not only used in its original sense, to denote a certain kind of mound or hill, but it was also applied secondarily to the dwellers in such mounds. (A similar usage obtains among ourselves when we speak of a "blue-jacket," a "red-coat," or a "kilty," meaning in each case, not the actual article of apparel but the person whom it covers.)

And this twofold meaning was further extended from the simple form *side* to the compound *siabhra*. For although it is true that the Dananns "were called Siabhras," yet that name is really a corruption of *sidh-bhrog*, which signifies "a mound-broch or -burgh." In this compound word, therefore, as in the simpler form, the word which primarily denoted the dwelling was also transferred to the dwellers themselves.

The Dananns, then, were known indifferently as *side* and *siabhras*. Whether there was any distinction between these two terms, when used in their original sense, is a little uncertain. In the *Book of Leinster* there is a reference to visits made to "mounds *and* mound-brochs" (*i sithaib ocus i sithbrugâib*),[1] which seems to imply that *sith* and *sith-bhrog* were not exactly synonyms. On the other hand, the *Book of Lismore*[2] speaks of a search to be made in the hope that certain tidings may be found "in any mound of the mound-brochs of Ireland or of Scotland" (*i síd do shidbhrogaib Eirenn nó Alban*).[3] Here there is evidently a distinction in words without any difference in meaning. And in another part of the same manuscript[4] the two terms are interchangeable. A third Irish manuscript, written in 1487, tells of a mound-broch (*sídbrug*) in which was "a fair dwelling," occupied by an aged couple who made ready "a couch and high bed" for their visitor.[5] That such mounds existed within clearly defined

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[1] See Dr. Todd's *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (London, 1867), p. 172. The earliest MS. of the *Book of Leinster* dates from about the twelfth century, but the version here quoted is a copy of 1635, which contains interpolations. It is not known whether the above quotation was in the original MS.

[2] An Irish MS. of the 15th century.

[3] Dr. Hayes O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, p. 203: English volume, p. 230.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 133-135: Eng. vol., pp. 146-148.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 297: Eng. vol., p. 333.

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territories is indicated by a reference to one of the heroes of Irish tradition, Liath, "son of a chief that dwelt in the mound-regions" (*mac flatha bái i sídchairib*).[1] We are told how Liath loved the daughter of a mound-dweller known as Midir of the Mighty Deeds, and how Liath and his followers went forth towards a certain place, "and the slingers of Midir's mound did not let them pass, for as numerous as swarms of bees on a beautiful day was the mutual answer of their castings. So Lochlan, Liath's gillie, was wounded by them, and he died."[2]

The description of Liath as the "son of a chief that dwelt in the mound-regions" plainly points to one or more districts in which those mounds were numerous. But the actual whereabouts of that district, or of those districts, is still more plainly indicated in the celebrated *Book of Ballymote*, a compilation of the latter half of the fourteenth century—the statements in which appear to be partly based on pre-existing manuscripts and partly on oral tradition. In this *Book*, then, there is mention made of a certain woman of the name of Nar. We find Nar spoken of in a work of much earlier date,—the *Book of the Dun Cow* (*Leabhar na h-Uidhre*), with regard to which Dr. O'Grady states that it is "a folio vellum MS. in the Royal Irish Academy, and the earliest non-ecclesiastical codex in Ireland," and that its scribe died in the year 1106.[3] Of that portion of it which I am about to quote from, Dr. George Petrie gives as his opinion that, "judging from its language, its age must be referred to a period several centuries earlier than that in which its transcriber flourished."[4] Here, then, we read that the husband of this woman Nar chose as his burying-place the Cemetery of the Brugh (*Relec in Broga*) on the Boyne, County Meath, "because his wife Nar was of the Tuatha Dea, and it was she solicited him that he should adopt Brugh as a burial-place for himself and his descendants," that having been the cemetery of the nobles of her race.[5] Being one of the Dananns, or *Tuatha Dea*, this Nar was therefore one of the *siabhras*,

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[1] *Silva Gadelica*, Eng. vol., pp. 476 and 522.

[2] *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Decr. 1893, p. 374.

[3] Preface to *Silva Gadelica*, p. ix.

[4] *Round Towers of Ireland*; Dublin, 1845, pp. 95-96.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 97 and 99.

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*sidhe*, or mound-people. And that is how she is spoken of in the fourteenth-century *Book of Ballymote*, which describes her as "Nar out of the mounds" (*a sidaib*).[1] But the writer adds an alternative designation which is of the greatest significance. For the full statement is that she was "Nar out of the mounds *or of Pictland*" (*nó do Chruithentuaith*). Thus "Pictland" and "the mound-regions" were one and the same thing. As if to leave no doubt whatever that this is what is meant by the passage in the *Book of Ballymote*, we have the statement in another manuscript altogether, the manuscript already referred to as having belonged to the M'Lauchlans of Kilbride, that Nar was "the daughter of Lotan of Pictland" (*ingen Lotain do Chruithentuaith*).[2] In this instance there is no mention of her being one of the *Tuatha Dea*, or of her coming "out of the mounds": she is simply "the daughter of Lotan of Pictland." Yet the other quotations show that any one of these designations implies the others. Nor is this the only case in which "the mounds" and "Pictland" are placed side by side. "In an ancient genealogy we read of a wife who was obtained from the mounds of the son of Scal Balbh, or King of Pictland" (*a sidhaibh mic Scail Bhailbh, no ri Cruithentuaithi*).[3]

The Picts, then, are associated with, or identified with, the mound-people or *Tuatha De Danann*; and in at least one instance, that of Nar, all these terms are indifferently applied to one person. Now, it will be seen that this is quite in accordance with what Dr. Skene says. Dr. Skene, it will be remembered, informs us that the Dananns and the Picts, whom he regards as two contemporary tribes, are both traditionally derived from the Netherlands and the neighbouring territory, and both formed settlements in Ireland and Scotland. "These two tribes," he says, "were thus the prior race in each country. Both must have been prior to the Low German population of the Netherlands. The Picts were the race prior to the Gaels in Scotland, and the *Tuatha De Danann* the prior colony to the Gaels in Ireland." He further relates how the Dananns became known as *Sidhe*, or mound-people,

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[1] *Silva Gadelica*, English volume, pp. 495 and 544.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Quoted by Mr. Herbert Hore from the Miscellany of the Celtic Society, p. 25 (*Jour. Roy. Soc. Antiq., Ireland*, June 1895, p. 128).

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and we have just seen that precisely the same appellation was given to the Picts.

And when we turn to Scotland from Ireland (whence most of the foregoing references have been drawn) we find similar testimony. We are informed that when, in the year 1849, Mr. George Petrie was engaged in excavating what appeared to be "a green knoll" on the slope of Wideford Hill, in the mainland of Orkney, he discovered that this "green knoll" was in reality "a structure of the description so generally known by the appellation of a 'Pict's House.'"[1] "Nearly every strong hillock in Orkney is called a 'Pict's House,'" observes Captain Thomas,[2] whose antiquarian experiences in the Northern and Western Isles have long been on record. By this expression he means a structure that outwardly resembles a natural mound, but which is really a stone-built house, whose exterior has been purposely heaped over with earth and stones until the whole presents the appearance of a mound or hillock. Where there is a sufficient superficies of soil, this seeming mound has become clad with the rich, green turf of the typical "fairy knowe."

The interior of the hollow hillock on the slope of Wideford Hill, which Mr. Petrie opened in 1849, consists of one large central chamber, from which three subsidiary rooms or cells lead off by separate passages; while a main passage leads from the west side of the main chamber towards the western base of the mound. Another exit and entrance ought probably to be recognised in the passage which leads eastward from one of the side cells, although Mr. Petrie seems to have had some doubts on the subject.

I have here copies of Captain Thomas's ground-plan and sectional views of this mound-dwelling. From these it will be seen that the stone-work of the structure was of immense thickness, "built generally with considerable regularity; in some cases without clay, and in others with more than a due proportion." The height of the circular wall at its outer side was only

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[1] *Celtic Antiquities of Orkney.* By F. W. L. Thomas, R.N. London, 1851, p. 40 (From the London *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 88-136).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

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2 feet, but although the perpendicular wall stopped at that height the building continued to rise by means of a "bee-hive" or "Cyclopean" roof to a maximum height of about 9½ feet above the centre of the central chamber. All the rooms "are so constructed that the walls gradually converge, closing in on all sides towards the top"; but whereas these converging walls are capped by a large flag-stone in each of the side rooms, the apex of the dome or arch in the main chamber forms an aperture, with regard to which Mr. Petrie says: "The opening at the top is a regularly-built hole, and particularly attracted my attention from its resemblance to the top of a chimney. . . . The top of the hole was on a level with the stone structure, and was merely covered with a layer of turf,"—obviously an accretion since the date when the building was in use. There was "no appearance of any sculpture upon the stones composing the structure, nor were any human bones discovered in or near the building."[1]

The only relics which appear to have been found within the rooms were "the bones of the horse, cow, sheep, swine, etc., and some which were supposed to be those of deer."

Another illustration of the mound-dwelling is afforded us by the Rev. Alexander Pope, minister of Reay, in Sutherland, during the latter part of the eighteenth century.[2] He calls it a "Pictish house," of the variety distinguished by him as a "double house." It will be seen that his sectional view is taken from the side next the doorway, looking into the dwelling. The doorway, we are told, was 3 feet high; closed, when required, by "a large, broad stone." From the dimensions of the mound it is evident that in this case the entrance passage was shorter than that of the Wideford Hill mound. Like Captain Thomas's designs of the latter structure, Pope's representation is conventional in its treatment, though in rather a different style. Probably the originals of the pictures would resemble each other more closely than the diagrams do.

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[1] Capt. Thomas, *op. cit.*

[2] The information here quoted in this connection is taken from Pope's account "Of Caithness, Stathnaver, and Sutherland," published in the Fourth Edition of Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*; London, 1776; Vol. I. pp. 336-366 (Appendix No. V.); Plates XLVI. and XLVII.

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Perhaps even more interesting than the "double house" is Mr. Pope's illustration of the single "Pictish house,"—of which he has happily left us not only a sectional view but also a ground-plan. As in each half of the "double house," the Cyclopean roof of this building terminates in what Pope describes as the usual "opening at the top which served both for light and a vent to carry off the smoke of their fire." And, although there is a marked difference between the respective ground-plans, it will be noted that both at Wideford and in this Sutherland example it was only the central and principal chamber—what Pope calls "the great room"—that had this aperture above. In the Sutherland house, the subsidiary chambers—which are subsidiary to a much greater degree than those at Wideford—had, like those at Wideford, no direct connection with the outer air. So that, when the 3-foot-high doorway was closed, little light could enter the dwelling from outside. When the fire was lit, it would illumine the "great room" fairly well, and we may suppose lamps also were used; or otherwise the side chambers would be quite without light, beyond what flickered in from the central fire. But presumably both fire and lamps were rarely used during the day, and at that time the great room can only have received a dim twilight, while the chambers in the wall would be steeped in obscurity.

It will be seen that the Pict's house last noticed was visibly a stone building, when viewed from the outside. That is to say, there is nothing of the mound about it. Pope tells us "that where the stones were not flat and well bedded, for fear the outer wall should fail, they built great heaps of stones to support it, so that it looks outwardly like a heap without any design." It may be doubted if his explanation of the custom is the correct one, but at any rate he shows us that the builders did not invariably conceal their building under a heap of superincumbent earth, or stones.

But perhaps *the* most interesting feature of the specimen under consideration is its ground-plan, a glance at which will recall to any Scottish archæologist the ground-plan of the so-called "brochs," or "doons." In fact, no one familiar with the tall, double-walled towers so known to archæologists, on looking at the ground-plan of this "Pict's house," would suppose that the structure itself was anything else than a "broch"—except

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for one particular. This is, the absence of a staircase in the wall, leading to one or more upper stories. But the reason of this omission is quite apparent; for the sectional view and Mr. Pope's own words inform us that the walls only rose to a height of twelve feet, and then closed in in a dome-shaped roof. Consequently there was no occasion for any staircase in the wall. Thus, these "Pictish houses," while distinctly allied to the "brochs," reveal themselves as forming a separate variety of the general order of Cyclopean structures. And it is quite likely that in several cases where only the ruined basement of such a building has survived to the present day, it has been hastily assumed to be the ruin of a "broch," although in reality the walls of the complete building had never risen higher than twelve feet.

A further consideration is this. Had this specimen been hidden under a mound of earth, like its kindred "double-house," it would have given us an excellent picture of the mound-broch, or, in the Gaelic, the *sith-bhrog*, a term which, as we have seen, has given its name to the whole race of mound-dwellers in Scotland and Ireland. But what I believe was likely a still better specimen was the mound formerly known as the *Sith-Bhrog*, or Fairy Knowe, of Coldoch, situated about four miles to the south of Doune. In 1870 this mound was opened, and it was discovered to be entirely artificial in its origin, being, in fact, a circular stone building of the kind just described. In one respect, it suggests itself to be a broch, because it has the usual wall staircase of those structures. On the other hand, it had been outwardly a mound, composed of earth and stones heaped over the dwelling. Now, although there are other artificial mounds which have been claimed as true brochs, I find it difficult—on that assumption—to account for the mass of earth heaped around and above the stone-work, which gave the whole the appearance of a conical grassy hillock. Other brochs which have stood for centuries, such as those at Glenelg and Carloway, have no hint of such an accretion of earth; and I do not see how it could have come there except by design. Thus I should interpret the Fairy Knowe of Coldoch to have been akin to the Sutherland structures described by Pope, but differing from them in that it had a staircase in the wall, leading either to a second storey or to an exit in

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the upper part of the mound. This is assuming a structure of which no exact equivalent has to my knowledge been found. But there are so many known varieties of the mound-dwelling (only some of which have been specified in this paper) that the discovery of another variety would not be at all astonishing.

With reference to the Coldoch mound and others like it, Dr. Joseph Anderson remarks: "A few years ago they were mere grass-covered hillocks, indistinguishable from many others that are yet to be seen in various quarters of the same wide district of country. It is impossible to say how many of these unexamined mounds, which exist abundantly in the valleys of the Forth and Teith for instance, may be of similar character. But it is possible to say that where three have been found without being specially looked for, the probability is that more will be found when they are looked for."[1]

What may prove to be a good working clue to guide the investigator to the proper mounds is already suggested in this paper. Considerations of time and space prevent me from entering into a discussion of the involved question of the Origin of the Fairies. But whatever may be the myths and superstitions that cluster around the word "fairy," it is clear that the Gaelic word so Englished originally meant mound-dweller, and was applied to the Picts and to the race known as the Dananns. Why it was so applied is seen from the nature of the dwellings ascribed to those people. Now, it is certain that one cannot accept the tradition of fairy origin as undoubted proof that a mound so distinguished is really an artificial structure. The popular memory is uncertain, and after a lapse of time any green hillock may become confused and identified with others whose origin is really due to the *fir-sidhe*, or mound-men. As a matter of fact, while tradition has been proved to be right in some cases, it has been proved to be quite wrong in others. Still, the statements quoted in the earlier part of this paper seem to me well worth consideration by the practical investigator. Tradition had ascribed the mound at Coldoch to the race of the mound-dwellers long before its artificial origin was clearly

[1] P. 191 of *Scotland in Pagan Times:* The Iron Age. Edinburgh, 1883.

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proved: what of the Fairy Knowe on the neighbouring estate of Blair Drummond, or what of many others whose names will occur to several of those present? At any rate, whatever degree of reliability one may place in the clue which I have just indicated, there can be no doubt as to the former existence in this country of a people who lived in what were practically mounds; and I shall be glad if this paper does anything to stimulate others in the same line of research.

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No. XIII.

# THE TEMPLE BARONY OF MARYCULTER.

BY

JOHN EDWARDS, F.S.A. Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th February*, 1900.)

The Parish of Maryculter lies almost entirely upon the south side of the Dee, and is thus in Kincardineshire, while the neighbouring Parish of Peterculter lies on the north of the river, and is in Aberdeenshire. Maryculter had a population in 1891 of 1024. In early times they formed the undivided Parish of Culter. The name is Gaelic, Cùl-tir, signifying "at the back of the land."[1] The division of the parish took place in the 13th century, and the events which led to it will appear as we proceed.

The Knights Templars had, as is well known, their principal seat at Balintrado or Balantrodach, now the Parish of Temple, on the South Esk, and there they erected their principal Church and Preceptory in Scotland. But it is probably not so generally known that they had another Church and Preceptory within the old Parish of Culter in a very picturesque situation on the south bank of the Dee, about ten miles south-west of Aberdeen. Our historians—notably Mr. Hill Burton—have taken pains to endeavour to prove the wealth of Scotland prior to the War of Independence. But there is indirect evidence of the

[1] Johnston's *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 72.



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comparative poverty of our country in the fact that while the Templars had upwards of forty Preceptories in England,[1] in Scotland they had only two. Preceptories, I need hardly remind you, were established for a twofold purpose: (1) as a recruiting ground and training school for the young members of the Order; and (2) as a source of revenue. Every Preceptor required to make a periodical return of his revenue and expenditure and remit the balance, if any, to headquarters, to be applied to the general purposes of the Order. The wealth of the Order, and the sinews of war in Palestine, were obtained in great part from the remittances made by the different Preceptories throughout Europe. We know from the returns of the Hospitallers that in 1338—26 years after the suppression of the Templars—their revenues derived from "Lands, tenements, duties, services, churches, and all other possessions which had belonged to the Templars in Scotland, were, on account of the fierce war continued for many years, nothing at all." But they state that, "in time of the Templars, and in time of peace, there was wont to be a balance on the credit side of 300 marks."[2] This credit balance, the head of the Order in Scotland, who resided, as I have already said, at Balantrodach, was bound to remit to the Master of the Temple in London, and he in turn remitted to the Grand Master abroad. The objects for which the Order was established made it, during its day of prosperity, one of the popular institutions of the Middle Ages, and its rapid increase of wealth, at a time when there was no opportunity of employing it against the enemies of the faith in the Holy Land, was one of the potent causes of its downfall. As Mr. Kemble says of the Hospitallers, and the remark is equally applicable to the Templars: "While the Order was very young and poor, humility of spirit and oatmeal porridge were considered to have a sort of necessary connexion, but as it grew old and rich, venison and claret were not found incompatible with the fundamental virtue."[3] One mistake that the Knights Templars made was to flaunt their privileges and wealth before the eyes of their possibly poorer but still powerful neighbours, the secular and regular

[1] Addison's *Knights Templars* (2 Edn.), p. 103.
[2] *The Knights Hospitallers in England*, p. 201.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. lvi.

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clergy. The Hospitallers were somewhat wiser in their generation, and they survived, while their brethren of the Temple were ruined.

When proceedings were taken against the Templars in Scotland, in November 1309, the Court sat at the Abbey of Holyrood, and it had before it two Templars. The second of these, William de Middleton, in his examination being asked in what houses of his Order he had dwelt from the time of his reception, replied that he had been for five years in different places in England, and also for two years in Scotland at "Culthur" and at "Blancrodoks," and for three years in Northumbria in different places.

Culter, thus mentioned by de Middleton, is now the Parish of Maryculter, and came into the hands of the Knights before 1239[1] by the gift of Walter Bisset, from whom also they received the Church of Aboyne, about 25 miles further up the Dee. This latter grant was confirmed by the Bishop of Aberdeen, Ralph de Lambley (1239-47).[2] Bishop Ralph was a model Bishop. "Vir magnae honestatis," he is called by Fordun. He was such an ascetic that he is said to have made the visitations of his diocese on foot.[3] Thus a confirmation by him of a grant to the Templars seems to prove that at that date there was not much wrong with their morals—in Scotland, at all events.

We must remember that so far as the Order was concerned we were just an outlying part of England, and that the brethren here, from the Scottish master downwards, took all their orders from the Temple in London. No brethren, it appears, were received into the Order in Scotland. The rites of reception were performed only in England. This was in favour of the brethren in Scotland when the examination into the Order in 1309 took place, for the charges were chiefly directed against rites alleged to be practised at the initiation of new members. Of the two Knights examined before the Court appointed to inquire into the charges, which consisted of the Papal Legate, John de Solerio, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, the first, Walter de Clifton, had been admitted into the Order in

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[1] *Scott. Review*, July 1898, p. 12. [2] *Reg. Episc. Aber.*, ii. 271.
[3] *Reg. Episc. Aber.*, xxiii.

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1299 at Temple Bruer in Lincolnshire. I may say in passing that the tower of the Church and Preceptory of Temple Bruer is still standing, and is on the estate of the Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, M.P.[1] The second Knight, William de Middleton, depones that he was admitted in 1302 at Temple Newsom, near York.

When the Templars acquired the lands in Culter Parish from Walter Bisset in the 13th century, they proceeded to build their Preceptory upon the banks of the Dee, and also erected a Chapel dedicated to their patron, the Virgin Mary. The old Church of Maryculter, situated in a very picturesque spot on the south bank of the river, and of which only the foundations are left, occupies, without doubt, the site of this Chapel. It is said to have contained a number of curious wood-carvings which were all dispersed when it ceased to be used as a place of worship. It is surrounded by the old churchyard, and is quite near the present mansion-house of Maryculter. I measured the old Church and found it 84 feet long, 30 feet wide, with walls about 3 feet thick. It was used as the Parish Church until 1782, when the present church was built about a mile to the south. Dr. Walker, in his paper on "The Knights Templar in and around Aberdeen," mentions that "part of the walls of the Preceptory were included in the walls of the residence built by Gilbert Menzies, the proprietor of Maryculter, in 1728." The present parish takes its name from the Templars' Chapel, which, as I have said, was dedicated to St. Mary, hence Maryculter.

This Chapel soon got them into trouble with the powerful Abbot and Monastery of Kelso, who were proprietors of the Parish Church of Culter, situated on the other side of the river in what is now the Parish of Peterculter, the Church having been dedicated to St. Peter. Although the dispute has been referred to before, yet it is worth while to recall some of the points.

According to the practice which was followed in cases of this kind where the dispute was between different ecclesiastical authorities, the Holy See appointed the question to be amicably decided by the Abbots of Jedburgh and Holyrood. These appointed as their Commissaries the

[1] An engraving of it is given in *Addison's Knights Templars*, page 48, second edition.

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Subprior and Sacristan or Treasurer of Dryburgh before whom the case was debated.[1] The Abbey of Kelso alleged that besides its other privileges it had the right to prohibit the building or repair of any Chapel within the parish, and that, notwithstanding this, the Templars had erected the Chapel in question. The Monks therefore claimed that they had the legal right to have it pulled down. In addition to invading the rights of the Abbey by building their Chapel, the Knights are accused of having done the Abbey the further wrong of unjustly withholding payment of "tithes greater and lesser and offerings of all kinds exigible for their lands and property in the parish." The claim of the Abbey of Kelso on behalf of the Parish Church of Culter was thus a twofold one: (1) that decree should be given that the Knights' Chapel of St. Mary should be levelled with the ground, and (2) that they should be ordained to pay the Abbey as proprietors of the living the teinds and offerings due, and to become due for their lands in the parish. Against this twofold claim the Master and Knights exhibited "certain privileges of the Apostolic See, from the inspection of which it appeared to be certain that the brethren of the Order had obtained from time immemorial (*ab antiquo*) the right that they should be free and exempt from payment of tithes from their lands which they had brought or might bring into cultivation either by their own labour or by that of others their men, and also that it was lawful to the brethren in waste places obtained by them through pious devotion to erect churches or chapels (*ecclesias seu capellas*) and cemeteries for themselves, and for their men dwelling there and their servants (*familia*), and also for wayfarers." In exercise of this power they stated that they had lawfully built the said free Chapel beside their Preceptory of Culter with the cemetery and baptistry, also that they had possessed the teinds, etc., of their lands in the parish, and also "Tulichezirt and Blaris," which they had reclaimed from the Royal forest, quietly and peaceably for forty years and more.[2] They also declared that,

[1] We are not told why the Abbots did not hear the case themselves.

[2] It is evident that the western part of Maryculter was originally forest, and that the Templars had brought considerable portions into cultivation. They thus proved themselves enterprising landlords.

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owing to the Parish Church of Culter being across the river of Dee—a river of great size—(*flumen grande*), their men living on their lands of Kyncolsi, Estertully, and of both Deliburries, were prevented often from attending the Parish Church though willing to do so. There being no bridge, attendance at church was, and had all along been, in times of flood, accompanied by risk both to the parishioners and their horses. The parishioners in these circumstances were seldom able to reach the church at all. I fear that in this less strenuous age the necessity of fording a river such as the Dee would be looked on as a good reason for not only "seldom" but never attempting to reach it. They were bound, they stated, to provide not only the usual succour for the body, but also the means of Christian burial, baptism, and the other Sacraments of the Church for those dwelling upon their lands. They anew recite their privileges in accordance with which they had built the Chapel with cemetery and baptistry, and had refused payment of teind.

The Arbiters were evidently of opinion that the Knights had made a good defence, and, in order "that all matter of dispute might be for ever removed," pronounced an amicable decree, whereby the Templars retained the Chapel, baptistry, cemetery, teinds, offerings, etc.; in fact, all that they contended for, they becoming bound to pay the Abbey of Kelso 8½ marks annually at the Feast of St. James the Apostle (25th July) in the Preceptory of the Temple of "Blantrodoc." The first payment was to be made at the Feast of St. James, A.D. 1288.

There are some interesting facts connected with the execution of this Agreement. It was in duplicate, and we learn that it was sealed with several seals. The part retained by the Templars had affixed to it the Common Seal of the Abbey of Kelso and the seals of the Subprior and Treasurer (*Sacrista*) of Dryburgh, the Arbiters; that retained by the Abbot and Monastery had the seal of the Master of the House of the Temple in Scotland and the Common Seal of the Temple of England, and also the Arbiters' seals. It was executed in March, 1287. About 100 years after—namely, in 1396—the copy in possession of the Abbey of Kelso was taken from its repository by Nicholas de Burn, Clerk of the Diocese of Glasgow, Notary Public, in order to make a copy thereof. He found

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that it then had four seals attached. The first was of green wax, with the Sacred Lamb in the centre, and round the circumference the legend "Sigillum templi Scotie." The second seal was of white wax, with a shield on which were three leather bottles (*utres*). The third seal was oblong, with an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the middle, "but its circumference I could not read," he says. The fourth seal was also oblong and of white wax. It displayed a representation of the Holy Trinity.

The boundaries of the Parish of Maryculter which resulted from this Agreement are thus described in the 15th century: "Thir ar the merys of the landis of Cultyr pertenand to the Tempil of Saynt Jon; to begyn at the est half at the burn of the Ardach as it descendis in water of Dee, and sua up endlang that burn and about Tulyschetir to the hill of Knokyndythir and sua furth west to Drumdothrik and sua to the syde of Corsley, and syne furth on the west half to the cors of Brechmont and syne doune betwix the twa Essyntulis to the crag of Essyntuly, and sua doune to Drumdarach and thar was a cors, and sua in the water of Dee on the west half of the land of Cultre towart Durrys."[1] From this entry in the registry of the Bishopric of Aberdeen we learn that the Knights of St. John had made good their claim to the Maryculter property of the Templars. This claim had in all probability been conceded soon after the fall of the latter, and it seems likely that the Hospitallers had become firmly established on Deeside by the time of Sir Alexander Seton's preceptorship. He had a charter from King Robert the Bruce "of ane tenement in Aberdeine."[2] In all probability this is the property in the Nether Kirkgate of the burgh which belonged to the Knights Templars.[3] We know, from proceedings taken by him, that he was strenuous in upholding and asserting the rights of his Order. In 1345 he must have been in Aberdeen, for among the muniments of Mr. Gordon of Fyvie is a charter by "Sir Alexander Lord of Seton, Guardian of the House of St. John of Jerusalem of Torphechyn narrating that by the evils of the wars

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[1] *Reg. Epis. Aber.*, i. p. 247. [2] *Robertson's Index Ch.*, p. 16-29.
[3] *Chartulary of Drem*, p. 11.

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in Scotland Walter Grethenued, burgess of Aberdeen, lately his tenant in fee and heritage of the lands of Ochtyrelon, in Buchan, had been reduced to such poverty, that, for his relief and subsistence, he had been compelled to sell these lands without the said Sir Alexander's consent, to William of Melgdrum, son of the late John of Melgdrum, and that it would be more for his advantage to have the said William than the said Walter for his tenant, therefore confirming to him the said lands, he making the customary returns, and giving suit at three head courts at Little Harthill, in the Garuyach. Dated at Aberdeen, on Monday after the feast of St. Mary Virgin, 1345."[1] The Preceptor was evidently on the spot looking after the property of the Order, and the Barony of Maryculter doubtless had his attention, and we know from subsequent deeds that the lands and Preceptory of Maryculter, with the Church, teinds, fishing, etc., remained in possession of the Hospitallers. The fishings in the Dee must have been valuable. "About 1521 Sir George Dundas, Lord of St. John, had a remission of customs of 8 lasts of salmon extending to £19 4s. exported yearly by him from Aberdeen on the account of Grand Master at Rhodes."[2] In 1540 Sir Walter Lindsay, Preceptor of Torphichen, is said to have granted the lands of Essentully (now Ashentilly) *jacentes in Baronia nostra de Maricultir*, to his beloved brother-german, Alexander Lindsay, and in 1545 he leased to him the Mains of Maryculter, part of the rent being "thre barrell of salmont yeirlie for the Weill Watter anentis Furd."[3]

In 1547 Sir James Sandilands, Lord of St. John's and Preceptor of Torphichen, leased the "teynd schawis" of Easter Essentully and the Mains of Maryculter, "lyand within the Barony of the samyn," to the same Alexander Lyndesay; and in 1548, in an action raised by the Preceptor, it was found that "the haill landis and Barony at Maricultir" belonged "to his said preceptorie in fre regalite," having been "in tymes bypast replegit fra the Scheref of Kincardine and his deputis to the fredome and privelege of the sayd regalite and baillies courttis thairof."

In the charter obtained from Queen Mary in 1563 erecting the estates of

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, v. 646. [2] M'Call's *Par. of Mid-Calder*, p. 255.
[3] *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland.*

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the Hospitallers into a lay Barony in favour of the last Preceptor, Sir James Sandilands, and his heirs, the lands of Maryculter are mentioned as being part of the estates so erected. But twenty-eight years before, large portions of them had been alienated, so that, beyond the patronage of the Parish Church, the estate in Maryculter was mostly a superiority. At Edinburgh, on 15th December, 1535, Sir Walter Lindsay—Sir James Sandilands' predecessor in the Preceptorship of Torphichen—had granted a charter, with consent of Friar Philip Villiers de L'isle Adam, Grand Master of the Order at Malta. By this charter he feued to Gilbert Menzies of Findon and Marion Chalmer his spouse and the longer liver of them, and to Thomas Menzies of Pitfodels, his son and apparent heir, and his heirs male and assignees whomsoever, heritably, his lands of Blairs, Estland, Tuliskeith, and Estertilboury, with the mill of the lands of Maryculter, and other rights, including fishings, all in the Barony of Maryculter and shire of Kincardine. The feu-duty payable is £16 13s. 4d. yearly, and attendance is stipulated for at the three head Courts of the Barony.[1]

The Menzies family had proved good tenants under the Knights, and they are rewarded by obtaining fixity of tenure in 1535. Coming originally from Perthshire, this family for about 300 years possessed great influence in and around Aberdeen. In 1426, Gilbert Menzies was Provost of Aberdeen, and thereafter a Menzies occupied the civic chair so frequently that in the following 200 years the combined provostships of these gentlemen amount to 112 years. Sir Paul Menzies of Kinmundy, who died in 1641, at the ripe age of eighty, was the last of these hereditary provosts. His monument, with an inscription, was discovered in St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, in 1875, when some alterations were being made on the West Church.[2]

But to return to the main branch of the family: The lands of the "Maynis" of Maryculter; the lands of Cottoun, including the teinds, and with their salmon fishings in the river Dee; also the lands of Blairs and other lands named, with the mill of Maryculter, also "lie Wode" of Kintewling, were resigned by James Sandilands, second Lord Torphichen, into the

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 29 Jac. V. 2680.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xi. p. 458.

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King's hands, who, on 27th July, 1615, by charter under the Great Seal, granted them to Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodels and his heirs, in consideration of a feu-duty of £8 per annum and an annual teind to the minister of Maryculter of 200 merks.[1] This grant embraced further portions of the lands, and consolidated them with former grants, but still these formed only a portion of the extensive estates in the parish formerly belonging to the Knights; and yet they were an important possession, for the Menzies family made Maryculter henceforward their residence, and the present clock-tower at the mansion-house is said to have been used by them as an oratory.[2]

In the Abstract of Charters in the Chartulary of Torphichen, published by the late Mr. Maidment, there is a Letter of Commission of the Parish of Marieculter to Gilbert Inez, of Pitfodels, 16th August, 1584.[3] Inez is obviously a mistake for Menzies. The family burial-ground is at St. Nicholas, in Aberdeen, and there, in what is known as the West Church, are to be seen the effigies of Thomas Menzies and his wife Marion Reid, heiress of Pitfodels, who were married in 1517.[4] The last laird of the family of Menzies of Pitfodels founded the Roman Catholic College of Blairs, his gift extending to 1000 acres of the Templars' lands. The estates of Maryculter and Ashentilly in possession of the Lairds of Pitfodels extended to 5000 acres.[5] The whole Temple Barony of Maryculter contained about 8000 acres of arable land.[6]

We find that in 1610 John Irving, then of "Kincowssie" had a grant from the Crown on the resignation of James, Lord Torphichen, of the town and lands of Kincowssie, with the manor-place, rabbit-warrens, fish-ponds, salmon fishings of the same in the water of Dee, forests, marshes, moors,

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 48 Jac. VI. 1306.

[2] *Gazetteer of Scotland*, vol. ii., *sub voce* "Maryculter."

[3] Abstract of Charters, p. 11.

[4] *Reg. Mag. Sig.* 4. Jac. V. 155. I am indebted to the Rev. C. M'Glashan, of Maryculter, for information regarding these effigies.

[5] Dr. Walker's *Knights Templars*, p. 11.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

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meadows, "lie foggage, fewall," common rights and pasture, with the rectoral tithes included, with all privileges contained in the infeftment of James, Lord of Torphichen, in the Barony of Maryculter.[1] This John Irving was of the same line as the Irvines of Drum. The Irvines of Kingcaussie ended in an heiress, Ann Irvine, who married Claude Irvine Boswell, Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Balmuto. Two etchings of him will be found in Kay's *Original Portraits*. We are told that "the death under his own roof of his kinsman, Sir Alexander Boswell, from the effects of a wound received by him in a duel with James Stewart of Dunearn, gave him a shock from which he never entirely recovered." He died in 1824 in his 83rd year.[2] His son, Mr. Irvine-Boswell, who died in 1860, is buried in the churchyard at Maryculter.

In the year 1610 we have another Crown charter, also on the resignation of James, Lord Torphichen, of a part of the same lands of Maryculter, namely, that in favour of John Collesoun of Auchinlowny, and Jeanne Hay, his spouse, of the lands of Auchinlowny (now Auchlunie), with the salmon fishings in the river Dee adjoining to them, all these lands being described as lying within the Barony of Maryculter, Lordship (*dominium*) and Regality of Torphichen and shire of Kincardine.

From these charters we see how extensive the Barony of Maryculter was, and also how the lords of St. John got quit of it. In 1599, some years after his accession, the second Lord Torphichen conveyed the whole Temple and Hospital lands, with the exception of the large estates and baronies, of which Maryculter was one, to Robert Williamson, writer, and James Tennent of Linhouse. In subsequent years he gradually disposed of the large properties, until he was left with only the land upon which stand the ruins of the Preceptory at Torphichen. That he could not part with, as it is generally considered by peerage lawyers that the grant of the dignity of Lord St. John of Torphichen depends on the possession of the principal messuage.

Thus this northern parish was for the long period of 300 years in close

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.* 44 Jac. VI. 392.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography, sub voce* "Boswell."

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touch with two of the grandest orders of medieval chivalry, and I venture to say that not only its inhabitants, but the dwellers in the surrounding districts, including the neighbouring city of Aberdeen, benefited from the stimulus given by the presence of the Knights. For both the Templars and the Hospitallers were "nobill travellit Knichts," and the enlightenment which they thus gained themselves, they could not help imparting in some measure to others. I believe our country would have been poorer in many ways, mentally as well as materially, had we not formed a part of the wondrous organization of the Temple, and of the Hospital of St. John, which in their day embraced the whole Christian world.

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## No. XIV.

# LETTERS FROM DARIEN.

BY

THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL STORY, D.D., LL.D., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th February, 1900.*)

THESE letters are of interest as throwing a little side-light on one of the most unfortunate episodes in Scottish history. Many chapters in that history are full of tales "of stormy chivalry and tragic love"; of gallant and not seldom disastrous warfare; of cruel conflicts between rival factions in Church and State; but none record so deplorable a commercial ruin as those that tell of the expedition to Darien, and the ill-fortune of the great Scottish Company, "trading to Africa and the Indies." The letters were addressed to Wm. Dunlop 200 years ago, Principal of the University of Glasgow, the son of that Rev. John Dunlop, of Paisley, whose "holy groan," and "painful preaching of the Word," wonderfully thrilled his hearers—according to Mr. Buckle. Dunlop, persecuted because of his religion, went to Carolina for refuge; returning after the Revolution, he became minister of Ochiltree, and finally Principal of the University in 1690. During his residence in Carolina he had learned a good deal about the West Indies and the Isthmus of Panama—enough to make him turn a willing ear to the brilliant proposals of William Paterson, and the other bold and adventurous spirits who planned the expedition to Darien. Paterson was undoubtedly a great financial genius. The son of

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a bonnet laird in Dumfriesshire, he had, like Dunlop, been forced to fly the country to escape the hateful government of the Restoration; and after many adventures in the Old World and the New, had settled down to mercantile life in London, and founded the Bank of England—his greatest achievement. The Darien Company, which was to make poverty-stricken Scotland the pioneer of a new and illimitable trade, and enrich Leith and Glasgow with wealth beyond the dreams of southern Bristol or foreign Genoa—was a more audacious but less stable enterprise. Yet it fascinated the sober Scottish mind—not insensible to tempting lures of gain, nor incapable of violent outbursts of passionate daring. Dunlop not only associated himself heartily with the popular scheme, but persuaded his colleagues in the University to show their confidence in its soundness in the most patent of all proofs, by investing the University money in the Company's stock. That Dunlop's presence among the directors and counsel at the Board were prized by Paterson is plainly seen from his letters. The first two which I quote are written at Edinburgh in March and April, 1698, while the preparations for the portentous expedition were going on. The next is from Madeira, on the 31st August of the same year. Paterson had sailed with the first company of adventurers, which had left Leith on a bright day in July, full of hope and confidence. There were five vessels in all, carrying twelve hundred "chosen men," with cargoes intended to supply all their own possible wants, and to open a trade with the natives, which should gradually extend to the shores of the Pacific. When once the adventurers should make their way thither, the narrow isthmus between the two seas would, they felt certain, soon be the highway of the commerce of East and West.

The policy of the colony, as laid down by Paterson, was Free Trade and Religious Liberty, neither of which flourished in the Britain which he was leaving behind. That these principles could not be worked out, or at least failed in their application, in Darien, we shall see from the later letters. Already in this one from Madeira we can perceive the fore-shadowings of the disasters that were to overwhelm the colony—apprehensions of insufficient supplies and reinforcements, in particular.

Letter No. 3 is his last letter to Dunlop, in connection with the Darien

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business; a few at a period considerably subsequent relate to his efforts to rescue some support for himself out of the wreck of the ill-starred company. As we all know, it proved a total failure. Paterson was conveyed, apparently dying, to New York, whence he returned to Scotland; while the rest of the adventurers, cut down by eight months of disease and famine, had either perished at the settlement, or abandoned it. In the meantime two other expeditions had left Scotland; and in the second of them had sailed in the capacity of Chaplain the writer of the remaining letters, the Rev. Alexander Shields—the author of the *Hind Let Loose* and many another polemical tract and treatise of that stormy time, when Presbytery and Prelacy—arbitrary Government and popular liberties—made Scotland their battlefield. He had preached and protested and testified till he got himself shut up in the Bass. After the Revolution he found himself free, though with many misgivings and much searching of heart, to take service under an uncovenanted King, in the shape of the appointment of chaplain to the Cameronian Regiment, which under the gallant Cleland had retrieved at Dunkeld the disaster of Killiecrankie. He ministered to it when it was fighting King William's battles in the Low Countries, and possibly his martial congregation—grim religionists like himself—formed an exception to Uncle Toby's verdict that our army "swore terribly in Flanders"—for he relates in his diary, complacently, that one day the King, riding through the camp, came up to the Cameronians, "looked pleasantly on them," inquired for Shields, and asked "Whether we prayed as much as we did before, and whether the colonel or the chaplain had the greater influence in the regiment." Shields' career with the troops being ended, he became for a time minister of St. Andrews and then chaplain to the second detachment of the Darien Expedition. The church at home was perhaps not sorry to ship him off to the Land of Promise across the Atlantic. The General Assembly had, from the first, been anxious for the spiritual welfare of the colonists, and despatched Shields with three other ministers to plant the Kirk in Darien; and in Feb. 1700 sent after them a letter thanking them for their "ready submission and willingness to undertake the hazardous but honourable service" which had been entrusted to them. How Shields understood this service, and how he discharged it, will

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appear from his letters to Dunlop—the first of which is dated "Port Royale, August 18, 1699"; and the last "Caledonian Bay, 2 Feb., 1700."

We can gather from the letters from Darien a pretty clear indication of the fatal conditions that existed within the expeditions themselves. It is clear that the second company of settlers were, to a large extent, like the men of the First Crusade, loose and unruly adventurers; their leaders were not strong enough to control them; and their rather fanatical ministers, trying to force on them the most rigid discipline, and the extremest of Scottish 17th century Calvinism, only succeeded in verifying the dictum of Sir John Dalrymple, that "though Religion be the noblest and firmest principle of great actions, yet, in the hands of weak men, it will defeat the greatest." There was little practical wisdom shown in the selection of the materials for Transatlantic trade; in the fitting out of the expeditions, and in the administration of the Colony. The causes of their ruin, external to the expeditions, were the hostility of Spain; the jealousy of the English and Continental merchants; but above all, the heartless unfriendliness of William and his English Government, who would not even allow the adventurers to get relief and supplies in their extremity from the English Colonies. The great Company struggled on in a bankrupt condition till the Union, when it was formally dissolved, and a grant of £400,000 was voted as compensation for a failure which had involved, one may say, all Scotland, in financial disaster and national humiliation.

EDINB^R. March 29th 1698.

Dear Sir,—I have been exceedingly troubled at your illness who Can be soe ill spared but hope in god you may Recover from this Fysickal Destemper with the Spring of the year and that we shall shortly see you at Edinb^r to help us forward in the work that has been soe Long Depending But in yo^r Absence I am forced to trouble you with these Lines for yo^r Advice and Directions in the mater of the Ministers to goe in the Expedition in order to which Mr. Tho^s James was with the Directors this Day and has moved that 60^ll that was proposed is not Incouragment suficient for Induceing persons to that undertaking who may be any way fit for it; and Indeed since anything at all has been named for the Ministers I am of his oppinion—therefore I thinke the Company ought to name their Establish^mt] to be 100^ll ster a year and

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Certainly That would be litle enough nay too Litle for any man in that station were there not more Incouragment to be expected when it shall please god we Come to be setled, but since we can give them noe prospect of what as yet has noe being and they can have noe Due Conceptions of let us name something that may be Aceptable to people in their own way and there can be no Danger in it, since they must have all the Incouragment we shall name them here and more, or it will not be Right, for you know 100[li] a year will not goe far in the Indies—so as I am very Anctious to have a good *Magistracey* soe as much as possible for a good begining and foundation of a *Ministery* which will be of the highest Consequence to this Designe pray therfore write Answer to the Companeys of this night and speake your minde as to a yearly Allowance as also of a sum to buy Books for the Ministers, Tho you Know I am a free Spirit to all nay even somtimes so far as justly Deserves Correction and Reprehension, yet I tell you I have since I saw you Last had more Cause to take Care and be cautious upon that mater then in most other steps of my life for I am sure the Ends I have had and allwayes hope to have of the glory of God and good of men will be far from being Answerd by a wild-headed unsavoury Magistracy, and either the want of a Ministery or such a one as we had beter be without pray therfore take care of this mater and give the Comp[y] faithfull Advise both as to persons and Things; things Doe goe well here tho[h] somthing slowly and I hope about 14 or 20 dayes shall set all our wheels a goeing and that soe much more time will set the ships to sea soe beseeching Allmighty God of his goodness to grant this undertaking a Just and Religious Magistraccy and as Godly savoury and profitable Ministery, —I am S[r] with Due Respects Yo[r] Real friend and humble sert

WILLM PATERSON.

Pray send yo[r] Answer to the Company in these maters by nixt post.

Mr Lodge is Arived from London and is as hearty for the Company as formerly I suppose you have heard

EDINB[R]. Thursday April 21 1698.

S[r],—Considering how Indisposed you have Latly been I am unwilling to Desire you to hazard yo[r] health but Rather even to Run the greatest Dangers or Disorders, in our publike undertaking, but could it any way sute with your ability and convenience there is a great need of your presence now but for a few Dayes to give a finishing stroake to what you have Already been soe usefull in, and I hope eight or ten days stay in Edinburgh would nowe give you more satisfaction then you Could ever yet have in—puting this thing in a fair way of doeing well therfore if you Can be at Edinburgh on Monday or



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Tuesday nixt it will not only be to the great satisfaction to our frends but will greatly promote some things that perhaps canot or at Least will not be soe Cosyly or well Done without you, and which are Essntially needfull before wee Can proceed, Soe with my most hearty Respects to your Familly and all frends,—I am yo$^{r}$ Reale frend and humble Sert

WILLM PATERSON.

MADERA August 31 1698

S$^{r}$,—We and the Endeavour Pinck Arived here in good health on Monday was the seven night and the St Andrew Caledonia and Dolphin on Thursday Last the Councell have writen at Large to the Directors by way of Lisbone as they Intend by this occasion being an English Ketch Bownd from hence to Midleborg in Zea Land and to these Letters I Refer you only in generall if we are but in any Reasonable sort supported from Scotland we have all the probabiliy in the world of success A good Harmony Among us and none of the whole fleet Dead but two one Drunk Dead with Brandy and Another who was Deadly sick when he parted from Scotland and upon Review this Day we could but finde three men on board or ship somewhat ill and none at all sick and the other ships are also very healthfull tho$^{h}$ we be all very much Crouded for God's Sake minde is with supplys from Glasgow for to have any more ships sail from the firth is Destruction it being worse and far more hazardous then an Indian voyage to sail Roond I have my health very well and am far beter then I Ever used to be at Sea or then I Expected I wrote to you and to Coll Erskine about supplying that part of my family left at London with subsistance I hope he and you have Er this taken Care in that Mater and I hope I need not tell you how Ready I shall be with the first occasion to Remitt it Back to you the English hre are very kinde and the Consule here Ready Enough to serve us and by all I Can Learne I hope we shall not finde a Dog to Move his Tongue Against us so w$^{t}$ most hearty service to all frends,—I Rest yo$^{rs}$ to serve you

WILLM PATERSON

LONDON 29$^{th}$ Novemb$^{r}$ 1698

S$^{r}$,—This came inclosed from M$^{rd}$ Paterson at y$^{e}$ Madera 31$^{st}$ Aug$^{t}$ last, when he writes word they were then all in good health, He likewise acquaints me That he had desired you & Col$^{o}$ Erskine w$^{th}$ some others of his Friends there to supply his occasions here with one hundred pounds towards support of his Children in his absence, S$^{r}$ I hope you will gratify his request therein, and I doubt not but he will thankfully owne all Friendshipp & kindness to him on any occasion, especially on this, Pray S$^{r}$ what you intend, lett be

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very speedy, w^ch^ will double ye obligation to him, and also to S^r^ Your unknown Serv^t^

SAM^L^ SOUTH

You may direct your Letter for me in Mark Lane. London.

For MR WM DUNLOPE
Principall of the
Colledge of Glascow
[Edinburgh

Caledonia

The Humble Proposalls on behaffe of William Paterson to the Right Hon^ble^ the Court of Directors of the Indian and African Company of Scotland.

1. That towards his Great expenses Losses and pains in and about this Vndertaking The Company will be pleased to allow him a credit for 7500^ll^ payd into their Capitall Stock and allsoe three pr Cent of the profits of their said Capitall Stock for one and twenty years to come.

2. In order to ease him of some of the most uneasy and—troublesom debts Contracted since his first Coming to Scotland in order to promote this Affaire: that The Company will bee pleased to advance one thousand pounds sterling In Scotland to him or his order

3. And to relieve and promote his Credit in this place soe as to bee better enabled to follow trade for his owne and the Collonys Advantage, That the Company will give him one thousand pounds sterling Credit vpon the Councell here

4. That In Order to recouer what is due to the Company frome Mr Dan^le^ Lodge and that his demands vpon Mr Paterson may be timely deducted and allow'd As Apart of the said one thousand pounds Credit vpon the Councell The Court of Directors will please to send a full power to the Councell here to demand and receive what euer said Mr Lodge owes to the Company;

5. That Mr Patersons Books may be discharged frome of 150^ll^ Sterling advanced him by the Comitee for Sailing orders, that it may bee henceforwards Left in his voluntory power to appropriate not only these but all other books

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that hee shall bee Master of to the Collony, but not to bee exposed to affronts in hauing them forceably extorted from him vnder pretence of a sale w^ch^ if hee had known of the vse hath been made of it, hee would neuer have Condesended thereunto;

6. That one half of the profits and produce of the said Intrest in and profits of the Companys Stock proposed to bee allowd Mr Paterson may goe towards satisfying and repaying the before proposed Summs of two thousand one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, and the ballance of James Smith his account to the Company w^th^ Intrest att the rate of 6 pr Cent pr anum, and for that end, that Mr Paterson may not have power to sell or allienate any part of the said Stock or profits untill the said Summs and Intrest bee fully payd and satisfyd and if the same shall not be fully payd and satisfyd before his decease, then one half of the said profits and Stock and Likewise of all the other effects or estate of the said Paterson shall belong to and goe to the Company, but if the whole shall bee then payd and Satisfyd by the said Paterson in his Life time then the Same as of Course it ought, shall goe to his heirs or those hauing right,

7. Thus this whole allowance Altho' Mr Paterson were even discharged of Smith's debt will bee farr short of what hee Should haue had before hee freely and Generously abandoned all his Affaires Comforts and Intrests in London wholly to embark in this affaire, or that any such thing was required of him that being twelve thousand pounds Sterling in hand to bee payd in the year ninty-five besides 3 pr cent of the profits for one and twenty years, and since that time Mr Paterson has Indefatigably spent his time w^ch^ otherwise Could haue been exceeding valluable to him as is suficiently known, and hath been for the greatest Part at his owne and not the Companys expence, and besides that griuous ballance of Smith and other Losses and disapointments ocasioned by his being Concerned in the Company hath visibly Lost four thousand pounds Sterling in the orphans-fund and more then two thousand pounds in the Watter Works at London, Soe that this is rather a medium for restoring Mr Paterson for present to some part of his former Credit then the giuing him any thing of a reasonable equiuolent for his Losses Sufferings and risque in and about this vndertaking; hee not doubting in the Least but in time the Directors will both bee in A better Condition and disposition to deall Gratfully and Generously w^th^ him then they are or Can bee att present

8. And Since by the devine blessing this affaire is now brought to greater forwardness and hope then Could ever haue been expected by any or then euer was proposed in soe short a time or att soe Litle expence, to the Company, but at soe Long and Intolerable a suffering risque and ruine of Mr Paterson Allone The present Age and posterity will from hence forward bee witneses

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of his hard vsage if relieveing should bee Longer delayd, and it will not only Justly discourage him but all others to Serue the Company Soe Constantly Sincerly and faithfull as he has hitherto done.,

But if frome a Just and Generous Sense thereof the Company shall readily Condesend to this; it will Intirely oblige Mr Paterson to adapt himself and what euer hee is or shall bee Capable of to the Companys Seruice and disposition

*Endorsed* a Caledonian Lett[r] Claims by Mr Paterson Darien Exp

CALEDONIA HARBOUR Decem[r] 29th 1698.

Dear S[r],—I shall be extreamly satisfyd to understand that you have Lived to Recieue that Credite and hon[r] which is your Due for yo[r] Indefatigable and unwearyed Supporting of this Designe and me in the promoting of thereof You know the Difficultys we mett with and now its Gone soe far that what ever Comes of it for the future, yet noe small glory will be Duely Attributed to those who haue been the promoters and supporters therof, Its no small Satisfaction to me to see myselfe Restored in Reputation But my Difficultys and Discouragments in Bringing it hitherto has been Almost Insuportable And to add to all the Rest it hath pleased God to take from me in this voyage my Dear and most Intirely beloved wife this has been a great breaking to my Spirits, but it has pleased God—even under this Afflection to support me, and the loss of our Ministers is no small Griefe and trouble and I Intreat Doe what you Can to send us others for we are in a Sad Condition for want of some I have noe time now to write the publicke hauing taken me soe much up of Late, But Major Cunningham and Mr Alexander are bound home with these Dispaches to them I Refer you to be Informed in all things as also to the Councells Dispaches pray Let me hear from you by all occasions and from henceforwd I hope not to fail writing to you Excuse me for not writing to frends but I hope to make them Amends by the nixt occasion which I Expect suddenly.—I am, Yo[r] Real frend and Humble Ser[t]

WILLM PATERSON.

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The Major will be able to Informe you all maters Distnk^y as being one of us

Addressed

For
Mr Willm Dunlope
principale of the
Colledge of Glasgow

## Letters from Alexr. Shields.

Port Royall August 18: 1699.

Sir,—My last to you was from Boston; whence I came with a small vessell loaden with provisions intending for the supply of the Colony at Caledonia, since which time I have been on that Coast, but came after the place was deserted, and demolished after such a shameful manner as can scarce be paraleled, providence ordered, that I should meet w^t the S^t Andrew run ashore at the Bernardo 12L: to the Leeward of Carthagena; its true the Company was very sickly and weak, but yet I could not impute it to that, but the ill management of those in command; I had much adoe to perswade them to save the shipe tho the Loss of the ship there, must also have necessitate the loss of their Liberty; if not Lives; I my self, and sundry of my Company gave them all the assistance I could, both in sailing the ship, and supplyeing them with any provision they wanted, and by the help of god brought them safe to Jamaica near Bluefields. To speak modestly thers not a man on board that ship so far as I can judge capable of that Charge, Captaine Colline Campbell is here, and indeavours for men to get the ship brought hither, and some Credit for supplying necessars. Doctor Blair who is the only man of a friend here, that can supply him is sick; so that he cannot be presently resolved, we hear of some ships about Caledonia with new Supplies, but whither they will adventure to resetle the place we doe not yet hear; if any Capable person had the management of the ship to get her hither safe, there would be much Less difficulty to obtaine Credit for supplyeing necessars; and I presume to say if the Company doe not take care to intrust their ships with men of Experience, and honesty; they may expect to see few of ym return. I give my mind freely, and is no more then I have often said to those in the S^t Andrew, Livetenant Lothian

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who is now comeing home, can give a full Account of all, so I put ane end to this unpleasing Relation, and with due respects to your self, Lady

Port Royal 1699
ALEX SHIELDS

The next—after an interval—and the loss of one or more letters is, from on board the Rising Sun in Caledonia Bay.

Dec. 25. 1699.

Rev. Sir,—I wrote to you from Montserrat giving you account both of our grievances in respect of the wickedness of our Society and some foolish mismanag^ts as to our scant and bad provisions &c. The Lords truly contending with us in a raging Contagious sickness w^ch very few escaped and whereby many were cutt off among whom the Laird of Dunlop and Capt. Wallace were most lamented And of our Comforts and Mercies in ye midst of all these Grievances in ye favour of the weather &c. These heads I resume because I doubt if thet Line hath come to your hands observing how averse the English are to do us any Service or kindness For when at Montserrat Mr Byres and some Officers visited ye Governor and desired a little wood and Water and some fresh provisions He absolutely denied and discharged it and alledged he had orders not only to Refuse all Supply and Incourag^t to this Colony but to secure their persons if they came in his way however he was so kind as to let yem go Yet we venture to send our Letters w^t the English (until we shall settle a Correspondence other wayes) hoping they will not all be so Barberous Our passage from Montserrat was tedious by reason of westerly winds when we made the Coast of Peru and frequent calms And very sorrowful by reason of Mortality burying three or four every day I cannot yet send ye List of yem but in our fleet yey will amount to about 150 Among the Rest we lost our dear Brother Mr Alex: Dalgleish who died of a fever Nov. 16. His Relict must return with the hired Ships. And we must recommend her to your Care and the Compassion of the Company

The Occasion wherewith I venture this Letter (a Jamaica Sloup come hither to catch Turtle and Manatee knowing nothing of our being here) is so uncertain and withal so surprising being so suddenly to depart When we came to Cape Tuberon on this side the Gulf of Darien there came on board of us some Indians who talked much of Caledonia and named some Captains that they had seen yere and called yem their Bon-Comerads. We not understanding their Language imagined they were telling all good things of the Colony Only it grieved me to hear yem parotting the Language of our Countrymen in Cursing and Swearing w^ch were the only words they had of our Language Of w^ch sort of prate we have heard a great deal more since But when we arrived at yis Bay Nov. 30. we found our Mistake and what we were told at Montserrat and what

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I feared all aways too true yat ye Colony was deserted We came first to an Anchor in Caret bay and thence sent off our pinnace w^t Mr Hamiltoun yt had been there before to reconnoitre the Condition of our Settlement wondering that none came out to us The Pinnace coming up to ye point opposite to Golden Island discovered tuo Sloups in the Bay but no Ships They durst go no further but went yrough ye woods up to ye top of the hill where the Look-out used to be And from yence saw plainly yere was no people in the place where the Fort was nor any vestige Left of a Fort but thick Groves of Trees After yeir return with this Melancholy Account we spent near a week before we got up to the place. In wch time four or five of the Ships Crew went off with the Longboat without orders. And coming to the Mouth of the Bay the Sloups hoisted out Spanish Colours And pursuing and firing at our Longboat the Men without Arms yeelded to yem when yey came on board the Sloups They were found to be Scotchmen One Commanded by Capt. Tho: Drummond who also hired the other at S^t Thomas w^ch was come from New England with some litle provision belonging to Mr Porterfield and Mr Fulton both Scotch Westcountrymen Capt. Drummond and the Mate of his Sloup were our pilots into ye Bay Passing the Seen Rocks in ye middle we sat down upon a hidden Rock and could not get off for 3 or 4 hours If yr had been a Gale it had been very dangerous I need not tell you how we were affected to find a waste houling wilderness in stead of a Colony and how our grief was increased when we were informed by Capt. Drummond of the Cause of ye desertion And by others (that have been well intertained all this time among the Indians) what befell Jamesons Ship that was burnt while Jameson and his Mate were cutting others throats for a whore It was much debated whether under all our descourag^ts we should resettle or not yet it carried we should And whether any thing should be attempted by way of Reprisall ag^t the Spaniards while they keep so many of our Countrymen Prisoners But the Motion was rejected and became the Spring and foment of Jealousies and animosities w^ch prevail too much among many here Last week a plot was discovered to kill ye Councellors seize ye Ships &c for w^ch One Alex: Campbel was hanged who confessed a design to seize the Ships and that he was entyced by one Eus: Spark and those that witnessed ag^t him but denied that of killing the Councellors. Upon some jealousies (the Grounds whereof I am not acquainted w^t) Capt. Drummond was put in Arrest confined to his own Hutt. Capt. Ker Ingeneer and his brother Mr Hamiltoun that came from yis Colony with Aicket, Mr Mill our Stewart and some others were imprisoned. A few dayes ago Some Rascalls in ye night time ran away with our pinace And for several nights together Some keeping Guard a shoar on the ground of the Fort have deserted. As we suppose intyced by an Irishman yat lives here among the Indians on a design to form a Society to Live by Rapine. Those are part of our Vexations at ye time wch

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are very trying and perplexing But the worst of all is the Licencious and uncontrolable wickedness of the Universality of us Seamen and Landmen Officers and Souldiers that under all these Afflictions and Rebukes from God is growing more and more Insolent and desperate We endeavoured to exoult our Conscience at Sea both in Publick and private Reproofs but with litle effect We distributed then to the Most of the Officers the printed Letters of the Commission of ye Church which were Litle regarded by many When we arrived Mr Borland Mr Stobo and I meeting in ye woods And Consulting our Instructions and considering our Circumstances we judged it necessary duty to propose a day to be kept for thanksgiving and humiliation together We drew the Causes. And with the Commissions Letter and our General Instructions proposed them to the Councell who intertained yem well enough but delayed the appointing of the day until the Hutts be all built and all the men go ashoar to possess them for as yet we lie all on board the Ships except a few yat keep guard a shoar Upon that account also and until we know how many and who they shall be that shall be sent away with the hired Ships to ease the Colony and save provisions We have delayed the general distributing of the printed Letters as Likewise the erecting of our Presbyterie and ye yings to follow upon it till we be all a shoar We shall yrough Grace endeavour and Assay what is duty but have a prospect of insuperable difficulties and litle hope of doing any good among this people Yea we know not how or where to find among them a Competent number of Elders of any Note or figure Dear Sir I was alwayes of the Mind and I fear the Company will at length find it too well grounded that the sending and Entrusting so many men Sine Delectu and without enquiring into their Principles and Practice or proofs of their Integrity would be hath been and may hereafter be the Ruine of this Settlement As for the Indians we have as litle hopes of doing any good among them We find yem indeed an Affectionate Innocent and Simple People and inclined to Peaceableness w^t all men And (contrary to what we heard in Scotland) intertaining peace actually both with the Spaniards and French and every body that comes We find also that yey have been much obliged to our Countrymen that were here before us in being furnished not only with Shirts and Linnen (which they have been taught to buy very Cheap for a few Oranges or Plantains) but with the Companies Arms Spades Hatchets and all manner of tools which now they have in abundance in every house But they have been both much abused and injured by our Rascalls cheating them and stealing from them And scandalized and stumbled by seeing the Profanity of our People teaching yem to Lie and Curse and Swear It seems they had never observed any difference among our People between the Sabbath and any other day For some of them came a board of us with their Fruits and Trade on the Sabbath Our People were going to buy I cried out against it And made signs that this day was for devotion and bid

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them go away and come again another day They obeyed For yis I was invectively reflected upon by some as offending ye Indians and scaring them away from us upon a wild Caprice Yet they returned as before And the Next Sabbath I intertained yem and engaged them to sit with us all the time of worship which they did with very great decency and reverence tho' they understood not. We purpose to put our Young Expectants to try what they can Learn of our Language We are at a Loss that Mr Johnson that projected an Indian School died at Sea Among the rest of our troubles tho' we have few wives yet some of them are very uneasy Mistress Stobo will needs go home and will have her husband with her We cannot for the time yeeld to this but would fain encourage one another to wrestle out the difficulties of the first year Until we see the Settlement in some hopeful way of Standing And something like the beginning of a Church planted But if the Lord spare me till my year be out I must of necessity return. This is my first warning I am sorry that I have Spent all my paper in a rehearsal of our Grievances And have no time nor Place to enlarge upon our Encouragements But in a word I am Confident there is not a better more fruitful or richer Spot of Ground in all America than this yat we are upon Of which more pr next.—I am Rev. Sir Your Bro: and Servant ALEXANDER SHEILDS

From on Board the Rising Sun in CALEDONIAN BAY Feb. 2. 1700.

Reverend Sir,—I omitt no opportunity: tho' this may seem superfluous to write, when tuo Ships are going home from this place, that can give you fuller and more particular accounts: But I am resolved to fulfill my Promise, as hitherto I have endeavoured. I wrote to you from Montserrat of the date Nov. 9. And from this place Dec^r 25. Giving you some account, of the wickedness of our Society, and our great sickness the punishment thereof, whereby about 150 of our fleet died, among the rest Your Cosing Dunlop and our Dear Brother Mr Alexander Dalgleish, whose wife now returns, and must be recommended to your kindness; And of our sad Disappointment at our Arrival, finding our Colony deserted; and the Murmurings and Mutinyings that followed upon that, when it was resolved we should resettle The Mutinee and plot, wherein it seems only some Planters, and Seamen, and Officers of no great Note, were Concerned, was soon crushed. For tho' Some of our Councellors suspected Capt. Thom. Drummond, one of the former Councellors, who came hither with tuo sloups from New-York, and Capt. Ker Engineer, and some other Gentlemen, as some way accessory to it, and thereupon imprisoned them; yet they could not make out any thing of that Nature against them, howbeit on some other heads and more private Concerns, which I know not and do not enquire into, they keep them still in prison. But our Murmurings still continue and encrease among all sorts: having formed in their minds too big

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Ideas of mountains of Gold, and Nicoragua wood growing upon them, and no preconceptions of sweating, and working, with the pinching allowance of a Litle Stinking Saltbeef, and rotten meal &c and finding themselves confoundedly disappointed, this makes many of them desperate. Some have run to the Spaniards to be slaves: Nine Sea men, Grecians, Italians, English, and Scotch, run away with our pinnace to Portobel, where they are prisoners: About half a score or a dozen others have deserted, we know not whither, among the Indians remote from us: Others have been brought back and punished by whipping: And some Hunger forced to return. Upon the same Discontents, several Gentlemen got a forloff to go to Jamaica with others that were sent in a sloup that was here catching Turtle, in which we sent our Last Letters from Scotland: We have waited now upwards of five weeks for their return, expecting with them some provisions, and encouragement for Trade, but have heard no word of them, and do fear some Misfortune, or Treacherie, or that the Sloup is imbargoed and inhibited to return; upon the account of the Kings Interdict, or their National Antipathy, or Buccaneerish Malice against us, or their private resentments of particular Injuries, done to some of them trading here, by those that were here before us, which we hear were both base and foolish. Yet for all this, we are now to send off with these hired ships, that bring our Letters, a great many Gentlemen, Volunteers, and Invalides, to Jamaica; not knowing what entertainment they shall have, or how they may be disposed of: which some think a dangerous Risk; yet it is thought necessary for saving Provisions, which we find come short of what they were calculate to, even to the one half, (many things not Ansuering the Envoys, and many things being altogether damnified,) and will be very soon exhausted: And it is resolved on to entertain only 400 Land men, and 100 Seamen. We have indeed too many men; which are rather a burden than useful to the Colony. So many of them being too Gentle to work: Tuo or three hundred Blacks, might do more service than all of them. We cannot give a good account, what we have done since we came here. We had litle to work with, wanting Tools and Instruments, and wanting both heart and Art and skill: And we have done as Litle. All our performances for these tuo Moneths, being summed up in Clearing the Fort, that was all of new overgrown with trees, and remounting some Batteries that were all burnt doun, and building hutts for ye men, which are not yet compleated: The Ministers have not yet a hutt built for them. As for our Ecclesiastical work, there is likewise very Litle done in that; nor can be done among perverse men, that will not submit to our Ministry, and so many wild Highlanders, that seem to be a third part of our number, that are more Barbarous than the Indians, and many of them do no more understand our Language than they. But we are taken up in visiting the Sick, which are very many, and preaching, tuo of us

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a shoar, and one aboard, every Lords day *per vices*. On the 3d of January last we kept a day for Solemn thanksgiving for our Preservation, for Humiliation for former and present Sins and Miseries, and for Prayer for Mercies. It was a Grief of heart that so few countenanced it. Thereafter on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, dayes of January, we travelled among the Indians, who were civil enough to us after their manner. At night, before we went to our Hammocks, we performed Public exercise of worship in their houses, in which they sate silently, devoutly, and reverently, as they do alwayes when they come to our Sermons. There might be some hope of doing good among them if we had the Language, or any Interpreter, and if our peoples Practise did not scandalise yem, by teaching them to swear and Curse, and by Stealing and robbing from them, which they frequently complain of, and for which they have threatened revenge. Some of your Instructions we find impracticable in our present Circumstances, as that of dividing the Inhabitants of the Colony into Paroches that each of us might have a particular Charge, that of holding Parochiall Sessions and Dyets of Presbytrie, that of Labouring among the Natives, having none that can speak either Indian or Spanish. Other things recommended to us we have delayed, upon the account of the Circumstances of the Colony. We have delivered a great many of the Commissions Printed Letters, both at Sea, and since our Arrival, but have delayed distributing the rest, until we see who shall go with the hired Ships, and who shall stay; as also the Constituting ourselves a presbytrie, and ordaining Elders, until the Colony be better formed, and we have some Accommodation made for our Meeting. But we fear when we have set it up, it will not stand long nor the Colony neither. Tuo things will ruine this Colony, Wickedness and Mismanagements. Their wickedness is insupportable, and incorrigible, tho' the Lord hath plagued us sore for it, and is still smiting, and threatening to make many Carcases fall in this wilderness; Above 130 are Sick a shoar, and about 40 or 50 are dead already: Occasioned by their sore working, bad victuals, ill Lying, some eating Manchinell Apples, and drinking too much unwholsome water, which finding near the Fort, they would not be at the pains to go a quarter of a mile, where there is very good water. Our Councellors are very slack in punishing and repressing abounding wickedness, excepting Theft, which hath come to a shameful hight among us; Some Gentlemen have been convict of it, and whipt for it by the hand of the Hangman. As for Drunkenness, (so long as we had strong Drink) Swearing &c. those that should punish others, cannot acquitt themselves. I need not give you a Character of C. G. He is the old man, and seldom or never comes near a Sermon. Maj. L. is more sober, but fitter to execute then give Lawes. Mr B. is intolerably Insolent and bitter: I never suffered so much contempt from any man; which I have taken the freedom to represent to Col. Areskin. The only encouragement we have, is

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from C. V. who is both wise and honest, but cannot get things done alone. Their Managements I do not pretend to pass a judgment upon, nor can I give a good account of them, their Designs and Consults being kept very Close from me. But it seems very strange, that of all the things that I thought should have been principally promoted for settling a Colony, not one of them is touched: No Trade sought, either with Europeans or Indians: None sent to search the Country, for precious wood, or Gold, or Silver whereof there may be enough for any thing we know: No planting, or Clearing the Ground, for sowing and seting things, so much as aimed at: And no Reprisal attempted against the Spaniards; tho' they have still many of our prisoners, and tuo taken since we came here, and on the 15th of January Last, they sent a Sloup to the Mouth of our Bay, to reconnoitre our Posture and Strength, wch some think a Sign of an intended Attack upon us, and the Indians give frequent Alarms of it. Some of ourselves have proposed it again and again, And Capt. Ambrosio, Pedro and Corber, Indians, have pressed to send a party with their men, not to attack any place of Strength, but to Surprise Sta Maria, or Seize on some Spanish Priests: Yet all this was not regarded, but rejected in ridicule. In fine, Maj. L. and Mr B. ever since they found themselves disappointed at first, have been still fretting at the Settlement, and representing it, (as no doubt they will do in their Letters) as untenable, and not likely to come to any good account. But I humbly differ from their opinion, being perswaded, there is not a Settlement in ye West Indies more convenient for a Plantation, or that in a few years would yeeld a Richer Trade either for Suggars, Precious wood, or Minerals, or any Commodity that comes from this part of the world; if we had the Patience, and Resolution, Art, and Activity, that other men have. My heart is grieved to see things, tending to the Loss and Ruine of such an Interest. We are resolved to wait some Litle time, for Supplies of provisions from Scotland. But if they come not within tuo Moneths, I believe, before the Third be out, the Colony will break up and be gone. If supplies come in time, we may settle and maintain the Colony, if right Measures be followed: And in that Case, we that are Ministers are determined to stay out our year; tho' we had Difficulty to perswade Mr Stobo's wife to submitt to this. She was very uneasy, and addressed the Council for Liberty to return with her husband, with these Ships: They told they would keep none of us, that had a mind to go: But we refused to give him a Testimonial, till he had fulfilled his Mission, tho' acknowledging he deserves the best Testimonial, go when he will: Now she acquiesces, and we have all very Loving and peaceable Consortship together. We have written a joynt Letter to the Commission, advertising them, that if the Colony remain we will stay out our year, but no Longer: Resolving then, if the Lord preserve us, all three to go home. But we shall endeavour to admitt the young men, to preach to the people, before

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we go; And to get yem put in some capacity to Learn the Indian Language. Pardon my tediousness, and help me with your Prayers, for we have great of them. Give my service and thankful respects to your Lady, and Children, And to the Ministers, and to Mr. John Loudoun: Please to tell him, his brother is not here, but gone with the rest before our Arrival, but I have seen them that knew him, and said he was well when he went off.—I am, Rev. Sir, Your unworthy Brother and Servant in the Work of the Gospel,

ALEXANDER SHEILDS.

I can get no account of Mr Kelso, there were very many of them sick when they went off.

CALEDONIA Feb. 26 1700.

Rev. Sir,—This opportunity is offered by way of surprise and therefore obliges to brevity I have two Letters for you with Particular Accounts of all our Circumstances lying on board but dare not Venture them with this. Capt. Campbell of Balnabbe arrived here Feb. 11. with provisions. Immediately yereafter on Feb. 15. we entered in blood with the Spaniards beat up yeir Camp (fortified wt a brestwork) consisting of 300 or 400 with 200 of ours Feb. 23 Their Barlevento fleet came on within our bay to an Anker within Golden Island about eleven Sail great and Small It is thought some of them are French We been expecting and preparing for their Attack ever since It seems they are not ready yet or design a Blockade We must depend on God for the Issue and are resolved to abide all extremities in his Strength I am in hast yrough mercy in health.—Rev. Sir, Yor Bro: & Servant

ALEXANDER SHEILDS

This comes by Capt. Thomas Drummond who takes his life in his hands to venture out.

RECEIPT, AND MEMORANDUM, AMONG THE PRINCIPAL'S LETTERS.

For
MR WILLM DUNLOPE
principale of the Colledge of Glasgow,
at Edinburgh

I Mr Thomas Cadyon Student of Theologie Grante me to have received from Mr Wm Dunlop principall of the Colledge of Glasgou the sum of fourty shillings sterling in order to my equippment for my voyage to Caledonia wt the ships that are to sail thither at this time

Green-oak August 18 1699 THO: CADYON.

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| | |
|---|---|
| Supposeing 1000 men may be at Darien | Sterl |
| The Least can be allowed each man a week Is a peck of meal a week or yrby wich makes a litell mor as 3 bolls a year which Is 3000 bolls in all & at 8ⁿ bolls Is | 2000 : 0 : 0 |
| And If yis much were secured & sent away at severall tymes & by veshells dropt in on after another wold make it easie at hom & mor refreshfull to ym abrod. Bot in regard they at Darien may purchase pattatoes yams & other roots, & Indian corne I reckon upon a pinch & necessity 2000 bolls meall may serve 2000 men for a year | |
| next Its necessar now in the season to secure 1000 barells of Beaff at lest 6 or 800 qch at 25ˢ per Barell Is - - - - | £1200 : 0 : 0 |
| 3 To secure 200 or 300 bolls pees qch at 8ˢ pr boll Is - - | £0200 : 0 : 0 |
| & | |

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## No. XV.

# NOTES ON SCOTTISH COSTUME IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

ROBERT BRYDALL, F.S.A.Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 18th January*, 1900.)

For even a brief review of the subject of Mediæval Costume in Scotland, the authoritative or contemporaneous sources to be drawn upon are almost entirely limited to the recumbent monumental effigies of the country, many of which have long ago disappeared, while of those which still exist, a great number are so defaced that only portions of the details can be seen. In England, in addition to a larger quantity, including a much greater variety, of these interesting sculptures, there are very numerous examples of beautiful and well-preserved brasses, besides illuminated romances and such MSS. as those in the Royal and Harleian collections, in which the changes in costume can be followed tolerably clearly almost from the date of the Norman conquest. On that account we only have examples in Scotland representing the dresses of the higher class of the people, whose wealth and position were the means of causing their portraits to be perpetuated in commemorative sculpture, while the almost uniform custom of representing the male figures in armour, leaves the civil costumes of the period to be very much a matter of conjecture.

When we take into consideration the conditions existing between

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Scotland and England at, and for some time after, the date of Queen Margaret, when the organisation of the church with its prelates, and its architecture, was very largely imported from England, it may be tolerably safe to assume that the costume of the upper classes at least was identical, or nearly so, with that of England. That the state dresses of the Scottish nobles were of great splendour, as well as those of England and France, we have evidence in the account of the marriage of Alexander III. at York, by Mathew Paris, in which he reprobates the richness of the dresses worn upon the occasion.

The seals of our early kings and the few Scottish effigies of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries have their prototypes in those of England. The great seal of Alexander I. shows the costume of that king corresponding very closely to that which is shown upon the Bayeaux tapestry; the differences on the seal consist of the absence of a nasal piece on the helmet, a skirt instead of short wide breeches, and rather longer sleeves. The mail is shown as rings sewn upon leather; the flag with its three pennons also appears in the same form on the tapestry, as well as the top, which is all that is visible, of the Norman-shaped shield. The seal of Alexander II. is in the costume of the period between Alexander I. and that of one or two of the effigies in the Temple Church in London; the shield shows a change of form between the kite and the heater shape, being only slightly rounded at the top, and the military sleeveless surcoat is worn over the close-fitting coat of mail. In the seal of John Baliol the surcoat is shorter; the shield has become quite angular at the top; the helmet completely encloses the head; and the trappings of the horse show how rapidly the display of heraldic decoration had developed.

Of about the period of the Bruce, the dress is illustrated by the effigies of Alan, Lord of Galloway, in Dundrennan Abbey, who was Constable of Scotland in 1233; Stewart of Menteith in the priory church of Inchmahome, the good Sir James of Douglas in Douglas Kirk, and two or three others. Showing that the Norman military costume had penetrated as far north as Dornoch, we have the effigy there of Sir Richard Moray who was slain in 1246.



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As by far the greatest number of our effigies belong to the fifteenth century, it is during that period that we get the clearest idea of the form of the costumes worn by the ladies, nobles, knights, and ecclesiastics in Scotland. Brief notices in the *Exchequer Rolls* of the time give some idea of the materials used for dresses. Among these fine furs occupy an important place, and in the Middle Ages were more freely used in England than in France. Referring to the prehistoric fauna of Scotland, Dr. Munro in his recently published book quotes a Welsh document of the ninth century giving the prices of the skins of the martin, the otter, and beaver; and gives the evidence of Hector Boece to show that the beaver existed in Scotland in the fifteenth century; while Bellenden in his translation says that there were "mony martrikis, bevers, quhitredis, and toddis, the furrings and skynnis of thayme are coft with great price amang uncouth merchandis." Possibly the Scotch furs were not sufficient in quantity, or they were inferior in quality to those imported from the Continent, as such importations are frequently mentioned in the *Rolls* along with other fine materials for dress. Thus, in 1430 there were purchased in Flanders for the use of the king, two mantels—that is, a certain number of skins, usually sixty, from the German word *mandel*—of backs of martins, along with twenty-four ells of purple velvet at eighteen shillings the ell. Furs are mentioned in 1450 for the king, queen, and the queen's sister, consisting of beaver, budge, christigray, letys, and mennytvare (minniver); two mantles made of sable appear at an earlier date; while in 1458 other two of minniver, also for the king's use, were bought at a cost of six pounds, two shillings. In 1456 payment was made for cloth and fur for the Lady Mary, daughter of King James II. In 1450 the royal tailor was paid for supplying the king with garments of wool, linen, silk, etc.[1] About the same date Andrew Balfour was paid forty shillings and ten pence for furnishing the king with a robe or skirt and leggings. At the siege of Methven he had sent to him a doublet,

[1] "Pannis laneis, lineis, cericis, foderaturis, et aliis diversis rebus et bonis." In the thirteenth century more particularly, Bruges, from which many pieces of silk were imported for royal use in Scotland, was the principal mart for that fabric.

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mantle, hood, shirt, a pair of leggings, and a pair of hose (?) at a cost of three pounds, two shillings and seven pence.[1] Other entries of course occur at various dates, such as fustian for a doublet for the king's gown at his marriage in 1447; grey cloth for a mantle; cloth of silk, of taretyr,[2] of silk damask, and black woollen cloth for his gown. Silk cloth was repeatedly bought in Flanders, and from the same place, also for the king's use, a gold collar with gems and pearls, a neck jewel called *ouche*, a gold chain, a piece of blue velvet, numerous pearls, a black silk girdle, and a gold signet ring, the latter at a cost of eight pounds. A curious entry occurs in the year 1447 of fifty-five shillings for grey cloth for a Minorite's habit to "Fratre Henrico Bowle," sold the next day for ready money; and fifty-three shillings and four pence were paid to Lachlan M'Gillane, Torkil M'Nele, Tarlan M'Archer, and Duncan Persoun, for a hood, coat, leggings, etc., for the Earl of Ross, the royal expenditure on account of the earl being thus one shilling and eight pence less than the value of the grey cloth for the Minorite's habit. White and grey were evidently what were worn by the poor who were recipients of the king's bounty, as in 1459 there is a sum of twelve pounds, nine shillings and seven pence, "*pro panno albo et gresio ad vestimenta pauperum.*"

Connected with the free use of furs in the early dresses, there are two allusions in the old romance of *Sir Tristram* attributed to Thomas the Rhymer; "a scarlet with riche skinne"—that is, a scarlet robe lined with fur—is mentioned; and further on is—

> "Ysonde of heighe priis,[3]
> The maiden bright of hewe
> That wered fow and griis[4]
> And scarlet that was new."

At the beginning of the sixteenth century in the *Chamberlain's Accounts* there are two curious entries; one of them referring to John Davidne,

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[1] "pro pannis laneis et lineis pro factura unius purponis, unius mantelli, unius capuccii, unius camisie, unius paris caligarum, et unius paris ocrearum." The lining of the hood was sometimes stitched into a pattern.

[2] Sometimes referred to as "cerica dicto taretyr," possibly Chinese or other eastern kind of silk.

[3] Praise. [4] Fur and grey.

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Dunbar's *Fenyit Friar of Tungland*—is for "twenty one elne of red taffeta and blue, quhilk was sax dansing cotes in Maister John's dans, and three pounds ten shillings for five elne of blue taffeta to the woman's goune in the said dans." The other entry refers to the beard of King James IV., the length of which was remarked upon by the English herald at the King's marriage in 1503 with Margaret Tudor; and it suggests a merry pleasant picture of the fair young queen, who was then only fourteen years of age, superintending part of the king's toilette on the day after the marriage, when payment is entered "for twenty five elne cloth of gold to the Comitass of Surry of Ingland, quhen sche and her dochter, Lady Gray, clippit the King's berde, and for fifteen elne of damas gold by the King's commande to the said Lady Gray of Ingland."

That there was no lack of jewels and jewelled dresses at the Scottish Court, we have evidence in the inventory of the valuables of King James III. Among various articles which are enumerated, there may be noticed as being more closely connected with costume, "a collar of gold made with elephants and a grate hingur at it"; other collars of gold, chains, "ouches" of gold set with diamonds, and numerous jewelled rings. In the Queen's closet were "gottin a braid belt of blak damas, hernisset with gold; a frete of the quenis owne set with grete perle, set in fouris and fouris;[1] a ruf and pendiclis of purpir tarter; a pair of metingis[2] for hunting"; and collars of gold, jewelled and otherwise ornamented.

Of the royal dress of the fifteenth century we have a fine example in the very beautiful Trinity Church altar-piece now in Holyrood Palace. It was painted about the year 1480 by one of the masters of the early Flemish school, which was about that time at its highest point of excellence, and contains, with other figures, portraits of King James III. and his consort Margaret of Denmark. The queen is kneeling in front of a trestle desk draped with red, on which is placed a gold tasselled black cushion supporting a book of hours. She wears a close-fitting bodice of red cloth of silk and gold over a dark blue robe, with an ermine-lined mantle of a dark blue material similar to the robe, which, like

[1] Probably the fret or caul for enclosing the hair.

[2] Mittens.

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**Margaret of Denmark, Queen of James III.**

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the bodice, is trimmed with ermine. Over the shoulders, and reaching in front as low as the waist, is a kind of yoke or pall of cloth with gems; The necklace has two rows of pearls connected by oval-shaped jewels, to which is attached a trefoil of gold set with rubies, having a large pear-shaped pendant; the thumb of the right hand crosses that of the left, and she wears no rings. The hair is tightly drawn back off the face, and is enclosed in a crespine richly embroidered with pearls, which is surmounted by a jewelled crown. The head-dress is an exceedingly beautiful example of the fashion prevailing at that time throughout Europe, and was variously termed a crepine, crespine, crespinette, creton, crestine, tresson, dorelet, fret, or caul, at different periods; it was usually formed of gold or silver lace or fine wire set with chased and jewelled ornaments, and within this the hair was tightly bandaged. With varying changes in the form it was in use during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the course of which it sometimes took the most extravagant shapes; after a short decadence in the reign of Henry IV. of England, it reappeared with crescent-like projections over the forehead, increasing in absurdity, till an enormous pair of horns developed on each side of the head. It is mentioned in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*:

"A fret of golde she had next her hair";

in a fourteenth century romance entitled *The King of Tars*, it is mentioned as "a comely calle"; and in the *Roman de la Rose*, Pygmalion, in trying the various dresses on his Galatea, is described as putting on "the crespine, with a most costly fastening, and over the crespinette a coronet of gold, richly beset with precious stones." Coming nearer home we have in the *King's Quhair* the beautiful description of Jane Beaufort with

"her lytill hound,
That with his belles, playit on the ground,"

she wearing

"her golden hair and rich atyre,
In fretwise couchit with the perllis quhite

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And grete balas[1] lemying[2] as the fyre
With mony ane emerant and faire sapphire;
And on hir hede a chaplet fresch of hewe,
Of plumys partit rede, and quhite, and blewe.

. . . . . .

About hir nek, quhite as the fyre amaille,[3]
A gudely cheyne of smale orfeverye,
Quhareby there hung a ruby without faille,[4]
Lyke to ane hert schapen verily,
That as a sperk of lowe,[5] as wantonly
Semyt birnying upon hir quhite throte."

Dunbar in his *Garmond of Gude Ladies* gives a kind of inventory of the parts of the dress of a lady of his time. It enumerates a hood "upoun hir heid to weir"; a white "sark hir body next"; a kirtle[6] laced and adorned with "mailyhais" or spangles; her gown was to be "weil ribband," purfled, and trimmed with fur in "fyne fassoun"; a belt "about hir middle meit"; a mantle "to tholl baith wind and weit"; a hat, tippet, patelet,[7] and neck ribbon; gloves "to hyd hir fyngearis feir"; with shoes and hose.

In the figure of the Lady Beatrice Sinclair, wife of James "the Gross," seventh Earl of Douglas, one of the most beautiful and the best preserved of all our monumental effigies, we have a splendid example of the dress of a Scottish lady of high degree of the first half of the fifteenth century. It corresponds with the costume which was worn in England about the same period. The crespine is different in form from that of the queen, and is somewhat like one given by Stothard of about 1408; it also resembles one on an English brass of about 1407, but the

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[1] *Baleris*, Latin; *balais*, French; a species of ruby of a red colour.

[2] Gleaming. [3] Enamel. [4] Flaw. [5] Flame.

[6] What is meant by the kirtle of this period has not been made quite clear; it seems to have been an under garment or dress often of as rich materials as the robes or mantles, which latter were sometimes put off by the ladies either for convenience or as a mark of humility. It seems also to have been applied to a jacket, a skirt, and sometimes both. See Planche's *Cyclopædia of Costume*.

[7] Supposed to mean a small ruff.

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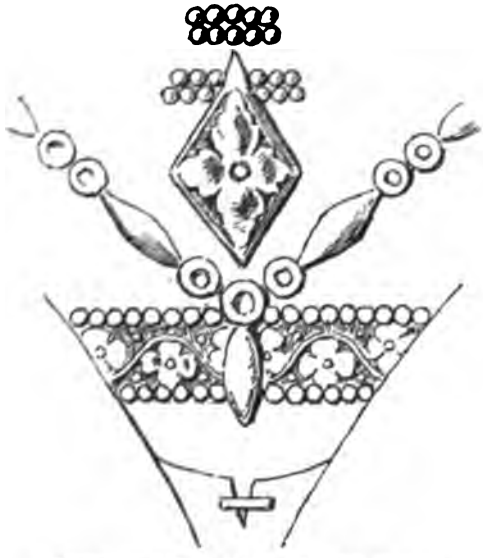
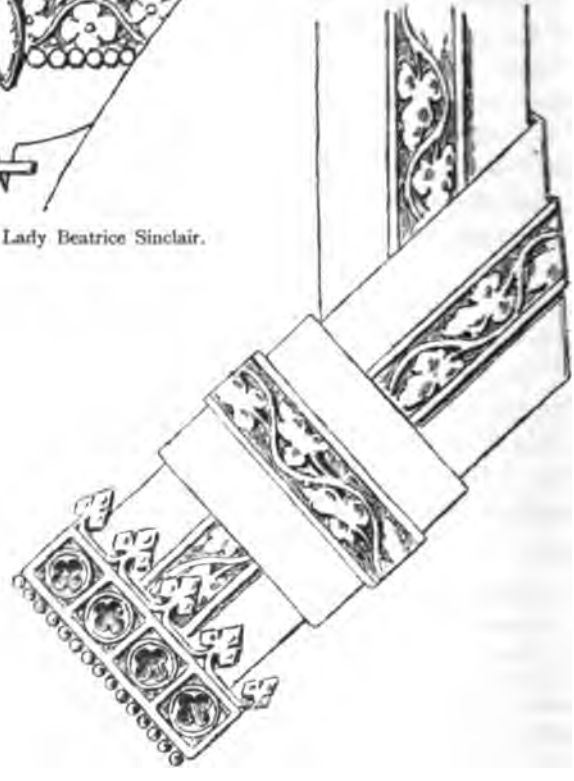


Necklet on Effigy of Lady Beatrice Sinclair.



**End of girdle on Effigy of Lady Beatrice Sinclair.**

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latter has a broad gauze addition, as was the fashion of the time, supported by wires, and often taking extraordinary shapes. The mantle suspended from the shoulders was in use for as long a period as the head-dress; but the method of wearing it here is rather uncommon, as it is evidently kept in position by some underneath arrangement, the cords usually doing so being in this case rather ornamental than useful, not passing across the breast in the usual manner, but passing downwards in the form of an inverted triangle. The long skirted gowns were most frequently made of velvet; the waist girdle usually had a long pendant, and was made of silk, satin, or silk cord, embroidered as in this case, or jewelled; as is to be seen, pearls were very freely used, two double rows encircling the neck, and also appearing on the embroidered cuffs. She wears a ring on the second finger of her right hand.

Other Scottish effigies also of about the middle of the century, such as those at Renfrew and Houston, shew a considerable variation from this Douglas one. The head appears encircled by an embroidered roll or fillet with a slight fringe on the forehead, from which drapery falls down each side of the face over the shoulders; the gown, which is quite plain, is tolerably high up on the neck, and the tight, close-fitting sleeves are represented in accordance with the fashion then prevailing, as having been sewn after they were put upon the arm with a double row of pearls. Both the Houston and the Renfrew ladies wear the peculiar garment reaching to below the waist, without sleeves, which was retained in state dress in England, with variations in the form, for about a hundred and fifty years. For want of a better name, it has been called the sleeveless jacket, and it was always very richly trimmed. It appears on the figure of Blanche de la Tour, daughter of King Edward III. of England, in Westminster Abbey, the date of which is 1340; and among other examples it is seen on the effigy of Jacqueline de Grange, wife of Jean de Montague, of the year 1419.[1] Two effigies of ladies in the church of St. Nicholas in Aberdeen may be mentioned as being dressed in a very much plainer manner, and without the sleeveless jacket; they are undated, but evidently belong to the second half of the fifteenth century.

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[1] See Planche's *History of Costume* and Fairholt's *Costume in England.*

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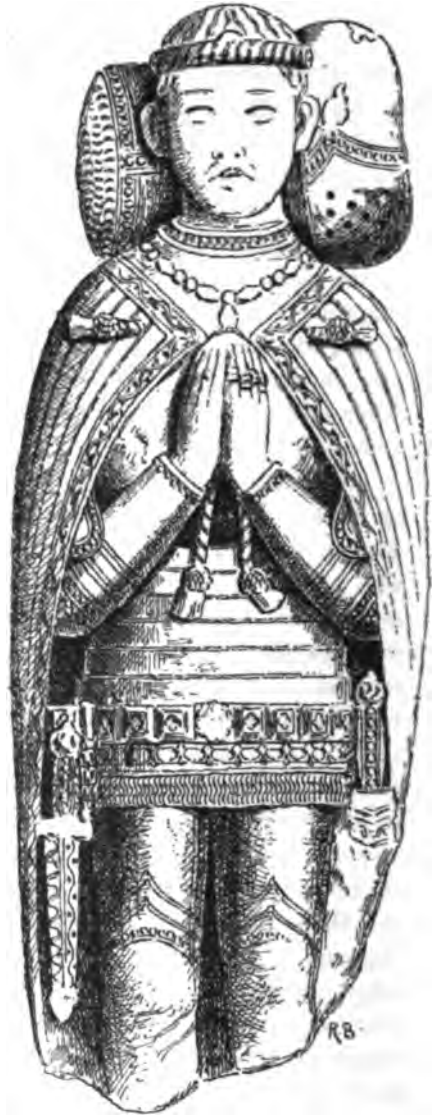
Lady Beatrice Sinclair, Wife of 7th Earl of Douglas.




James the Gross, 7th Earl of Douglas.

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1st Earl of Morton.

Joanna, Countess of Morton, Daughter of James I.

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About the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the fantastic fashion of wearing party-coloured dresses was in vogue in England, where it was particularly obnoxious to the clergy and the satirists of the time. A figure from the *Roman de la Rose* given by Fairholt shows a gentleman on which the two sides of the coat and the right and left legs are of different colours, or, as a herald would put it, *party per pale.* We have a suggestion of the same fashion in the dress of the ladies in Henryson's *Testament of Cressid*, where Venus is described as being

> "Clad in ane nice array,
> The ane half greene, the other half sabill blak."

The effigy of Joanna, daughter of King James I. and wife of the first Earl of Morton, which lies along with that of her husband in the old church of Dalkeith, shows how completely the beautiful early costume of a noble lady had disappeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century; the earl died in 1498, and the form of the shields on the armorial parts of the monument suggests that it was erected by his widow. The head-dress, so far as some very faint suggestions of detail remain at the sides, seems to have been of the very simplest kind, but the form of the puffed sleeves, and the long outside sleeves of the mantle are quite perfect. In some examples of English costume of the period these long sleeves were distinct and separate parts of the dress, and were sometimes of a colour different from the garment to which they were attached.

Comparing these few and other illustrations of Scottish dress with the costumes of the ladies of France and England, one is apt to come to the conclusion that the Scottish dresses were less eccentric and not so extravagant in form, especially with regard to the head apparel; but it must be kept in mind that, as already remarked, the authoritative examples of mediæval costumes in Scotland are extremely few compared with those in England. Sumptuary laws, while describing what must not be worn by the middle classes, inversely tell us to some extent something of what was worn by the nobility and gentry. Thus in the year 1429 a law was passed on account of the increasing wealth and luxury of the commercial classes in Scotland, in which it was commanded that neither the wives nor

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the servants of commoners should wear long trains, rich hoods or ruffs, purfled sleeves, or costly curches of lawn; and that all gentlemen's wives should take care that their array did not exceed the personal estate of their husbands. For the purpose, it was declared, of preventing the impoverishment of the realm it was ordered that "no man within burgh that lived by merchandise, except he be a person of dignity, as one of the aldermen, or bailies, or other worthy man of the Council of the town, should himself wear, or allow his wife to wear, clothes of silk or costly scarlet gowns, or furring of mertricks"; while all are directed to take especial care "to make their wives and daughters to be habited in a manner correspondent to their estate; that is to say, on their heads short curches, with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries; and as to the gowns, no woman should wear mertricks or letyis, or tails of unbefitting length, nor trimmed with furs except on holidays." Further, "poor gentlemen living in the country whose property was within forty pounds, of old extent, should regulate their dress according to the same standard; whilst among the lower classes, no labourers or husbandmen were to wear on their work days, any other stuff than grey or white cloth, and on holidays, light blue, green, or red, their wives dressing correspondingly and using curches of their own making. The stuff they wore was not to exceed the price of forty pence the ell. No woman was to come to the kirk with her face 'mussalit' or covered, so that she might not be known under the penalty of forfeiting the curch. And as to the clerks, no one was to wear gowns of scarlet, or furrings of mertricks, unless he were a distinguished officer in a cathedral or college church, or a nobleman, or doctor, or a person having an income of two hundred marks." "No person under the rank of a knight, or having less than two hundred marks yearly income, should wear clothes made of silk, adorned with the richer kinds of furs, or embroidered with gold or pearls. The eldest sons or heirs of all knights were permitted to dress as sumptuously as their fathers; and the aldermen, bailies, and town councillors to wear furred gowns, while all others were enjoined to dress themselves in such grave and honest apparel as befitted their station."

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About the year 1456 a statute was issued by parliament declaring that "with regard to the dresses worn by earls, lords of parliament, commissaries of burghs, and advocates, at all parliaments and general councils, the earls should take care to use mantles of 'brown granyt,' open in the front, furred with ermine, and lined before with the same; surmounted by little hoods of the same cloth, to be used for the shoulders. The other lords of parliament were directed to have a mantle of red cloth, open in front, and lined with silk, or furred with 'Cristy gray, grece, or purray, with a hood furred in the same manner, and composed of the same cloth'; whilst all commissaries of burghs were commanded to have a pair of cloaks—such is the phrase made use of,—of blue cloth, made to open on the right shoulder, to be trimmed with fur, and having hoods of the same colours. If any earl, lord of parliament, or commissary appeared in parliament, or at the general council, without this dress, he was to pay a fine of ten pounds to the king. All men of law employed and paid as 'forespeakers,' were to wear a dress of green cloth, made after the fashion of a 'tunykill,' or little tunic, with the sleeves open like a tabard, under a penalty of five pounds to the king, if they appeared either in parliament or at general councils without it."[1]

Of the costumes of the early sixteenth century, we have some slight glimpses in the poems of Dunbar. In the *Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* is:

> "Kemmit was thair cleir hair, and curiouslie sched
> Attour thair schulderis doun schyre, schyning full bricht;
> With curches, cassin thame aboue, of krisp cleir and thin;
> Thair mantillis grein war as the gress that grew in May Sessoun."

In another place he speaks of "Sic fowill tailis, to sweip the calsay clene, the dust upskaillis"; and in *The Friars of Berwick*, which is attributed to the same poet, Dame Alison, in the absence of her husband, is described as having

> "clothed her in a gown of finest red,
> A fair white curch she placed upon her head,
> Her other garments like red gold did shine."

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[1] *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, quoted by Tytler.

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The recurrence in the *Exchequer Rolls* of the term *purponis*—pourpoint or doublet—recalls Dunbar's address to the queen upon the keeper of her wardrobe, on account of the delay of that functionary in delivering to the poet a velvet doublet which he was ordered to do by her Majesty.

Making some little allowance, as a matter of course, for a certain amount of probable exaggeration in their language, the early satirists often give curious glimpses of the eccentric or fantastic details of the dress of their times. Although very much later than the period under consideration, a brief quotation from Sir David Lindsay may perhaps be permitted:

> "Tho' their robe-royals be uphorne,
> I think it is a very scorn,
> That every lady of the land
> Should her side-tail sa trelland.[1]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Where'er they go, it may be seen
> How kirk and causeway they sweep clean."

As being connected with the subject, a line may be mentioned in the old ballad of *The Wife of Usher's Well*, in which the carlin wife's three sons "cam hame, and their hats were o' the birk." In an explanatory note to the ballad, Sir Walter Scott implies that this meant a kind of garland of leaves, and quotes a Rabbinical tradition in which a person reappearing on earth from paradise is described wearing a garland on the head. I have read somewhere that hats made of plaited twigs of the birch were worn in Scotland, and in *Peblis to the Play* a young man is mentioned as having, "Ane birkin hat upon his head." In connection with the dress of the peasantry of the first half of the sixteenth century, in *Christ's Kirk on the Green* are the lines:

> Thair gluvis war of the raffell richt[2]
> Thair schone war of the straitis,
> Thair kirtillis war of the lincum licht,[3]
> Well prest with mony plaitis."

The altar painting in Holyrood Palace already mentioned has a beautiful portrait of King James III. Like the Queen he kneels in front of a

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[1] Should wear her long skirt so trailing.

[2] Gloves of roe deer skin.

[3] Lincoln green in popular use.

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King James III.

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book of hours resting upon a black cushion which is supported by a desk covered with dark blue drapery. He wears a robe of red cloth of silk and gold with brown fur cuffs and a lilac-coloured mantle lined with ermine, over which is an ermine tippet sewn in narrow stripes, and fastened with a very beautiful triangular-shaped jewel from which depend three large pearls. The thumbs of this figure are also crossed.

From Seal of King James II.

The figure of King James II. on his seal gives an idea of the knightly equipment of the time. Of course chain or ringed mail had by this time been quite superseded by armour of plate, and was only seen sometimes at the neck and more frequently at the skirt below the girdle or waist armour. The helmet is barred, and supports a lion as crest; the close-fitting jupon laced tightly over the body bears the Scottish lion embroidered on the breast. The jupon in this form at this date was frequently worn without any armour except an under hauberk of mail;



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and it was commonly made of velvet stiffly quilted and richly embroidered. The usual way was to lace it at the back, but there is a fine effigy in the parish church of Cupar in Fifeshire showing the lacing at the left side. The arms and legs would of course be covered with armour, and the tressured lion on the shield and the caparison of the horse show the importance which was then attached to heraldry. The absence of the stirrup must not lead to the assumption that it was not in use, as it was always an indispensable part of the horse furniture.

Behind the queen, and standing on the folds of her mantle, in the Holyrood pictures, is a fine example of a knight, fully armed, with the exception of the helmet. He represents St. George, but on account of his proximity to, and apparent patronage of the Danish princess, has sometimes been assumed to represent Saints Knut, Olaf, or Eric. He is heavily armed as if for the tournament, and wears suspended at his back a kind of pendant formed of leather shaped oak leaves sewn upon red cloth—an unusual and hitherto unexplained appendage. Another curious part is the attachment of two pairs of points, short laces, or tags—*aiguilettes*, as they were called—to the great elbow piece; such points were used for fastening on additional pieces of armour, but as no other piece of armour was used or could be attached at that place, it is probable that they were there used to partially support the shield, so as to allow the freer use of the left hand for governing the horse. There is a nimbus round his head, and at the end of the lance is a pennon *party per pale argent and asure*—being the colours of Our Lady—with the cross of St. George in chief. The great size of the shoulder plate is also to be noticed.

The numerous effigies of knights in armour give excellent illustrations of the military harness which was in use in Scotland; they do not show so great a variety in the form of armour which is seen on the English, French, and Flemish effigies and brasses; and the absence of the pieces of armour known as *tuilles* or *tuilettes*, which were suspended from the *taces* or waist skirt for the protection of the upper part of the legs is to be noticed. It may also be noted that in the Holyrood St. George just described the tuille is very short, and I know of only one effigy in Scot-

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St. George (Holyrood Picture).

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land on which there are mamillieres for the protection of the openings at the arm-pits. The splendid figure of a knight in the Cathedral of Dunkeld shows very distinctly the form of the *hausse-col* for the protection of the neck and chin; it appears in a similar shape on several others of our effigies, while in England it is less familiar in this form, and is depicted in the paintings of the time of the fourth Edward in a different shape, as a mentoniere.

The effigy of James "the Gross," seventh Earl of Douglas, is a fine example of the armour worn by a Scottish noble in the first half of the fifteenth century. The head rests upon the great jousting helmet; the breast-plate is globular and with the taces or waist-plates covers the hauberk of mail which is shown at the neck and skirt; the girdle is of the usual type, and was generally formed of leather or velvet, upon which were fastened square pieces of gold and silver often enamelled, richly chased, or jewelled; and the lowest of the taces—that below the girdle—is ornamented. There are several rings on the fingers of the left hand. From another Scottish figure closely resembling this we infer that on this example the sollerets on the feet would be slightly pointed.

Our early Scottish literature gives very little information as to details of the military harness. Barbour tells us that at Bannockburn, for instance, the Bruce

> "on his bassynet he bar
> An hat of tyre aboune ay quhair,"

which is explained in another passage further on,

> "And by the crowne that was set
> Alsua upon his bassynet."

Harry the Minstrel, in his description of the arraying of Wallace, gives an interesting picture of a period nearer to his own time than that of his hero:

> "Wallace gan him aray
> In his armour quhilk gudly was and gay.
> His schenand schoys[1] that burnyst was full beyn,
> His leg harnes he clappyt on so clene;

[1] Shining shoes or *sollerets*.

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Pullane greis[1] he braissit on full fast;[2]
A close byrny[3] with mony sekyr clasp;
Breyst-plait, brasaris,[4] that worthy was in wer.
Besid him furth Jop couth his basnet[5] ber.
His glitterand glowis[6] grawin on athir sid,
He semyt weill in battaill till abid.
His gud gyrdill, and syne his burly brand."

Prominent in the pages of Scottish history is the figure of the royal favourite Cochrane in his riding doublet of black velvet and gilded armour as he strutted into Lauder Kirk in the year 1482, with "ane greate chain of gold about his neck to the value of five hundred crowns, and ane fair blowing horn in ane reckle[7] of gold, borne and tipped with fine gold at both ends, and ane precious stone called ane buriall[8] hanging at the ends thairof," with his page bearing in front of him his "howmont[9] all overgilt with gold, and swa was all the rest of his harnes." We have only to place the plumed cap on his head, and the rich girdle round his loins with an ornamented dagger at his side, to complete the figure with which the rough Scottish barons decorated the parapet of Lauder Bridge. According to some of our historians, James Hommel, his *vestiarius* or tailor, was hanged at the same time, but the *Exchequer Rolls* show that a "*Jacobo Hommyll, sertori domini regis,*" survived the date of Cochran's death.

Notwithstanding the remarks already made, it is highly probable, if not indeed certain, that the armour worn in Scotland corresponded with that which was worn in England: and there is an instance on record where some Scottish knights had their tilting armour purchased in London. The celebrity of the Continental armourers of Munich, Augsburg, Milan, and other cities created a great demand for their suits from all parts of the north of Europe, and we may assume that comparatively little of the finer class of armour was made in Scotland and England, and even that little was in

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[1] *Poleyn*—knee cap of armour; *greis*—greaves. [2] Firm.

[3] Birny, byrne, bruny, etc.—a species of body armour similar to the hauberk and worn under armour of plate.

[4] Brassarts—for the arms. [5] Bascinet—great head-piece. [6] Gauntlets.

[7] Chain. [8] Beryl. [9] Helmet.

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all probability the work of Germans. So great indeed was the celebrity of the German smiths that there are a number of suits in the Armeria Real at Madrid, long credited as having been produced in Spain, which bear the marks of South German armourers. It is to be accepted that part, if not the whole, of a tilting suit was made in Scotland for King David I., and diligent search in the *Exchequer Rolls* might elicit some other entries such as one in the year 1455, in which six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence were paid to "*Johanni Moncure, fabro armorum—de mandato domini*"; but on the other hand we read that in the reign of James I. it was made incumbent upon all Scottish merchants trading with foreign ports, to bring home along with their other cargoes a good store of quilted armour, harness, spears, bows, bowstrings, and arrows. In illustration of the purchase of arms and armour, in the year 1449 twenty pounds were paid to Sir William Cranston, Master of the Stables to James I., for the purchase of bows, lances, and armour (*arcubus, lanceis, et armaturis*); and a further expenditure in the following year for the purchase in Flanders of armour and saddles for the King. The saddle was frequently highly decorated, and in 1445 five shillings were expended for silver for plating and silvering the royal saddle.

As having some bearing upon the subject, it may be of interest to refer to some of the laws of our early times which were passed for the better protection of the country, in which the different classes of the people were defined as to how they were expected to arm themselves. By the statute of King Robert the Bruce of 1318 every gentleman who owned land to the extent of ten pounds, or was possessor of moveable property of the same value, was to provide himself with an acton and steel basnet, gloves of plate, and a sword and spear; those of a lower rank were obliged to possess themselves of an iron jack or back and breastplate of iron, an iron headpiece or knapiskay, and gloves of plate; while every man who possessed the value of a cow was to have a bow and sheaf of twenty-four arrows and a spear. In 1385 an order was issued for every French and Scottish soldier to wear a white St. Andrew's cross on his breast and back. In 1429-30 all persons owning land affording an annual rent of twenty pounds, or possessing moveable goods of the value of one hundred pounds, were

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to be well horsed, and armed from head to heel, as becoming their rank as gentlemen; whilst others whose means only amounted to ten pounds in rental, or fifty pounds of moveable goods, were bound to be armed with a gorget, rearbrace, vantbrace, greaves, and leg-splints, with gloves of plate or iron gauntlets. Every yeoman owning property to the value of twenty pounds in goods was commanded to arm himself with a good doublet of fence or a habergeon, iron hat or knapscull, bow and arrows, sword, buckler, and dagger; yeomen possessing only ten pounds in goods or property were to have a bow and arrows, sword, buckler, and dagger; while the lowest of all, who had no skill in archery, were to have a good "suir" hat, doublet of fence, with sword or buckler, and an axe, or at least a staff pointed with iron. Every citizen or burgess possessing fifty pounds in property was to arm himself in the same fashion as a gentleman; and every burgess yeoman of inferior rank possessing property worth twenty pounds was to have a doublet and habergeon, sword, buckler, bow, arrows, and a knife or dagger. In a parliament held in Edinburgh in 1456, for the defence of the country, it was ordered that all manner of men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, should join the muster on the approach of an English host, unless too poor to furnish themselves with weapons; that every yeoman worth twenty marks was to furnish himself at the least with a jack and sleeves to the waist, with a pair of splints, a sellat[1] or a prikit hat, sword, buckler, and bow and arrows. If not practised in archery, he was to have an axe with a targe of wood and leather.

The effigy of the first Earl of Morton is a fine example of the civil dress of a noble of the end of the fifteenth centary. The most noticeable feature is the long hanging sleeves with openings, so that the arms might be passed through either of them at the wearer's pleasure. The hanging sleeve prevailed in various forms during nearly all the sixteenth century in England and France, and presumably also in Scotland; they were worn by both sexes, sometimes with and at other times without a mantle. Slightly different from this example, they are seen on the headless fragment of the first Earl of Huntly, who died in 1470, in the Cathedral of Elgin;

[1] Foot soldier's head-piece.

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somewhat like the latter and worn with, and as part of a furred gown, they appear on the figure of Thomas Noke, Yeoman of the Crown, who died in 1567, as given in Fairholt's *Costume in England*, and Planche's *History of Costume*; the latter also contains an example without a mantle from a tapestry belonging to the Church of St. Germain L'Auxerrois in Paris, also of the sixteenth century. Of the ceremonial or state dress of the nobility, we have a good example in the figure of Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas, which represents him in his robes of dignity as Marshal of France and Duke of Torraine; he wears a very simple dress, consisting of a gown with a girdle round the waist and a large mantle.

Coronetted hat, from effigy of Archibald, 5th Earl of Douglas.

If we allow perhaps for a little fanciful colouring, Henryson describes Æsop in a costume of his own period in the *Prologue to the Fables*:—

> "His goune wes of ane claith als quhite as milk,
> His chymeris[1] wes of chambelote[2] purpour broun;
> His hude of scarlet, bordourit weill with silk,
> On hekillit[3] wys untill his girdill doun;
> His bonat round and of the auld fassoun:
> His beard was quhite."

It is impossible to deal with ecclesiastical vestments in Scotland within the limits of this note, and it is hardly necessary, as the few good effigies of churchmen which we possess are very much like those in England. The costume, however, which was worn in the West Highlands and Islands may be very briefly referred to, as the subject is already so well known through the publications of the late Mr. Drummond and other

[1] Probably the *camise* or shirt, which was often decorated in the Middle Ages.
[2] Camelot, a kind of cloth.
[3] Heckled, like the feathers on the neck of a cock.

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workers in the same field. In the Island districts, more especially, the chiefs alone wore defensive armour, their followers, as at the battle of Harlaw, wearing little more than a kilt, and armed with swords, pole-axes, sometimes with hooks, bows and arrows, short knives or dirks, and the well-known Highland targe of wood, covered with tough hide fastened with bosses of brass or iron. The island chief, partly from the remoteness of the district in which he lived, the conservatism of his nature, and probably also the scarcity of ready money, continued to wear the same kind of defensive dress, and to fight with the same kind of weapons, which his ancestors had done for generations before him, just as we find the chief of the MacLeans hewing down his opponents at Harlaw with the then old-fashioned Danish battle-axe, and clad in a shirt of mail. There are a few carved stones, however, all of about the year 1500, which show that the costumes of the Lowlands had at that time penetrated into the West Highlands. The carvings of the MacLeods in the church of Rodel, on the island of Harris, a small figure of MacIan of Ardnamurchan on a slab in Iona, and the stone matrix of a brass in the same place, are in the Lowland military costume of a rather earlier date; while on a beautiful and interesting slab in the priory church of Ardchattan on Loch Etive side,[1] dated 1500, there are represented a lady in Lowland dress, with, at her right-hand side, a knight in the long quilted tunic similar to the Iona, Islay, and other western effigies, and at her left a knight in armour similar to that shown upon monuments of about 1450 in the Lowlands and eastern districts of Scotland.

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[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1898-99.

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No. XVI.

# 'HUCHOWN OF THE AWLE RYALE,' THE ALLITERATIVE POET.

BY

GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A.Scot., Vice-President.

(*Read at Meetings of the Society held on 19th April and 15th December, 1900 in two papers subsequently extended.*)

## 1. Identification Problems, Literary and Personal.

Once it was the fashion to regard Barbour's *Bruce* as the beginning of Scottish poetry. The sources from which it sprang were little if at all considered. One was content to pluck the bluebell without troubling over the soil in which it grew. If it did occur to anybody to ponder for a moment over the relation of Barbour to his time he was thought of as a somewhat artless but faithful chronicler of the deeds of Bruce. Always the estimate was of Barbour as historian. The conception of the literary craftsman had scarcely dawned. But he was a literary craftsman of no common order, well read in medieval Latinity and French. He was a facile and spirited translator as well as an admirable exponent in Scots of the manner of the French *chanson de geste*, and *The Bruce* has the rare distinction of being in the same breath an invaluable and veracious history and a triumph of Scottish literature.

Great though Barbour's merits are, however, they will not stand a moment's comparison with those of his lofty contemporary, 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale,' whose journey along the tangled pathway of verse probably began somewhat earlier than Barbour's, and the quality of whose poetic achievement far eclipses that of the Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

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Huchown of the Awle Ryale probably soon after his poetic course began made translations, and there are many interesting analogies of theme to those believed to have been selected by Barbour, and known to have influenced his entire work. The most interesting contrast is that while the later poet selected an octosyllabic rime, the earlier adopted alliterative verse, depending for its music on those stresses of repeated letters, or 'cadences' which our wise King James VI. (translating 'cadence') was one day to classify as 'tumbling verse'—the '*rim ram rof*' system, designated as northern by Chaucer. A second contrast lies in the fact that as in the *Bruce*, Barbour left translation and betook himself to the facts of Bruce's life for his theme, Huchown went for his inspiration to history of another sort, to 'history' as recorded in the *Brut* or *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, making that the skeleton and frame for his *Morte Arthure*, which ranks so high among the contributions to the great Arthurian cycle.

The analysis of Huchown's work, and the determination of its chronological order or limits, of necessity involve the discussion of the intricate question of the poet's identity. Was Huchown of the Awle Ryale Sir Hew of Eglintoun? What is Sir Hew's biography? And what bearing has that biography on the understanding of the poetical work?

Not till the close of the eighteenth[1] century was it proposed to identify Sir Hew of Eglintoun with Huchown. The all-important words about the poet are those of Wyntoun, the chronicler, whose *Orygynale Cronykil* was written about 1420. In looking at the passage about Huchown it is needful to remember that it was no formal biographical sketch or regular bibliography, but a mere parenthesis in the question more engrossing to Wyntoun at the time, whether Lucius Iberius was Emperor or only Procurator.

> Syne Huchowne off the Awle Ryale
> In till his Gest Hystoryalle
> Cauld Lucius Hiberius empryoure
> Quhen King off Brettane was Arthoure.
>
> (*Wyntoun*, v. 4301.)

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[1] Huchown was apparently not associated with Sir Hew by MacPherson editing *Wyntoun* in 1795 (*Wyntoun*, ed. Laing, iii. p. 225). See note to the Huchown passage in MacPherson's edition.

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On the other hand, the *Brut*, Wyntoun said, styled him only Procurator. Therefore, he continues, he (Wyntoun) was free from blame in using the latter term:

And men off gud discretyowne
Suld excuse and love Huchowne,
That cunnand was in literature.
He made the *Gret Gest off Arthure*
And the *Awntyre off Gawane* [One MS. reads Aventuris.]
*The Pystyll* als *off Swete Swsane.*
He wes curyws in hys style
Fayre off facund and subtille
And ay to plesans and delyte
Made in metyre mete his dyte,
Lytill or nowcht nevyrtheles
Waverand fra the suthfastnes.
Had he cald Lucyus Procurature
Quhene that he cald hym Empyroure
That had mare grevyd the cadens[1]
Than had relevyd the sentens.

(*Wyntoun*, v. 4321-36, compare vol. iii. appx. to preface, pp. xxvi-vii.)

Nothing in this passage, having regard to the conditions evoking it, need incline us to suppose that the *Great Gest of Arthure*, the *Awntyre of Gawane*, and the *Pistil of Susan* were necessarily the entire volume of Huchown's work. The list, brief as it is, has proved of immense service as grouping three works of three sorts — historic, courtly-chivalric, and religious — in three metres. Critics are now tolerably well united in the identification of two of the poems named. The *Pistil*, a riming alliterative paraphrase of the story of Susanna and the Elders, is free from all dubiety, and maintains its existence still under the name ascribed to it by Huchown. The *Great Gest of Arthure* also is with a considerable measure of agreement, short of unanimity, accepted as the important alliterative romance-history,

[1] That Wyntoun by 'cadens' means alliteration as opposed to rime seems certain from *Rolle of Hampole*, ed. Horstman, ii. 345, where in a piece of mingled prose and rime largely alliterative it is said to be a 'tretys in Cadence after the begynninge gif hit beo riht poynted and Rymed in sum stude.' This important passage to which Prof. Carl Horstman kindly directed me is quite in keeping with the antithesis made by Gower, *Confessio Amantis* (ed. Macaulay, bk. iv., l. 2414) 'of rime and of cadence,' and by Chaucer's *House of Fame*, l. 623, 'In ryme or elles in cadence.' See note, chapter 14, sec. 1, below.

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the *Morte Arthure*. Upon the third poem mentioned by Wyntoun, *The Awntyre of Gawane*, there are conflicting judgments. The great and learned scholar in record and romance, Sir Frederick Madden, editing his magnificent edition and study of *Syr Gawayne* for the Bannatyne Club, thought it was the poem *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. My eminent friend, M. Amours, editor of the admirable volume of *Scottish Alliterative Poems* (Scot. Text Soc., 1897) considers that the *Awntyre of Gawane* was the poem called the *Awntyrs of Arthur*, which contains powerful internal evidence of the hand that shaped *Morte Arthure*. I am in the happy position of at least accepting the completeness of M. Amours' proofs that the *Awntyrs of Arthur* was Huchown's, although unable to admit his argument against Sir Hew of Eglintoun having been Huchown of the Awle Ryale.

Points for this identification are briefly (1) that the poems fall naturally into Sir Hew's lifetime; (2) that as a brother-in-law of Robert the Steward, afterwards Robert II., and a court official under David II. and Robert II., he might well acquire the familiar surname 'of the Awle Ryale' (king's or royal hall); and (3) that the poetic renown of this Sir Hew, as well as the character of his work, is convincingly attested by Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*, which, after naming the Englishmen, Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, returns to tell of Hew of Eglintoun, Andrew of Wyntoun, and a third Scotsman as also among the victims of Death.

He has done petuously devour
The noble Chaucer of Makaris flouir
The Monk of Bery and Gower all thre
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*

The gude Sir Hew of Eglintoun
And eik Heryot and Wyntown
He has tane out of this countrie
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*

Various considerations have been advanced against the identification of the good Sir Hew with Huchown. It has been urged that the poems from their religious cast must have been written by an ecclesiastic. The reply appears in the adjective 'the gude,' which tradition had, according to Dunbar, associated with Sir Hew's name. Chiefly objection was taken that

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Huchown, as a familiar diminutive, implied a quite subordinate rank and position, and could never have applied to a nobleman of Sir Hew's standing. But a marriage contract[1] of a Scottish lord in 1416 styles him 'Huchon Fraser lord of the Lovvet.' There is a distinct body of proof (1) that the name Huchown, the old Scottish equivalent of Hugo, was of French origin, derived from Hugutio; (2) that in Scotland Hew and Huchown were alternative vernacular forms from the end of the fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth century; and (3) that ultimately Hew prevailed. The Frasers of Lovat used the style Huchon in 1416, Huchoune in 1429, but Hew in 1471. The Campbells of Loudoun used the style Huchon in 1451, Huchone in 1454, but Hew in the sixteenth century. Historically Huchown as a Christian name is a distinctively Scottish type receiving in the north a measure of formal and official recognition not apparently shown in English documents of the period.[2] The external evidence, although meagre, is thus so distinct and consistent as to point to Sir Hew of Eglintoun and to no other known personage. Moreover, there is abundant indication internally that the author of the poems in question was a person of dignity, at ease in all matters of knightly courtesy and demeanour, and able to touch with authority on delicate questions of courtly precedence.

One other outstanding difficulty there is which has been present to every critic. It is the contrast of the language of the poems with, say, that of Barbour or of Wyntoun. And there is contrast scarcely less strong between the tone adopted by Huchown and that of the other two towards England. These contrasts have been held by some to be so great as to make certain of the works impossible for a Scot. Indeed the latest theorist has gone to the heroic extreme of actually claiming Huchown as English, and the *Awle Ryale* as at Oxford.[3] Many men, many minds; there has

[1] *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1424-1513, No. 178, confirming and incorporating in 1430 a deed granted in 1416.

[2] For many references and a full discussion see chapter iv. of my *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* in the *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, 1900-01.

[3] See Mr. Henry Bradley in *Athenaeum* of 22nd December, 1900, and my reply of 19th January, 1901. In his rejoinder on 23rd February, 1901, Mr. Bradley appears to admit his inability to produce evidence in support of his hypothesis. After this frankness of course there is no more to say.

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been no end to the diversity of conclusions, critical, literary, and philological, on the precise dialect of Huchown, and his actual poetical performance. We are brought back to these problems to acknowledge as a first principle that the Huchown poems, although admittedly containing innumerable signs of northern diction and influence, are yet assuredly not in any known and normal Scottish dialect. On the other hand it has been pertinently asked who knows what was the dialect of English used in the courtly circles of Scotland under Robert the Bruce? Such a consideration is perhaps of itself enough to show that the dialect is not the obstacle to Sir Hew of Eglintoun which some have too hastily deemed. History, moreover, points with pikestaff plainness to a Scot. Philologists despairingly point the other way. When the philologist stands up against history he has a habit of going to the wall.

To identify the poet is one problem, to settle what were his works is another. Purely alliterative pieces claimed, directly and indirectly, for Huchown before the present enquiry began, included

*Morte Arthure* (4346 lines), edited for the Early English Text Society, 1865; also by Mrs. M. M. Banks (Longmans), 1900:

*Destruction of Troy* (14,044 lines), also edited E.E.T.S., 1869-74:

*Cleanness* (1812 lines), *Patience* (531 lines), also edited (E.E.T.S.) in *Early English Alliterative Poems*, 1864.

Pieces combining alliteration and rime, which also have been similarly claimed, include

*Gawayne and the Green Knight* (2530 lines), edited for the Bannatyne Club in Sir Frederick Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, re-edited E.E.T.S., 1864, and reprinted 1869, 1893, and 1897.

*Awntyrs of Arthure* (715 lines), *Pistill of Susan* (364 lines), both last edited by M. Amours in *Scottish Alliterative Poems* for the Scottish Text Society, 1897.

*The Pearl* (1212 lines), edited E.E.T.S., in *Early English Alliterative Poems*, 1864; also by Mr. Israel Gollancz (Nutt, 1891).

Other purely alliterative poems discussed in the following pages include these:—

*The Wars of Alexander* (5677 lines), edited E.E.T.S., 1886:

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*Titus and Vespasian* or *The Sege of Jerusalem* (1332 lines), edited by Gustav Steffler (Marburg, 1891), usually cited within as *Titus*:

*The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (665 lines), *Wynnere and Wastoure* (503 lines), both edited for the Roxburghe Club, 1897:

*Erkenwald* (352 lines) edited in Prof. Carl Horstman's *Altenglische Legenden*, neue folge, Heilbronn, 1881.

Three or four other pieces, all short, should have been discussed also. Only where the evidences appear direct and absolute have conclusions on authorship been advanced here.

## 2. Huchown and Sir Hew.

There having been elsewhere[1] worked out a biographical calendar of the life of Sir Hew of Eglintoun in detail, with full references, no more need now be repeated than serves to present the salient outlines of the 'good Sir Hew's' career. Sprung from an Ayrshire family, his nearest known ancestor (supposed to have been his father, but possibly his grandfather), Ralf of Eglintoun, owner of an estate near Irvine, submitted to Edward I. at the outbreak of the war of Independence, but from 1297 until 1342 absolutely nothing has been found recorded of the laird of Eglintoun, or of the youth of Hew. A relationship with the More family, specially connected with the monastery of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, has been treated as suggestive of a possible education in England, a feature of the first half of fourteenth century Scotland far from uncommon. Of such an education there is no direct evidence in Hew's case, but in the course of the present researches[2] there has emerged, in fourteenth century manuscript, believed to have been from Huchown's pen, not only the fact that the author of the Huchown poems was deeply interested in hostages, but the remarkable hint that he may himself have been a hostage in England and learned 'their language and their manners'—*linguam eorum et mores*—there. At no time between 1279 and 1340 was such a thing in the least improbable, and if the

[1] In *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* above mentioned.

[2] See chapter 11 below. This minor point for Huchown's problems was discovered after *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* was in print.

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inference from the manuscript could be demonstrated to be historically a fact, the long silence about Hew's parents and himself in childhood would be accounted for, while at the same time the difficulty occasioned by the English-ness of the Huchown poems in dialect and tone would simply disappear. As it is, the hostage hypothesis can adduce for itself no single ascertained fact, and its documentary base though most interesting, will carry historically a quite different structure.

Of Hew's youth nothing is certain. His birth must have been prior to 1321, as he was not knighted until 1342, so that in the latter year he must have attained at least twenty-one, the years of knighthood. But as Ralf of Eglintoun, his ancestor, was not a knight, so that Hew did not inherit his rank, he may well have been considerably over one and twenty when he was dubbed by the hand of David II. while on the eve of setting out on an ill-starred expedition into England.

Already in that year David had invaded England and burnt Penrith, passing, no doubt, the poetic Tarn Wadling in course of his march. Subsequently, a second time crossing the border, one of his invading squadrons, including the newly made knights, fell into an ambush laid by Robert of Ogle, with the result that amongst others the knight of Eglintoun was captured.

> On bathe the halffis slane war men;
> Bot the knychtis the wers had then
> For thare folk vencust ware ilkane,
> And fyve knychtis in fycht ware tane,
> Stwart, Eglyntown and Cragy,
> Boyde and Fowlartown. Thir worthy
> Ogill has had till his presowne,
> And syne delyveryd thame for rawnsoune.
>
> (*Wyntoun*, viii. 6003-10.)

Sir Hew makes his first appearance in the business records of Scotland in 1347, when he received a grant of a 'relief' (a feudal casualty or perquisite) from Robert the Steward, nephew of the King and grandson of Robert the Bruce. In 1348 a charter shews that he was then married to Agnes More, daughter of the late Chamberlain of Scotland, Sir Reginald More. Throughout his whole public career Sir Hew (always styled 'Hugo' in Latin deeds relative to him, and once 'Mons. Hugh' in a document in



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French) was associated with the Steward. The chief house of that family was at Dundonald, and Eglintoun was the adjoining manor. Constantly Sir Hew is found acting as a witness to charters and similar public writings by the Steward. Both the Steward and Sir Hew are found in very frequent attendance on the King. They of course followed the court.

Sir Hew not only does not appear to have been either a prisoner or a hostage during the captivity of David II. after 1346, but public documentary references in 1347 and 1348 prove him to have been in Scotland during that captivity. In 1358 he received safe conduct to go to England, as he did again in the beginning of 1359. Associates of his from this time onward were Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Archibald of Douglas, best known as Archibald the Grim, who, though usually thought of as a soldier, was probably better known to his own time as a diplomatist and judge. At London, in February 1359, Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Hew appended their signets in the absence of the Great Seal of Scotland to an agreement relative to the liberation and ransom of David II., a prisoner in England from 1346, when he had been captured at Durham.

In 1360 Sir Hew makes his appearance[1] as a Justiciar of Scotland along with Sir Robert of Erskine effecting an agreement of assythment for slaughter in a feud between the Drummonds and Menteiths.

Meanwhile Sir Hew's first wife must have died, and about 1360 he is found married a second time—to Dame Egidia, a half-sister of Robert the Steward, who granted to him and her an annual-rent of wax.

The year 1363 was eventful in the intrigue of Anglo-Scottish policy. Towards the end of April Sir Hew had safe conduct to England and Canterbury, and it is suggested that this visit had to do with the great tiltings held during the first five days of May in connection with St. George's Festival and the Round Table of Edward III These celebrations of the Order of the Garter were held at that time. There were also later in the year spécial celebrations in honour of the fiftieth birthday of Edward III., and Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Hew were both in London. David II. himself was there also, and on 27th November an agreement

[1] *Book of Menteith*, ii. 239.

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was reached between the two kings that, failing heirs-male of the body of David, the King of England should succeed to the kingdom of Scotland. Erskine was a party to this agreement: Sir Hew's position towards it is not clear, but his knowledge of it must be assumed. The Scottish Parliament, on 4th March, 1364, refused to sanction the agreement. Erskine was sent back to London to negotiate better terms, and a revised provisional agreement was drawn up whereby, failing heirs-male of the body of David II., the throne of Scotland was to pass to a son of the King of England other than the heir-apparent. The prince in view was Lionel, second son of Edward III. David II., a pleasure-loving king, was from about 1358 onwards hand and glove with his brother-in-law, the English King. He did all in his power in 1363 and 1364 to set aside the rights of the Steward of Scotland as heir to the Scottish throne and to substitute Edward or one of his children. Wyntoun naïvely hits off the situation:

> The Kyng Davy in Yngland raid,
> As offt tym in oys he had,
> And at Lundoun play him wald he;
> For thare was rycht great specialte
> Betwen hym and the Kyng Edward.
>
> —*Wyntoun*, viii. 7047.

English policy and Scottish intrigue—for Scotland itself was reluctant—were at work to effect a union in the future, for David II. had no lawful child, and his second wife, Margaret of Logie, was no longer young. In July, 1365, parliament at Perth sanctioned a treaty whereby Scotland should aid England (if invaded) with 1000 men and England should aid Scotland with 500.

Sir Hew from about 1366 held various offices as Bailie of Cunningham and Chamberlain of Irvine—judgeships as deputy of the feudal lord, with functions of administration accompanying—under the Steward, of whom he was the trusted adviser. These offices were partly judicial, partly financial. The burgh of Irvine lay near to both Dundonald and Eglintoun; it was a leading seaport of the West at that time, and the Steward is known to have been a yachtsman fond of cruising on the Clyde.

Border treaty negotiation occupied Sir Hew in 1367. Early in 1368

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he went to London. That summer he was legislating for the 'Out Isles' and inspecting royal castles, as well as probably assisting the king in judicial appeals. David II., in 1369, raised an action of divorce against Queen Margaret, in connection with which Sir Hew's passage to France—and probably to Rome or Avignon—between June, 1369, and January, 1370, probably took place. A normal route to Rome in the fourteenth century passed through Lucerne across Mount 'Godard' into Lombardy, through Como, Milan, Pontremoli, Pietrasanta, Pisa, and Viterbo. (So Adam of Usk[1] travelled, and so journeyed King Arthur's invading army in *Morte Arthure.*) Soon after Sir Hew's return the divorce was granted in Scotland —in Lent, 1370. Margaret was maintaining her appeal in 1371 when David II. died.

Under Queen Margaret's influence the Steward had been thrust back from his rights. When she fell out with her husband the Steward was restored to his uncle's friendship. On the death of David—though not without a struggle, in which the promptness of success was due to Sir Robert of Erskine—the Steward succeeded to the throne under the title of Robert II. Huchown's life-long patron, friend, and kinsman by marriage now reigned, and his possession of the royal confidence and regard was thenceforward in constant evidence. After the coronation Sir Hew acted as one of a very special privy council[2] *de statu seu modo vivendi ipsius Regis et etiam Regine*, concerning the management of the royal household—a function from which a particular association of his name with the 'Awle Ryale,' or royal palace, may readily have arisen.

The age was the heyday of chivalry, and a thousand signs shew that the movement which had produced the Round Table in England was active in Scotland too.[3] If Edward III. was fond of hawking,[4] Robert II. was historically no less devoted to the chase[5] and fond of the sea.[6] Perhaps it may be lawful to argue 'Like king, like courtier.'

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[1] *Adam of Usk*, 72-73. From London to Rome the journey occupied 41 days.

[2] *Acts Parl. Scot.*, i. 547. [3] This is shewn in *Trial by Combat*, part vi.

[4] Adam Murimuth's *Chronicon* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 226.

[5] *Liber Pluscardensis*, i. 311. [6] *Exchequer Rolls*, iii. 667, etc.

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Financially Sir Hew repeatedly appears as a man of means, from whom his royal brother-in-law did not disdain to borrow. His capacity in money matters, as well as his relationship to the king, no doubt influenced his selection as an Auditor in Exchequer. And it is of peculiar interest to find Archdeacon John Barbour as his colleague. The Stewart influence favoured literature. Sir Hew and Barbour were called to Exchequer office at one time. Barbour in 1373 was an auditor, and in 1374 clerk of audit. *The Bruce*, written in 1376, contains alliterative quotations[1] from *The Destruction of Troy*, one of the supposed Huchown poems.

Now, Sir Hew's day was drawing to its close. In June, 1376, he received from Robert a grant of annual-rents in Ayrshire, with special license of mortmain, that is, leave to settle them for religious purposes. There is reason to believe that he made a will providing for masses to be said for his soul in the Abbey of Kilwinning, an establishment adjacent to Eglintoun. Between 30th November, 1376, and 3rd February, 1377, Sir Hew died, and probably was laid to rest in Kilwinning Abbey Choir, where at any rate masses are recorded to have been long celebrated for the weal of his soul.

### 3. 'Off the Awle Ryale.'

The briefest recapitulation[2] must suffice to enunciate the proposition that 'the Awle Ryale' of Wyntoun's odd reference is a vernacular shape of *Aula Regis*, *Regia*, or *Regalis*, and that it was the *Aula Regis* or king's hall of Scotland, which conferred the personal epithet in question. *Aule*, a hall, appears in old law-French, and in the Huchown poems themselves such phrases as 'roy reall,' 'dese riall,' and 'sete riall' are in common use.

On the Continent, in England, and in Scotland the *Aula Regis* was from an early date the great place of law, subdividing later into a variety of

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[1] See my *John Barbour, Poet and Translator* (Kegan, Paul & Co., 1900), pp. 10, 11.

[2] For details and proofs see my *Sir Hew of Eglintoun*, above referred to, chap. v. The great importance in Scotland attached to the court institutions is strikingly brought out by a document discovered by my friend Miss Mary Bateson in a Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS. (C.C.C.C. 37) containing much regarding offices and functions. It will shortly be edited by her.

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administrative, financial, and legal jurisdictions. The High Steward held lofty ceremonial authority there, and the Justiciars' place of session was by metaphor of English law, 'as the king's hall'—*sicut aulam regiam*. The king sat in judgment there, and the king's justiciars sat for him. In *Morte Arthure* (ll. 524-5) the hall is 'the most royal place' of the Round Table. In fourteenth and fifteenth century public documents of Scotland 'Aula Regis,' 'Aula Regia,' 'Kingis Haw,' 'Kingis Hall' has varied currency as a place of royal dignity and law, with courtly and exchequer as well as judicial functions. With each of these Sir Hew was in direct and sustained connection. To each of these also the Huchown poems show a similarly sustained series of relations.[1] To conjoin Huchown with Sir Hew and the Awle Ryale with the Court of Scotland appears therefore not merely reasonable; the facts constrain it.

### 4. Huchown's Poems: The Lines of Correlation.

Far nobler even than the fine problem of the poet's personal identification is that of determining what his actual achievement was—what poems are truly the product of his single superbly appointed pen. To prove unity and correlation where others have failed, or denied, is the purpose of the ensuing chapters. Others before now have argued on the question, but despite the labours of many scholars the real power of the case for the unity of Huchown's poetry has never been perceived, perhaps could not be perceived so long as certain manuscript evidences remained unknown. Resemblances of style and spirit, coincidences of line and phrase, and analogies of alliteration have certainly received attention, but inquiry has not developed a convincing critical basis of approach. For the first time a process of colligation will be applied which claims (1) to associate these

[1] For instance, *Morte Arthure* shews the ceremonial side, ll. 156, 208-9, 268, 3186-7; the exchequer side, ll. 425, 660-3; and the legal side, 113, 443-64, 665-72, 3140. *Gawayne* is through and through a court poem. The *Awntyrs of Arthure* has both ceremonial—ll. 440, 491, 635, 649-51—and law—ll. 339, 350, 387, 465-7, 597, 635, 646, 675-85 (cf. *Sir Hew of Eglintoun*, ch. v.). The *Pistill*, was it chosen because its theme was a trial with a cross-examination? A number of points in other poems are brought out incidentally in course of this paper.

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resemblances and coincidences and analogies, with absolute proofs of relation and indebtedness of substance and plot, of incident and phrase, between poem and poem; (2) to establish the sequence of certain members of the series; (3) to illustrate the repeated use of the same sources in different parts; (4) to trace the origins of many passages to the actual manuscript the poet used; and (5) even to point out in the poet's own handwriting on the margins of his manuscript the primal adumbration of future poetical concepts.

The argument affirms a clear sequence in four of the five poems first dealt with, based not only on numberless passages of parallel, but on passages which equally involve reminiscence and necessitate conclusions of priority in production. To put an A B C case—let A be a certain manuscript; B C D E F and G be poems of the first set; H be another manuscript; and I J K L M and N be poems of the second set. E and G are historically assigned to Huchown: the rest are anonymous. The argument affirms connection not only of D as directly dependent from C and of E as directly dependent from D, but also of D E and F as clearly related to C and B and to each other, as well as of F particularly with G. It affirms that B and C were translations probably both made from manuscript A, and that indubitably F rose directly out of C.

A in this diagrammatic statement is MS. T. 4. 1: B, *Alexander*: C, *Troy*: D, *Titus*: E, *Morte Arthure*: F, *Parlement*: G, *Gawayne*: H, MS. U. 7. 25: I, *Wynnere and Wastoure*: J, *Erkenwald*: K, *Awntyrs*: L, *Pearl*: M, *Cleanness*: N, *Patience*.

Of the second set the argument affirms manuscript H with marginal notes to be the centre. It affirms that C, D, E, F, and G of the first set have direct relation to the margins of H. It affirms that of the second set I, J, K, L, M, and N show numerous cross-relations with each other and with the first set. It affirms that the plot of I, not a little of J, and intimations in M are all explained by the margins of H. It affirms other cross-links also, including the indebtedness of J, K, and L to the same legend for their plots.

Such is the outline of the process of colligation to be seen detailed in the following chapters. The numberless parallels impossible as mere coincidences are equally impossible as plagiarisms by one or more poets from

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others. Again and again the grouping of sources and plots demonstrates unity. A thousand threads start and meet and cross and unite again in the mighty network, which is the proof of one man's authorship of these twelve poems.

The bold suggestion to prove a sequence in certain of those poems must begin with the admission that serious difficulty attaches to certain of them. Huchown's performances fall into the categories of (1) sheer translation, (2) biblical stories expanded, (3) other religious and allegorical pieces, and (4) historical or quasi-historical poems which are partially adaptations of Latin and French originals added to and combined with each other, but blending into what in sum is essentially new creative effort. Let it not be thought that these four categories represent a chronological process. Yet it will be maintained that two works falling into the first category indubitably preceded two of the fourth, and that these again were followed by one of the third. The two sheer translations in question, which stand at the threshold of the interpretation of Huchown, are the *Wars of Alexander* and the *Destruction of Troy*, and our scrutiny must begin with the probable source of these.

### 5. Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1.

In the Hunterian Library of Glasgow University is contained a royal octavo volume of about 340 folios of parchment written in one hand (probably soon after 1356), and containing text filling 7 in. by 4½ in. per page of thirty-six lines. The scribe's name is indicated on fo. 126ᵇ by a red ink note—*Nomen Scriptoris Ricardus plenus amoris*: *fframpton*. The scribe himself wrote a table of contents on the verso of the fly-leaf:

In hoc volumine continentur libri qui subsequenter intitulantur videlicet

¶ Liber de historia destruccionis Trojane urbis editus per magistrum Guidonem Iudicem de Columpna Messana folio primo

¶ Liber de gestis magni Regis Alexandri tocius orbis Conquestoris folio Cxxvij°

¶ Liber qui intitulatur Itinerarium domini Turpini Archiepiscopi Rauensis de gestis magni Regis Karoli folio Clxxj°

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¶ Liber domini Marci Pauli de Veneciis de condicionibus & consuetudinibus orientalium regionum fol Ciiij$^{xx}$ xvij° Qui distinguitur in tres libellos quorum primus sic incipit Tempore quo Baldewynus &c. folio Ciiij$^{xx}$ xviij° Secundus sic incipit In huius libri continencia &c. folio CCxix° Tercius libellus sic Pars tercia libri nostri &c. folio CCxliiij$^{to}$

¶ Liber fratris Odorici de foro Julij de ritubus & condicionibus Turcorum & Tartarorum folio CClx°

¶ Liber qui intitulatur Itinerarium Johannis Maundeuille militis de sancto Albano in Comitatu hertford. de mirabilibus diversarum provinciarum regionum & insularum Aceciam de diuersis legibus & condicionibus sectis & linguis earundem folio CCiiij$^{xx}$ j°

The copy of Guido de Columpna's *Historia destructionis Trojane Urbis* bears to be a version or edition of 1354. The Maundeville's *Itinerarium* contains in its text the date 1356. The *Liber de gestis magni regis Alexandri* is a copy of the *De Preliis Alexandri* of the Archpriest Leo. Between ff. 29$^{b}$ and 30 a quaternion of six folios is missing from the MS.

A series of remarkable correspondences, of which the chief will be set forth in future sections, led to the publication in the *Athenaeum*, on 12th May and 16th June, 1900, of an essay on 'Huchown's (?) Codex,' in which numerous proofs were advanced for the belief indicated by the title of the paper. To that essay reference may be made for other particulars of a manuscript which is assuredly of profound importance for the study of certain alliterative poems.

## 6. 'The Wars of Alexander.'

Telling the wonderful tale of Alexander the Great—the story not of authentic history, but of Egyptian romance—the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* was a Greek work full of marvels. It put into definite literary shape a mass of the matter floating about in legend concerning a career which had much to astonish and perplex the oriental mind. Afterwards the name of *Julius Valerius* became attached to a translation of that work into Latin, and yet later a third work called the *De Preliis Alexandri* gained wide currency.

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These two Latin books struck the fancy of Europe, and being diffused everywhere, helped to create that 'matter' of Alexander which was to furnish a theme for minstrels innumerable. A vast literature grew up extending itself to England and Scotland. The most outstanding contribution to it in France was the *Roman d'Alixandre* by Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay towards the close of the twelfth century, supplemented at the very beginning of the fourteenth century by the *Voeux du Paon* of Jacques de Longuyon, and by later works which do not concern the present object. Subsequently we shall have occasion to revert to the *Voeux du Paon*. A rendering of the *De Preliis*, the alliterative *Wars of Alexander* is a translation in a very strict sense, except for an introductory passage in which the theme is proposed in lines noteworthy for their variation from the rest of the poem in that alliterations of successive lines are upon the same letter.

The story[1] is of the wizard Anectanabus, the exiled king of Egypt, of his becoming the father of Alexander the Great by Olympias, wife of Philip of Macedon, and thereafter of Alexander's own career. He grows up skilled in all scholarly and soldierly accomplishments, and soon sets out on that world-conquering march which, passing from Europe to Asia, led to India, and placed him on a Babylonian throne. Just as the time was reached for the final episode—the poisoning and death of the Macedonian conqueror—the defective manuscript abruptly fails us in the middle of the strange list of peoples whom his arms had subdued. In the existing lines the bulk of the tale is duly narrated; the marvels of Alexander's marches are recorded with much spirit and dignity—his adventures in the wilds by Euphrates and Tigris, in serpent-haunted deserts and mountains, and in numberless battles with eastern peoples, especially with Darius of Persia and Porus the Indian Prince. Nor less

[1] On the legend generally see Prof. Zacher's *Pseudocallisthenes*, 1867; M. Paul Myer's great work *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française*, Paris, 1886; Dr. Wallis Budge's *History of Alexander the Great*, 1889; Professor Dario Carraroli's *La Leggenda di Alessandro Magno*, Mondovi, 1892; Professor George Saintsbury's *Flourishing of Romance*, Edinburgh, 1897. The legend was well known in Scotland. See Wyntoun, especially bk. iv. 1262.

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interesting are his gallant correspondence with the Queen of the Amazons and his exchange of views on social philosophy with Dindimus, the learned Brahmin.

A few words will recapitulate the singular proofs of direct association between this alliterative poem and the rare, if not, as is at present supposed, absolutely unique manuscript version of the *De Preliis Alexandri* found in the MS. T. 4, 1. of the Hunterian Library in Glasgow University. In editing the alliterative *Wars of Alexander* (hereinafter styled the *Alexander*) in 1886, Prof. Skeat remarked upon the large number of variances between its terms and those of the normal Latin texts of the *De Preliis*. There were unexplained forms of names, discrepancies of the narrative, and peculiar additions to it, which, while sometimes intelligible as idiosyncrasies of the translator, at other times aroused question regarding the textual sources from which the translator worked. Peculiarities included the mention of the name of Anectanabus generally as Anec, Parthia as Panthy, Hellada as Elanda, Cyrus as Cusys, Zephirus as Zephall, Ocean as Mocian, Ceres as Serenon. These forms did not occur in the normal Latin texts. They all occur in the Hunterian MS. among numerous other agreements where Prof. Skeat had noted divergences from the current text. A list[1] follows:

| Fo. | Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1. | 'Wars of Alex.' | Line. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 127-9 | Anec | Anec | passim |
| 127 | Artaxenses | Artaxenses | 49 |
| 127 | Panti | Panthy | 87 |
| 127 | Siches | Sychim | 89 |
| 127 | Bactria | Batary | 93 |
| 128b | cursus | bounde (*cursus*). See Prof. Skeat's note | 427 |
| 130b | Siciliam | Cecile | 2103 |
| 130b | Ysamiam | Ysanna | 2106 |
| 130b | Persopulus nuncupatur in qua sunt muse | Persopole | 2112 |
| 131 | Abrandian, Abandrante | Abandra | 2131 |
| 131 | Biothiam | Wyothy | 2150 |
| 131 | Trigagantes | Tergarontes | 2174 |

[1] For fuller particulars see my article entitled '*Huchown's* (?) *Codex*' in *Athenaeum*, 12th May, 1900. Cf. Prof. Skeat's notes to *Alexander* throughout.

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| Fo. | Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1. | 'Wars of Alex.' | Line. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 131b | Zachora | Zacora | 2179 |
| 131b | Cetus | Sechus | 2215 |
| 131b | Cicisterus | Sicistrus | 2234 |
| 131b | Hismon | Hismon | 2237 |
| 132 | Clitomacus | Cletomachus | 2251 |
| 132 | Satrassageras | Strasageras | 2298 |
| 132b | Eschilus | Eschilus | 2348 |
| 132b | Domesten | Domystyne | 2352 |
| 132b | Serxes | Sexes | 2361 |
| 134 | Sicilie | Sycile (for Cilicia) | 2487 |
| 134 | Oriater | Oriathire | 2512 |
| 134 | Elandam | Elanda (for Hellada) | 2514 |
| 134b | Appolomades | Appolomados | 2529 |
| 134b | Maciana | Mocian (for Ocean) | 2540 |
| 136b | Puphagonie | Siphagoyne | 2759 |
| 136b | Nostandi | Nostanda | 2773 |
| 137 | Rodogoris | Rodogars | 2819 |
| 137b | Emulus | Emynelaus | 2875 |
| 137b | Struma | Strama | 2884 |
| 138 | Anapo | Anepo | 2955 |
| 138b | Serxeri | Sexeres | 2994 |
| 140b | Cusis | Cusys (for Cyrus) | 3219 |
| 141b | Cusis | Cusus | 3326 |
| 142b | Byson | Besan | 3428 |
| 142b | Anabrasades | Anabras | 3428 |
| 145b | Butrianca | Batriane | 3782 |
| 145b | Zephilus | Zephall | 3800 |
| 147 | Battriancis | Bactry | 3950 |
| 147 | Addontrucay | Adanttrocay | 3927 |
| 147 | mures magni et (read *ut* as in sentence just following) vulpes | [mys] as any mayn foxes | 3932 |
| | aves magni ut vultures | as vowtres | 3945 |
| 148 | Exidraces | Exidraces | 4020 |
| 148b | Hemaur | Eumare | 4103 |
| 152 | Cerenon, Cernoni [This capital C is easily misread for S.] | Serenon (for Ceres) | 4510 |
| 154 | Acrea | Acrea | 4720 |
| 157 | Prescioca | Preciosa (for Prasiaca) | 5080 |
| 158 | Rex Bebricorum | King of Bebrike | 5151 |
| 157 | Seraptus | Caraptos (for Caratros) | 5094 |
| 159<br>159b | Carator | Caratros | 5337<br>5343 |
| 162 | Nabuzanda | Nabizanda | 5613 |

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Similarly the list of two-and-twenty kings whom Alexander walled up with Gog and Magog coincides with the Hunterian MS. almost absolutely. Here is the collection giving, first, the name in the MS., and, second, that in the poem: 1. Gog, Gogg; 2. Magog, Magogg; 3. Agethani, Agekany; 4. Mageen, Magen; 5. Camaranani, Camour; 6. Chaconi, Cacany; 7. Cleathar, Olaathere; 8. Appodinari, Appedanere; 9. Lumi, Limy; 10. Rarisei, Raryfey; 11. Bedeni, Bedwyn; 12. Camante de bello, Clambert; 13. Almade, Almade; 14. Gamardi, Gamarody; 15. Anaffragi, Anafrage; 16. (probably an *alias* for the fifteenth king) qui dicitur Rinocephali, Ser Naþy (?); 17. Tarbo, Tarbyn; 18. Alanis, Alane; 19. Phileys, Filies; 20. Artinei, Arteneus; 21. Martinei, Marthyney; 21. Saltarir, Saltary.

There are twenty-seven *passus* in the alliterative poem, nineteen of which correspond to divisions at the same points in the Hunterian MS. Not least curious is the list of Alexander's conquests found in the Hunterian MS., fo. 162-162b, though wanting in normal versions. It accounts for thirty names of provinces found in the catalogue of tributary realms at the end of the alliterative poem—those so indicated being here printed in italics:

*Panthus* et *Medus Indus* michi servit et *Arabs*
*Asinus Cilicus* quoque *Mesopotania Persa*
*Italus Ebreus* gens aspera *Camaneorum:*
*Ethiopum* gentes *Macedonia Grecia* Cyprum:
*ffemineum* regnum Libinus liberrimus Ysaurus
*Affricus* et *Sardus* Smuraus (?) *Pamphilia* Landus:
*Effesim* Curux locus simul et Philadelphus:
Maurus immundus populus ditissimus Monthoch'
*Anglicus* et Scotus *Britonum* quoque super caterina:
Islandus *Flandrus Coruealis* et quoque *Norguey:*
Theodomicus *ffrancus* Guandalia Gallia tota
*Ispannus* sponte michi flexit nunc sua colla
*Romanus* populus ferax et doctus in armis
Se michi supponunt [*blank*] sine crimine *Rusci*
Apulus et *Colaber* simul michi munera donat
Sinchus Yrtinus *Hermenia* barbarus ordo
Bulga[r]us Albanus venostus Dalmacus Ystir
*Hungarus* et *Frigius* Bacynt servicia Bosus.
Cun[c]ta michi subsunt, michi Jupiter imperat unus.[1]

[1] The foregoing list of peoples is not in the fifteenth century prints of the *De Preliis*, nor is it in the edition of 1885 by Dr. Gustav Landgraf. Since first printing the list in

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Comparison with the poem reveals one striking fact, viz., that of the alliterative groups or pairs: (1) Flanders and France, (2) Guienne [Garnad] and Greece, (3) Norway and Naverne, (4) Bayonne and Bordeaux, (5) Turkey and Tartary, and (6) Pers and Pamphilia, all in the poem (ll. 5656-77), only the first and the last have both their members in the list. The other four are in varying degree intrusions, not translations, thereby giving piquancy to the recurrence of the whole six groups in the *Morte Arthure* (ll. 30-46 and 572-604). Thus, equally when he was truly translating and when he was amplifying his text, the alliterative poet hit on combinations also found in the *Morte Arthure*. Moreover, although one line in the Alexander poem reads

> Ingland Itaile and Ynde and Ireland costis,

there is no mention of Scotland. The alliterative translator chose to retain England in, thrust Ireland into, and exclude Scotland from the catalogue of realms owing tribute to Alexander.

Finally, and perhaps of the most significant note, is an intrusion into the text of the *Alexander*, perspicuously commented upon by Professor Skeat. The normal Latin text of the *De Preliis* mentions certain rocks of adamant, but the alliterative translation adds a feature of its own, viz., two lines descriptive of the quality ascribed to those rocks of drawing nails out of ship's bottoms.

> If any Nave to it neȝe[1] that naylid is with iryn
> Then clevys it ay to the clife carryg and othyre.

This proposition, as the learned professor acutely noted, though absent from the Latin text of the *De Preliis*, was in Maundeville's *Itinerarium*. The value of Professor Skeat's annotation was greatly enhanced when it was pointed out that although in the Hunterian MS. of the *De Preliis* the passage about the danger to ships from adamant rocks was absent also, the Hunterian MS. included a copy of Maundeville's *Itinerarium*. These and other reasons led to the proposition that the Hunterian codex must have been the

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the *Athenaeum* I came upon a slightly different version of it in the Advocates' Library MS. 18.4.9 in the poetical *Historia Alexandri* by Wilkinus of Spoleto, written in 1236. Regarding this poem, M. Paul Meyer has been most courteous in referring me to sources of information in addition to those specified in his *Alexandre le Grand*, tome second, p. 40.

[1] This ȝ or 'yok' letter I have rendered as *gh*, *y*, *g*, or *z*, except in a few special cases where the actual letter was necessary.

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identical MS. used by the poet, more especially as further correspondences scarcely less extraordinary were found when the copy, which the MS. contained of the *De Excidio Troje*, was compared with the alliterative poem, the *Destruction of Troy*.

### 7. 'The Destruction of Troy.'

Like the *Alexander*, the alliterative *Destruction of Troy* (henceforth cited as the *Troy*) is a direct and ordinarily faithful translation. Just as in the East there arose away from history altogether a legendary life of Alexander, so in the East arose also[1] a story of Troy different from Homer's. The blind father of bards had of course told the deathless story from the Greek standpoint. This did not satisfy the craving of some minds for the other side, and the strange books of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis were produced which in some degree redressed the balance, and so far traversed Homer's path as to exalt Hector at the expense of Achilles, and attribute the stratagem of the horse and the fall of Troy directly or indirectly to the treason of Antenor and Aeneas. These Latin and revised versions passed widely forth: Homer was unknown or forgotten. A French trouvère, Benoît de Sainte More, wrote his *Roman de Troie* from the Latin sources, and from that romance Guido de Columpna, in the year 1287, made his Latin prose version which at once became a popular history book in the literature of Europe. There was poetic vigour in the prose unquestionably, and its rendering of that picturesque theme,

> The batayle of Troy that was so stoughtt,

took hold of Europe as even Dares and Dictys had never done. Thus it came that Huchown's *Troy* was a product of Guido's *Troja*, the same work as John Barbour also was soon to be translating, and as John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, was to translate.

Guido's tale of Troy is fully rehearsed in the 14,044 lines of the alliterative translation. There are a good many signs of carelessness, perhaps

[1] An excellent sketch of the Troy Cycle in medieval literature is given by Dr. C. H. A. Wager in his introduction to *The Seege of Troye* (New York, 1899), edited from MS. Harl. 525, by him.

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to be allotted equally to the translator and the scribes. Myrion, for instance, is killed no fewer than four times in the course of the interminable battles. The narrative rises and falls, at points showing full of sustained vigour, elsewhere marching somewhat mechanically, but assuredly it has many noble passages, and in general power of language and deftness of epithet is on the merits[1] an entirely dignified and worthy rendering.

The rubrics or subdivisions of the poem proved in a striking proportion of cases to be directly associated with the rubrics of the *De Excidio Troje* contained in the Hunterian MS. These rubrics are, many of them, very special, for an examination of a great number of copies of Guido's book in the MSS. of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library failed to disclose any single one which displayed any such measure of consonance as that exhibited by the Hunterian MS.[2]

The correspondences are of the most thorough character, and the following comparison of a large body of them will enable the critic to note the differences as well as the resemblances. First, however, it is to be said that the rendering of Guido used by the scribe was an Italian edition or version by Johannulus de Borrezio in 1354, as appears from a colophon on fo. 126.

"Et ego Johannolus [o expuncted and u substituted] de Borrezio Cancellarius ecclesie Sancti Victoris de Arsizate Mediolanen. dioc. hoc presens opus in Beate Agnetis festo finivi Anno domini millesimo tricentesimo quinquagesimo quarto pontificatus sanctissimi patris et domini nostri domini Innocencii Pape vi. anno secundo Et cicius enim complevissem nisi quia in Reverendissimi in Xpo. patris et domini mei domini Guill'mi de Pusterla permissione divina sancte sedis Constantinopolitan. patriarche cujus familiaris minimus existo negociis plurimum vacavi utpote sibi nec inmerito perpetim obligatus.

This text has very many rubrics of its own. Some of those quoted below are common to other manuscripts as well. Many of them are believed to be peculiar to Borrezio's version, of which meantime no other copy appears to be known.

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[1] I gladly pay homage to the critical taste of my friend, Mr. J. T. T. Brown, in long ago directing me to this alliterative work as containing much high-class poetry despite the adverse verdicts of critics, and as being Huchown's handiwork.

[2] Further particulars are given in 'Huchown's (?) Codex,' *Athenaeum*, 16th June, 1900.

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| Folio. | Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1. | *Alliterative* 'Destruction of Troy.' | Line. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Incipit prologus . . . | Prologue. | 1 |
| 1b | Explicit prologus. Incipit liber de casu Troje primo de Peleo rege Thessalie inducente Jasonem . . . ad vellus aureum adquirendum. | Explicit Prologue. | 98 |
| | | Here begynnes the ffirst Boke. How Kyng Pelleus exit Jason to get the ffles of Golde. | 99 |
| 4 | Incipit liber secundus de . . . Grecis applicatis in pertinenciis Troje. . . . | [Lost in text, but supplied from contents, p. v.] The ii[d] boke how the Grekes toke lond upon Troy. Cawse of the first debate. | |
| 6 | [Passage corresponding to l. 373.] Qualiter Rex Oetes honorifice Jasonem . . . recepit et qualiter Medea . . . amore Jasonis fuit capta. | Jason. | 373 |
| | | The crafte of Medea. | 402 |
| | | The soden hote love of Medea. | 449 |
| 8 | Sicut primo loquitur Jasoni Medea. | Medea. | 521 |
| 8 | Responsio Jasonis ad verba Medee. | The onsuare of Jason to Medea. | 551 |
| 8b | Alia verba Medee ad Jasonem. | Medea. | 560 |
| 8b | Alia responsio Jasonis ad Medeam. | The onsuare of Jason to Medea. | 577 |
| 9 | Qualiter Jason et Medea. . . . | Medea. | 637 |
| 9 | Incipit liber tercius. . . . | Third Boke: how Medea enformed Jason to get the fflese of golde. | 665 |
| 11 | Res et ipsarum series date Jasoni per Medeam pro aureo vellere acquirendo. . . . | | |
| 14b | Incipit liber quartus. | Here begynneth the fourth boke. Of the dystrucion of the first Troy by Ercules and Jason. | 1010 |
| 15 | Qualiter Grecorum exercitus Jasonis et Herculis Troje . . . civitatem illam primo diruerunt. | | |
| 15b | Verba Herculis. . . . | Ercules. | 1121 |
| 18 | Qualiter Greci . . . intrant ipsam urbem. | The takyng of the towne. | 1353 |
| 18b | . . . Exionam Regis Laumedonte filiam. . . . | Exiona the Kinges doughter Lamydon. | 1385 |
| 19b | De Priamo . . . & filiis. . . . | Off King Pryam and his children. | 1461 |
| 21b | De constructione mirabili magni Ylion. . . . | The makyng of Ylion. | 1629 |
| 22b | Qualiter Rex Priamus misit Anthenorum legatum ad Grecos pro Exiona. . . . | How Antenor went on message to the Grekys. | 1780 |
| 24b | . . . Incipit liber vj[us] | Here begynnes the Sext Boke: How Kyng Priam toke counsell to Werre on the Grekys. | 2047 |
| 25 | Qualiter rex Priamus . . . consulit suam mittere gentem . . . pro . . . Grecorum offensione (l. 2095). | | |
| 25b | Quomodo Priamus hortatur . . . filios. | Off counsell of the Kynges children. | 2157 |



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| Folio. | Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1. | *Alliterative* 'Destruction of Troy. | Line. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | Responsio Hectoris ad Priamum patrem suum et quomodo prudenter suum dedit consilium. | The onsuare and the counsell of Ector to Priam his ffader. | 2207 |
| 27 | Consilium Paridis. . . . | The counsell of Paris Alexaunder. | 2306 |
| 28 | Consilium Deyphobi. . . . | The counsell of Deffebus. | 2449 |
| 28b | Consilium Eleni. . . . | The counsell of Elinus the Bysshop. | 2478 |
| 28b | . . . Quid consulit Troiolus. . . . | The counsell of Troylus. | 2523 |
| 29 | Quomodo Rex Priamus jubet Paridi . . . ut pergat . . . in Grecia. . . . | The ordinaunse for Paris into Grese. | 2561 |
| 29b | Sicut loquitur Pethiteus. [This name is corrupt in many MSS.] | The counsell of Protheus. | 2619 |
| 30 | Qualiter Cassandra regis Priami filia condolet. . . . | The sorow of Cassandra the Kyngys doughter. | 2676 |
| 32 | Qualiter Paris primo vidit Helenam . . . | The fairnes of Elan. | 3019 |
| 35b | Qualiter Helena. . . . | Elan. | 3385 |
| 36b | De Grecis inchoantibus inire consilia . . . de raptu Helene . . . incipit liber viij$^{us}$ | Eght Boke. Of the counsell of the Grekys ffor recoveryng of Elayne. | 3532 |
| 37 | Qualiter Agamenon consolatur Menelaum. . . . | The counsell of Agamynon to Menelay. | 3584 |
| 37b | . . . Pollux et Castor paraverunt naufragium. . . . | The drownyng of Pollux and Castor. | 3673 |
| 38 | Descripcio Grecorum qui fuerunt super Trojam (l. 3732). | The shape and colour of the Kynges of Grece. | 3741 |
| 40b | De numero navium quas Greci duxerunt . . . liber viiij$^{us}$ | Neynt Boke. Of the Nowmber of Shippes and the Navy of the Grekes. | 4029 |
| 41 | Exhortacio Agamenonis contra Grecos et primo voluit habere responsum a deo Appollinis in insula Delphon liber x$^{us}$ | Tent Boke. How the Grekes sent unto Delphon to have onsware of a God of thayre Journay. | 4140 |
| 42b | Qualiter ydolatria in mundo primo venit. | Off Beall the god and Belsabub. | 4332 |
| 44b | Responsum datum Achilli. | The answare of Appollo to Achilles. | 4475 |
| 47b | Qualiter Agamenon Rex locutus est Grecis de mittendo nuncios Regi Priamo antequam plus procedant Li. xij$^{us}$ | xiith Boke. How the Grekys sent two Kinges in message to Kyng Priam for restitucion of thaire harme. | 4783 |
| 50b | De Grecis mittentibus Achillem et Thelaphum pro victualibus eorum exercitui opportunis. Li. xiij$^{us}$ | xiij Boke. How the Grekys sent Achilles and Thelefon for vitaill for the Ost into Messam. | 5152 |

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| Folio. | HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1. | *Alliterative* 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.' | Line. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 53 | Descripcio illorum qui in subsidium venere Trojanorum. | Of the Kynges that come to Troy for socur of Priam. | 5432 |
| 54b | Quomodo Diomedes quedam discreta verba profudit de processu. | The Counsell of Dyamede to stirre to the cite. | 5590 |
| 58b | De secundo bello. . . . Li. xv$^{us}$ | xv Boke. Of the Ordinaunce of the Troiens to the secund batell. | 6065 |
| 66b | De tercio bello . . . Lib. xvi$^{us}$ | xvi Boke. Of a trew takyn two moneths, and of the third batell. | 7125 |
| 68b | De quarto bello . . . Li. xvij$^{us}$ | xvij Boke. Of the Counsell of the Grekes for the Dethe of Ector and the iiij$^{rt}$ batell. | 7346 |
| 70b | De quinto bello. . . . Li. xviij$^{us}$ | xviij$^{t.}$ Boke of the fyvet batell in the felde. | 7553 |
| 72 | De sexto bello . . . Li. xviiij$^{us}$ | xix Boke. Of the vi. batell. | 7811 |
| 74 | Nota de inconstancia mulierum. [This does not seem to be in the scribe's hand, but is a coeval owner's ejaculation.] | [Ll. 8055-67, paragraph on female fickleness.] | |
| 75b | De septimo bello . . . liber vicesimus. | The xx Boke. Of the vij$^{nt}$ Batell and Skarmiches. . . . | 8183 |
| 77b | Hic fuit preliatum per xij dies continue sequentes. | Here thai faght twelve dayes togedur. [This is an exceedingly special subrubric.] | 8403 |
| 78 | De viij$^{o}$ bello. [This is not numbered as a book, and a failure, probably due to this, occurs in the consecutiveness, there being no number xxij in the Latin.] | The xxi Boke. Of the viij Batell. [From this point the numbering of the translation and the Latin ceases to correspond.] | 8421 |
| 81 | Qualiter Agamenon mortuo Hectore jussit majores Grecorum ad se venire et quomodo loquitur eisdem. | The counsall of Agamenon after the dethe of Ector. | 8826 |
| 82 | De nono bello . . . liber xxiij$^{us}$ | Here begynneth the xxij Boke: the ellevynt Batell of the Cite. | 8971 |
| 83 | Qualiter ille metuendus Achilles fuit allaqueatus amore. | The solempnite of the obit of Ector and how Achilles fell in the momurdotes for luff. | 9089 |
| 86 | De decimo bello . . . Li. xxvj$^{us}$ [begins *Induciis igitur datis*]. | Here begynnys the xxiij Boke: of the xij and xiij batell. | 9400 |
| 87b | De undecimo bello [begins *Sequenti vero die Trojane*]. | xxiiij Boke: Of the xiiij and xv batell of the Cite, | 9628 |

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| Folio. | Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1. | *Alliterative* 'Destruction of Troy.' | Line. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 88 | De duodecimo bello [begins *Sequenti vero die inter.*] | The answare of Achilles to Ulyxes the Kyng. | 9743 |
| 88b | Qualiter Achilles respondit Ulixi. | | |
| 89b | De tercio decimo bello . . . Lib. xxvij$^{us}$ | xxv Boke: Off the Sextene and the xvij batell. | 9864 |
| 89b | De quarto decimo bello. | | |
| 90b | De quinto decimo bello. | Of xviij and the xix batell. | 9675 |
| | [The Latin rubrics skip from the fifteenth to the eighteenth battle. The translating poet therefore is somewhat nonplussed.] | Here thai faght vij dayes togedur, that ys not recont: no batell. | 10116 |
| 91b | De xviij$^{o}$ bello [begins *Hiis igitur diebus elapsis letate.*] | The xxvi Boke. Of the xviij batell of the Cite. | 10133 |
| | | [In this important rubric the editors of the poem have, as they explain in a marginal note, printed "(xx)" as the number of the battle. Their note is, however, distinct (and accords with the fact of the MS. of the *Destruction*) in stating that the "MS. has xviii."] | |
| 92b | De xviiij bello . . . [begins *Belli tempus hiis*]. | The dethe of Troilus by Achilles trayturly slayne in the xxj batell. | 10252 |
| 95 | De xx$^{o}$ bello [begins *Sextedecimo igitur die.*] | Off the xx$^{ti}$ batell. | 10629 |
| | | [Again editors print '(xxii)' but note 'MS. has xx$^{ti}$.'] | |
| 96b | . . . liber xxviij$^{us}$ (l. 10790). | The xxvij Boke. Of xxj Batell . . . | 10788 |
| 97 | De vicesimo primo bello (l. 10863) [begins *Ad jussum*]. | | |
| 97b | De vicesimo secundo bello (l. 10913) [begins *Pantasilea*]. | The xxij and xxiij batell of the Cite. | 10950 |
| 98b | De vicesimo tercio bello et de morte Pantasilee per Pirrum interfecte (l. 11079) [begins *Supervenientibus*]. | Here they faght a monethe. | 11079 |
| | | The deth of Pantasilia by Pirrus. | 11103 |
| 99 | De tractatu seu prodicione Civitatis Troje Incipit liber xxviiij$^{us}$ | The xxviij Boke: Of the Counsell of Eneas and Antenor. Of the treason of the Cite. | |
| 104 | De capcione et destruccione Troje et de morte Regis Priami et Polisene ejus filie. Li. xxx$^{us}$ | The ordinaunce of the trybute. | 11717 |
| 107 | Qualiter Agamenon loquitur Grecis . . . | The counsell of the Grekes. | 12015 |

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| Folio. | HUNTERIAN MS. T. 4, 1. | *Alliterative* 'DESTRUCTION OF TROY.' | Line. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 108b | Qualiter destructa urbe Troje Thelamonius Ajax loquitur contra Vlixem occasione Paladii liber tricesimus primus. | The xxx Boke: Of stryfe of Thelamon and Ulixes and of the dethe of Thelamon. | 12165 |
| 112 | Sequitur quomodo mortuus est Agamenon liber xxxij$^{us}$ | The xxxij Boke: Of the Lesyng that was made to Kyng Nawle, and of dethe of his son Palomydon. | 12552 |
| | [Numbering of books tallies once more. As to a confusion in the numbering of the books in the alliterative poem, see note by editors (pref. liii-iv) on displacement of two sets of folios of the MS.]. | Off the dethe of Agamynon and the exile of Dyamede by there wyvys for this lettur. | 12727 |
| 115b | Qualiter Horrestes . . . patris . . . necem . . . vindicavit Liber tricesimus tercius. | Here begynnes the xxxiij Boke. How Oreste toke vengianse for his fader dethe. | 12937 |
| 117 | Sequitur narracio de reditu Ulixis et quid ei in redeundo contingit. | The xxxiiij Boke. How hit happit Ulixes aftur the sege. | 13106 |
| 119b | De reditu Pirri et ejus prospero successu ac de morte sua sequitur narracio Lib. xxxiiij$^{us}$ | The xxxv Boke: Of Pyrrus and of his passyng from Troy. | 13388 |
| | | Off the coronyng of Pyrrus and of his dethe. | 13635 |
| 122b | Qualiter Ulixes mortuus est subsequenter enarratur: liber xxxv$^{us}$ | The xxxvi Boke. Of the dethe of Ulixes by his son. | 13802 |

Textually, as the various versions of Guido's *Historia* exhibit few crucial tests for identification of their distinctions, it is not easy to devise methods of decisive collation. Yet a few very cogent instances can be adduced. Besides the mere facts of agreement in so many rubrics, not found in any print or MS. of Guido accessible to me, there is specially the agreement in the numbering of the books above illustrated—a matter on which there is considerable divergence in different texts. In the list of kings whom Hector slew, the poem put 'Archilocus' (or Arcesilaus) first. All the prints, and the greater number of the manuscripts of Guido, put him fourth or fifth in the list, which comes ultimately from Dares Phrygius (Teubner, 1873, praef. ix.). But the Hunterian Guido (fo. 125), like the poem (l. 14,008) places Archilocus first. There are, on the other hand, such elements as the presence of 'Beelzebub' (l. 4357) in the poem, where the Hunterian MS. (fo. 43) has *Beelin Abach Bel i. deus Zabuch i. musca hoc*

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*deus muscarum*—though printed editions have 'Beelzebub'—which make it possible that the poet-translator had access to more copies than one of this widely current work. Although the very extraordinary correspondences exhibited might not suffice to constitute the proof single-handed, they yet when placed in conjunction with the similar and still more striking correspondences of the *Alexander* with the same Hunterian MS. enable us to start with a presumption little short of absolute that the translator of the *Alexander* and the translator of the *Troy*, whether the same person or not, at any rate used the same manuscript—a manuscript the earliest possible date of which is 1356, the year in which the *Itinerarium* of Maundeville is, in the text of the MS. itself,[1] declared to have been written.

How the presumption of two translations from the same manuscript stands the test of being carried a degree further to the inference that the user of the MS. was the maker of both translations will best appear from the analysis now to be undertaken of certain poems with the primary view of determining their relation and order of date.[2] The *Troy*, there is good reason to maintain,[3] was quoted in Scotland by Barbour in 1376.

### 8. 'Titus and Vespasian,' Its Story, Sources, and Date.

#### (1) *The Story and General Sources.*

Indications, which may be left to the critic to accept or reject as he pleases, suggest with some distinctness that the *Troy* was not written till after the *Alexander*. While wishing to be taken as comparatively tentative my opinion of the priority of the *Alexander* to the *Troy*, I advance as

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[1] A great mystery hangs over Maundeville. This must have been an early copy: it differs from other texts, and will reward study by some lover of the charming *Itinerary*. Sir Hew of Eglintoun was in London in 1358. His getting the MS. in that year is not beyond the bounds of legitimate speculation.

[2] It is proper to recall the fact that in editing the *Troy* Mr. Panton and Mr. David Donaldson argued very forcefully that its translator and the author of *Morte Arthure* were one.

[3] Cf. *Troy*, 12969-74, 2734-8, 1056-64, and Barbour's *Bruce*, v. 1-13, xvi. 63-71, and *Buik of Alexander*, p. 107, ll. 1-12, p. 248, ll. 16-26. See *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, 9-13.

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an absolute and unhesitating conclusion the view that the *Troy* was followed by a poem variously known as the *Titus and Vespasian* or as *The Sege of Jerusalem*, or as the *Warris of the Jewis*—henceforward cited as *Titus*.

Although critics heretofore have busied themselves with the question of the authorship of the *Troy*, while some have supposed it to date after *Morte Arthure*, while some have given the *Troy* to Huchown, and while others have refused it, no one has yet set forward[1] the great fact of the connection between these two alliterative poems constituted by a third alliterative poem, the *Titus*, whose authorship till now has not been claimed. It is the key to *Morte Arthure*, the link which binds it in indissoluble association with the *Troy*, and determines finally the order of production.

The *Titus* found in one MS. in company with a poem in the precise metre of the *Pistill of Susan* contains in the only available printed text 1332 lines, not rimed but alliterative, and has for its theme the miraculous cures of Titus and Vespasian and the siege and overthrow of Jerusalem. Founded as regards its earlier incidents in some degree on blended features of early versions of the singular legend of St. Veronica, such as the Latin *Vindicta Salvatoris* and the French *Destruction de Jerusalem*, but largely striking out new lines for itself, the poem soon discloses its direct connection with the *Legenda Aurea*, many passages of which it freely adapts, though with insertions from undiscovered sources and contributions evidently quite original. Another work clearly drawn upon was the *Bellum Iudaicum* of Josephus, no doubt, as Herr F. Kopka has shown,[2] in the version of Hegesippus. The story tells, at the opening, how Titus is afflicted with a cancer and his father with a settlement of wasps in his nose, from which he took his name Waspasian! Titus, eager in his inquiry after physicians, is told by Nathan, a Jew, of the wondrous life of a prophet born in Bethlehem who wrought many a miracle, and who at last, betrayed by Judas, was put to death by Pilate, the provost of Rome. Titus, touched

[1] The proposition was made in my article '*Huchown*' (part I.) in *Athenaeum*, 1 June 1901

[2] *The Destruction of Jerusalem: ein mittelenglisches alliterierendes Gedicht. Einleitung. Inaugural Dissertation.* Breslau 1887.

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by what he hears, breaks out with a sudden expression of sympathy for Christ and censure of His condemnation. Before the words are wholly said the cancer vanishes. The gratefully joyous Titus turns Christian and is baptised. Vespasian learns of the miraculous healing, and vows that if he too shall be cured he will give his life for Christ. Messengers are sent 'that time Peter was Pope and preachéd in Rome,' and from Palestine there comes Saint Veronica with the veil on which the Saviour's face had left its sacred imprint. When this precious relic reaches the temple at Rome the idols of the heathen faith yet prevalent there crash in pieces. Saint Peter touched with the veil the person of the illustrious patient, 'the wasps went away and all the woe after,' and the glad Vespasian christens the veil after Veronica and calls it the Vernacle. The scene now shifts: Romans set sail to make war on the Jews; the holy city is besieged; surrender is demanded in vain, and Vespasian, foiled to some extent by the warlike ingenuity of Josephus, strives long and unsuccessfully to take Jerusalem. Meanwhile Nero dies; after Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, at last Vespasian is chosen successor. He departs for Rome and leaves the siege to be prosecuted by Titus. Famine and distress accelerate that task; eleven hundred thousand Jews die by sword and hunger; the walls are stormed; and the stubborn defenders starved till their stomachs, as the poet expressively puts it, are 'no greater than a greyhound,' lay down their arms, and doffing their armour, yield their gates 'in their bare shirts.' The jewelled splendours of Solomon's sanctuary are carried away, and as a Jew had sold Christ 'for thirty pennies in a poke,' now the prisoners of Titus, bound together with ropes, were sold—'thirty Jews in a thrum'—at a penny for thirty. And then the long siege was raised, and the victors 'went singing away' homeward to Rome, as ends our poet—'Now rede us our Lord.'

### (2) *The 'Titus,' the 'Troy,' and the 'Alexander.'*

This remarkable *Titus*, in parts of it not taken from any of the Latin or French sources above named, includes more than one passage and not a few single lines which it owes directly to the *Troy*. Not only so; in some of those passages and lines there is a double association, for they

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connect with the *Alexander* also. In particular the language descriptive of the fall and destruction of Jerusalem in the *Titus* will be shewn to be in part derived from an episode of destruction in the *Troy*, and more remotely from certain siege descriptions in the *Alexander*. Premising that the primary thesis is that the *Titus* is deeply indebted to the *Troy* let us proceed to the scrutiny of parallels.

| | | | | *Titus.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Alex.* | 555 | Cloudis clenly to-cleve clatird unfaire. | 54 | Cloudes clateren gon as they cleve wolde. |
| *Troy* | 5787 | Cloudis with the clamour claterit above. | | |
| *Troy* | 1984 | A rak and a royde wynde rose in hor saile. | 54 | The racke myde a rede wynde roos in the myddel. |
| *Troy* | 4312 | Both mawhounus and maumettes myrtild in peces. Latin has *ydolum . . . esset in minutatim abscissum.* | 233 | The mahomid and the mametes tomortled to peces. |
| *Troy* | 8719 | Of wepyng and wayle and wryngyng of hondes. | 245-6 | Than was wepyng and wo and wryngyng of hondis With loude dyn and dit for doil of hym one. |
| | 8679 | . . . wringyng of hond: The dit and the dyn was dole to behold. | | |
| | 1347 | Of the dite and the dyn was dole to beholde. | | |
| | 9611 | Myche weping and waile wringyng of hond. | | |
| *Troy* | 1902 | Hade bir at his bake and the bankes levyt. | 288 | Hadde byr at the bake and the bonke lefte. |
| | 12490 | Hadyn bir at there backe and the bonke levyt. | | |
| *Alex.* | 1151 | Tilded full of torretes and toures of defence. | 310 | With many a toret and tour that toun to defende. |
| *Troy* | 1551 | Mony toures up tild the toune to defende. | | |
| *Troy* | 5825 | . . . the might and the mayn . . . | 505 | Bothe the myght and the mayn. |
| *Troy* | 7619 | A thondir with a thicke rayn thrublit in the skewes. | 530 | As thonder and thicke rayn throwaland in skyes. |
| | 12496 | A thoner and a thicke rayne thrublet in the skewes. Latin has *in multa copia pluviarum æther in tonitruorum aggregacionibus.* | | |

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| | | | *Titus.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Troy* | 1195 | Speires unto sprottes sprongen ouer hedes. Cf. 5783, 6406, 7248, 9666, 11022. | 551 | Spakly her speres on sprotes they ȝeden. |
| *Alex.* | 790 | Al to spryngis in sprotis speres . . . | | |
| *Alex.* | 786 | . . . spakly with speres. . . . | | |
| *Alex.* | 789 | Sone into sheverand shidez shaftez tobristen. | 552 | Scheldes at schidwod on scheldres to cleven. |
| *Awntyrs* | 501 | Schaftis of schene wode thay scheverede in schides. | | |
| *Alex.* | 4766 | As gotis out of guttars in golanand wedres. | 558 | And goutes from golde wede as goteres they runne. |
| *Troy* | 9406 | He gird hym thurgh the guttes with a grym spere. | 564 | Girdeth out the guttes with grounden speres. |
| *Troy* | 3170 | Chaundelers full chefe and charbokill stones. | 588 | Chair and chaundelers and charbokel stones. |
| *Troy* | 11141 | All the bent of that birr blody beronnen. | 597 | So was the bent ouer brad blody byrunne. |
| *Alex.* | 1395 | Kenely thai kepe with castyng of stanes. | 619 | Kepten kenly with caste the kernels alofte. |
| *Alex.* | 1390 | Archers with arowes of atter envenmonyd. | 652 | And arwes arwely with attyr envenymyd. |
| *Troy.* | 4739-41 | Schottyn up sharply at the schene wallis<br>With glayves and gomes girdyn doun toures<br>Dryven up dartes, gyffen depe woundes.<br>Latin has *crebris sagittis emissis letaliter vulnerant.* | 664<br><br><br>835 | Schoten up scharply to the schene walles.<br><br>Dryven dartes a doun geven depe woundes. |
| *Alex.* | 1391 | Shoton up sharply at salkez on the walles. | | |
| *Alex.* | 1396 | Dryves dartez at our dukez deply thaim wounden. | | |
| *Troy* | 1647 | In cornals by course clustret oloft. | 673 | Kesten at the kernels clustered toures. |
| *Alex.* | 1421 | And be the kernels wer kest. | | |
| *Alex.* | 3046 | Of arows and of alblastres that all the ayre blynded. | 665<br>833 | With arwes and arblastes and alle that harme myght.<br>With arwes and arblastes and archers manye. |

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To interrupt a little the monotony of parallel will serve a good purpose if it accentuates the next pair of passages. In the *Troy* the Greek camp by night is pictured in words which alike in their modicum of adherence to the Latin text they follow, and in their more notable deviations from it, evince a mastery of poetic art and natural description. One feels that the translator's night was more real than Guido's: yet the passage as a whole is not the alliterative poet's: it gives us Guido *plus* his translator. Accordingly, when we find the same description in the *Titus*, and at the end of it a further line from another part of the *Troy*, where that line is indubitably translation, it ceases to be a matter of argument and establishes itself as ascertained fact that without the previous *Troy* we could have had no *Titus*.

| *Troy* 7348-57. | *Titus* 722-31. |
|---|---|
| When the day ouerdrogh and the derk entrid, | By that was the day done, dymned the skyes, |
| The sternes full stithly starand oloft, | Merked montaynes and mores aboute, |
| All merknet the mountens and mores aboute, | |
| The fowles there fethers foldyn togedur, | Foules fallen to fote and her fethres rusken, |
| Nightwacche for to wake, waits to blow; | The nyght wacche to the walles and waytes to blowe, |
| Tore fyres in the tenttes tendlis oloft. | Bryght fures aboute betyn abrode in the oste; |
| All the gret of the Grekes gedrit hom somyn, | Chosen chyventayns out and chiden no mor, |
| Kynges and knyghtes clennest of wit, | Bot charged the chek-wecche and to chambr wenten, |
| Dukes and derffe erles droghen to counsell; | Kynges and knyghtes to cacchen hem rest. |
| In Agamynon gret tent gedrit were all. | |
| They had met in counsel how to compass the death of Hector. Later in the poem Achilles, scheming revenge on Troilus, found no rest in his bed. | Waspasian lyth in his logge, litel he slepith. |
| *Troy* 10096 And lay in his loge litill he sleppit. | |

Guido's Latin of these two *Troy* passages is

Aspectibus igitur hominum crepusculo succedente stellis per celi spacium undique patefactis quibus nox que nocet oculis intuencium in aspectibus ceterorum propter sue

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tenebras cecitatis aperte vulgavit. Omnes Reges Grecorum duces et principes in ipsius noctis conticinio in Regis Agamenonis tentorio conveniunt.

[Achilles] inquietus sua non appetit claudere lumina in dormicionis consueta quiete.

The effect of this group of lines common to the sieges of Troy and Jerusalem—the alliterative sieges—stands in little need of enforcement. The canon of comparison to which appeal is made is this. Given two passages, one of which must be due to the other; given that one of them is known translation, although expanded somewhat; given that the other is not translation; then if the points in common include things which are real translation, every presumption leads to the conclusion that the translation is the source, and therefore the earlier. It seems axiomatic that the *Troy* lent its night-scene to the *Titus*. And there are yet other parallels to follow. Elsewhere in a discussion of the same sort the proposition was advanced that a poet who repeated the same line more than once in a poem might not unnaturally be found repeating it in another. In this connection, therefore, it is worthy of observation that one of the lines above quoted occurs in another part of the *Troy* as well.

*Troy* 7809. Merkit the mountayns and mores aboute.

In both instances the darkening of hill and moorland at nightfall is a touch of the translator's own—is exegetic and not literal translation. It is the recurrence of this fact which imports so much more significance into such recurrent lines. Will it not appear strange if from a verse-translation containing 14,000 lines, the borrowings in other poems should so often prove to be not of Guido's matter, but of the translator's? Now we return to our parallels.

| | | | *Titus.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Troy* | 10287 | Fell was the fight foyning of spears. | 815 | Fought right felly foyned with speres. |
| *Troy* | 4753 | Fell was the feght. . . . | | |
| *Troy* | 5795 | . . . felly . . . foghtyn . . . | | |
| | | | 835 | See under 664 above |
| *Troy* | 11956 | When the derke was done and the day sprange. | 850 | When the derk was doun and the day spryngen. |
| *Alex.* | 1489 | . . . bodworde of blis. . . . | 965 | . . . bodeword of blys. . . . |
| *Alex.* | 1324 | And makez a way wyde enogh waynez for to mete. | 998 | Made weys throw for wenes and cartes. |

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| | | | *Titus.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Alex.* | 2264 | And thai als fayne alle the flote as fowelle of the day. | 1005 | Fayn as the foul of day was the freke than. |
| *Alex.* | 75 | . . . oute in the wale stremys. | 1017 | . . . over wale stremys. |
| *Troy* | 6064 | . . . Lord giffe us joye. [End of book xiv.] | 1104 | . . . and God gyve us joy. [End of one of the four divisions of the poem.] |
| *Troy* | 4751-2 | Layn ladders alenght and aloft wonnen<br>At yche cornell of the castell was crusshyng of weppon. | 1186<br>1189 | At eche kernel was cry and quasschyng of wepne.<br>Leythe a ladder to the wal and a lofte clymyth. |
| Latin has *bellicis scalis appositis lataliter impetunt et dura debellacione Trojanos terimunt.* | | | | |
| *Troy* | 11090 | Kene was the crie with crusshyng of weppyn. | | |
| *Troy* | 6924 | That the blod out brast. . . . | 1194-5 | That the brayn out brast at both nose thrylles<br>And Sabyn ded of the dynt into the diche falleth. |
| *Troy* | 4755-6 | Till thai lept of the ladder light in the dyke.<br>The brayne oute brast and the brethe levyt. | | [Sabyn had mounted the ladder.] |
| Latin has *sternuntur a scalis et volubiliter ruinosi prevenientes in terra fractis cervicibus vitam exalant.* | | | 1203 | Wer ded of that dynt and in the diche lyghten. |
| *Alex.* | 2153 | . . . fey for defaute enfamyshyd hys oste. | 1240 | . . . enfamyed for defaute whan hem fode wanted. |
| *Troy* | 3169 | Bassons of bright gold and other brode vessell. | 1261 | Bassynes of brend gold and other bryght ger. |
| *Troy* | 4774 | Mynours then mightely the moldes did serche. | 1274<br>1279 | Now masons and mynours hav the molde soughte.<br>Till alle the cyte was serched and sought al aboute. |
| *Troy* | 4695 | Betyne doune the buyldynges to the bare erthe. | 1257 | Doun bete the bilde brenne hit in to grounde. |
| *Troy* | 4777 | Betyn doun the buyldynges and brent into erthe. | 1285 | Bot doun betyn and brent into blake erth. |
| Latin has *in facie terre dejectis tam deiciencium studio quam ignium flammis voracibus.* | | | | |
| *Alex.* | 3642 | Thretti dais on a throme. . . . | 1314 | Thrytty Jewes in a thrum. . . . |

From these citations an interesting induction comes. Lines of the *Titus*, containing part of the narrative of the detailed overthrow and desolation of the Holy City, reproduce almost verbatim lines of the *Troy*,

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all concerning a side-incident of the Trojan story—the assault, defence, capture, and destruction of the castle of Tenedos.

*Titus* (*a*) 664, (*b*) 835, (*c*) 1189, (*d*) 1186, (*e*) 815, (*f*) 1195.
*Troy* (*a*) 4739, (*b*) 4741, (*c*) 4751, (*d*) 4752, (*e*) 4753, (*f*) 4755.
*Titus* (*g*) 1194, (*h*) 1274, 1279, (*i*) 1285.
*Troy* (*g*) 4756, (*h*) 4774, (*i*) 4777.

Nor ends there the indication from a synthesis of the borrowings, if borrowing it be called. If the fall of Jerusalem points us to Tenedos, it points at the same time to Tyre, for (besides others of minor note) the following lines in the *Titus* connect with the siege of Tyre in the corresponding *Alexander* lines.

*Titus* (*a*) 310, (*b*) 998, (*c*) 652, (*d*) 664, (*e*) 619, (*f*) 835, (*g*) 673.
*Alex.* (*a*) 1151, (*b*) 1324, (*c*) 1390, (*d*) 1391, (*e*) 1395, (*f*) 1396, (*g*) 1421.

That siege of Tyre! It so singularly unites with authentic history the legendary and romantic after-accretion, which through Lambert li Tors was to furnish a Scottish *locus classicus* in the reference to it made by John Barbour in his vigorous account[1] of the taking of Edinburgh Castle in the spring of the year of Bannockburn.

Not the least curious element of the foregoing comparisons of the capture of Jerusalem with that of Tenedos is the fact that the succession of the lines is almost perfectly the same in both. Those of the *Titus* observe in nine instances out of ten—with only two slight transpositions—the very order of the corresponding lines in the *Troy*. No one is likely to suggest that such an occurrence is a chance coincidence. Even had the fine scene of the midnight camp been wanting, this matter of Jerusalem and Tenedos and Tyre must itself have sufficed to prove the wonderful linking of the three poems.

### (3) *Date Indications.*

Traces of contemporary historical and romance elements in *Titus* lead to a suggestion of date. One cannot now call the *Brut* of Geoffrey of

[1] *Bruce*, x. 705-33.

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Monmouth a historical source, but the point of view of the fourteenth century was not ours. The poet certainly drew upon the *Brut*[1] for Vespasian's banner with its golden dragon, having under him a four-bladed falchion pointing to the four points of the compass and resting upon a ball of burning gold in sign of conquest of the world. The dragon, moreover, was a special token of the imperial presence—'ther the lord werred'—and of menace. Both of these ideas are outlined by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Two sources in French romance are probable. References to vows (ll. 181, 197, 969, 1001) perhaps carry an air of the *Voeux du Paon*, a poem popular in the middle of the fourteenth century The shaving of the Roman ambassadors (ll. 355-78), thus maltreated by the Jews as an insult, is an incident not in the general sources of the Veronica legend, and is in all likelihood a transfer from the French romance of *Ogier Danois*, in which four ambassadors of the Emperor Charles, sent to claim homage and tribute of Godfrey of Denmark, are sent back shaven and shorn.

Yet more decisive is the historical hint to be deduced from the summons to surrender Jerusalem, which is answered by the shaving of the imperial 'sondismen.' The Jews, so acting, were returning scorn for scorn, since they had been called upon to submit to Titus in terms of ignominy:

> Open-heded alle
> Up her ȝates to ȝeld with ȝerdes on hande
> Eche whight in a white scherte and no wede ellys (*Titus*, 344-6).

In the end, after their long and tragic defence, they can hold out no longer:

> Bot up ȝeden her ȝates and ȝelden hem alle
> Without brunee and bright wede in her bar chertes (*Titus*, 1233-4).

This cannot well have come from any other quarter than from the surrender of Calais in 1347 to Edward III. The 'floynes'[2] and 'farcostes,' 'cogges,' 'crayers,' and castled 'galees,' which form the fleet of Titus, are anything but Roman; they quite correspond to the shipping of the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The statement that the Jews on the approach of Titus flew like the Foul Death ('flowen as the foul deth')

[1] *Brut*, vii. ch. 3, 4. *Titus*, 387-400. [2] See Avesbury (Rolls Series) 385, for 'fluynes.'

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may point to 1349, but is better interpreted to refer to the visitation of 1361-2. In 1361 it crossed the channel:

> That ilk yere in til Yngland
> The Secund Dede was fast wedand (*Wyntoun*, viii., 7135-6).

It did havoc in Scotland in 1362. There is yet another element making for a date about that time. The Black Prince's conquest of Aquitaine, ratified by the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, may account for a freshened interest in the legend of St. Veronica, whom Frenchmen still designate as 'the Apostle of Aquitaine.'[1] The locality of her cult was in Gascony and Guienne and Bordeaux, all then English possessions, and all playing a part in the legend and in our poem (ll. 26, 70, 190). We can hardly date *Titus* earlier than 1363. In any view the sequence established between *Alexander, Troy, and Titus* will perhaps help us when from the *Titus*—a poem known to Scotland in the fifteenth century[2]—we pass at last to *Morte Arthure*, believing that we have possessed ourselves of its secret.

## 9. 'Morte Arthure,' its Sources, Contents, and Parallels.

### (1) *The 'Brut' as General Source.*

A chivalric Arthurian poem, not improbably known to Barbour[3] and certainly quoted by Wyntoun[4] (*circa* 1420), this story is a free rendering of the tale first enshrined in Geoffrey of Monmouth's reliquary, that *Brut* or *Historia Britonum* to which for ill and for good British history and British literature stand in so profound a debt.[5] The 'Emperor' Lucius Iberius sends to

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[1] *Sainte Véronique, Apotre de l'Aquitaine.* 2nd ed. Toulouse, 1877.

[2] The opening line of *Titus*—'In Tiberius's tyme the trewe Emperour'—is, as John Leyden had observed, *verbatim* the opening line of *The Gyre-Carling* printed in *Early Popular Scottish Poetry*, ed. Laing and Hazlitt, 1895, ii. p. 19; also as number cxlviii. in the Hunterian Club print of the *Bannatyne MS.*

[3] *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, p. 12. Besides the facts associating Barbour with the Knight of Eglintoun, the concurrence of sources used by Barbour and Huchown has to be considered. See below, ch. 15 sec. 4.

[4] *Wyntoun*, bk. v., ll. 4271-4366; *Morte Arthure*, ll. 34-47, etc.

[5] Some discussion of this and other sources occurs in P. Branscheid's elaborate essay *Quellen des Morte Arthure* in *Anglia*, viii., *Anzeiger*, pp. 178-336; Dr. Moritz Trautmann's

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England demanding homage and tribute. In response to the insulting embassy, King Arthur crosses the channel, and, after slaying a giant, fights a great battle with Lucius, who falls, and whose body Arthur causes to be conveyed to Rome as the only tribute he is prepared to pay. He then advances into Italy, and is anticipating coronation at Rome when bad news from England constrain him to turn. Mordred, his nephew, left in charge of the realm, has played false, and the king's landing is only effected after a great sea fight in which he is victorious over Mordred and his foreign allies. The battle is continued ashore, and to the great grief of the king, Sir Gawayne falls by Mordred's hand. The traitor then flees to Cornwall, with Arthur in vengeful pursuit. Again there is battle, and all the great names of the Round Table are reckoned on the list of dead. Arthur strikes Mordred a terrible blow which cuts off his sword-hand, and Mordred dies from a thrust of Caliburn driven 'to the bright hilts.' Arthur himself, however, is wounded mortally in the encounter, and the powerful historical alliterative romance ends with the Requiem sung over the hero buried at Glastonbury—*Rex quondam rexque futurus.*

In this outline there is little deviation from the vulgate story of Arthur. The poem glorifies Arthur and the knights of his Round Table, most of all perhaps dwelling on the exploits and devotion of his nephew, Sir Gawayne, whose death is the occasion of a passionate lament by the hero-king. This is one of the many insertions made by the poet, although his framework as a whole is a fairly literal translation of the version of Arthur's later career given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, however, was not the sole Arthurian authority he employed. The English *Brut*[1] was known in Scotland soon after the middle of the fourteenth century. But the Latin *Brut* was that used by Huchown. There was, however, a considerable levy made on other works besides the *Brut* and its offshoots.

At numerous points dramatic episodes are woven into the plainer thread of

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*Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke* in *Anglia*, i., 109-49; Dr. Oskar Sommer's *Le Morte Darthur*, vol. iii. 148-175; Mrs. M. M. Banks's edition of *Morte Arthur*, p. 128; and the preface to the *Destruction of Troy*. These references give no clue to the sources (except the *Brut* and the *Troy*) now to be dealt with.

[1]The *Bruyt en Engles* is quoted by the *Scalacronica*, p. 3.



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the *Brut*, and the *Great Gest of Arthure* is presented with high and vivid colouring, and with a dignity and stateliness due to the monarch-elect of chivalric romance. It is no detraction from the constructive power of the poet that even at this remote distance of time we can so far enter into his work as to determine with some certainty some at least of his sources.

It is hardly necessary to particularise the parts of *Morte Arthure* which come from its stock source, the *Brut*. What is taken is freely handled, changes are deliberately made, expansion is everywhere, and there are inserted not a few things which are in no sense really exegetical of the *Brut*. From book ix., chapter 15 of Geoffrey, wherein Lucius sends his letter, to book xi., chapter 2, wherein Arthur, wounded to death, is carried to Avalon, the *Brut* is the centre and substance of the poem. The particular manuscript of the *Brut* employed in the making of the poem will be considered by and bye. The value of *Morte Arthure* as a piece of literary history and as literature turns, however, to no small extent upon its incidental indebtedness to certain other sources which English and German editors and commentators have overlooked. The first of these is one which we may remember as of proved connection with the alliterative *Alexander*.

### (2) *Maundeville's Itinerary*.

We therefore renew our acquaintance with Maundeville. In *Morte Arthure*, when Sir Priamus, badly wounded, becomes the prisoner of Gawayne,

> A foyle of fyne golde they fande at his gyrdill,
> That es full of the flour of the fouur well
> That flowes owte of Paradice when the flode ryses.—(ll. 2704-6.)

Of the terrestrial Paradise Maundeville knew that it contained a well with four streams carrying precious stones, and lignum aloes, and golden sand. The terrestrial Paradise he knew, too, was so high that Noah's flood could not reach it.[1]

### (3) *Fleta or Bracton*.

Sir Hew of Eglintoun was a Justiciar of Scotland. That he should have been acquainted with one or other or both of the classical English legal

[1] *Maundeville* (Wright), ch. xxx.; MS. T. 4, 1, fo. 266+69b.

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treatises must be as little surprising as would be his making the personal acquaintance of an English Chief-Justice, say, for example Scharshill, during a visit to or sojourn in London. There is in *Morte Arthure* an episode in connection with the ambassadors of Lucius which argues unmistakably a knowledge of the English law of sanctuary as set forth in Bracton's *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, written before 1259, or with the *Fleta seu Commentarius Juris Anglicani*, which—largely drawn from the former work—a judge of the time of Edward I. composed in the Fleet Prison. The episode in question is a supplement of the poet's devising to anything he could have found in the original, for the *Brut* contains nothing that corresponds. Arthur, after giving the embassy right royal entertainment, changes the tune when the time arrives for diplomatic business. Then he gives haughty answer to be carried back to the Emperor by the embassy. The claim of homage and tribute is contemptuously rejected; threats are met with threats still more stern; and finally the 'Senatour' is ordered home in uncompromising terms.[1] From Carlisle he is to go to the port of Sandwich; seven days are allowed him for the journey (sixty miles a day is the computation); he is to keep by Watling Street all the way, or leave it on pain of death; he must lodge for the night where his day's journey ends; and if after undern of the eighth day he is found in England, unless within the floodmark at Sandwich, he will be beheaded, drawn, and hanged. There can be no disputing the inference that the poet had in his view the text of sanctuary law whereby a criminal who had taken sanctuary and chosen to abjure the realm made his departure from the land. His port of embarcation being chosen, 'there ought to be computed for him,' says Bracton (fo. 135b-136) 'reasonable days' journeys to that port, and he ought to be forbidden to quit the king's highway, and he should tarry nowhere for two nights . . . but should ever hold on by the direct road to the port, so that he may be there by his given day. . . . If he do otherwise he shall be in peril.' In *Fleta* (ff. 45-46) the doctrine of Bracton is carried to further detail. The grithman is to pass on his way 'without girdle, unshod, and bare-headed[2] in

[1] *Morte Arthure*, 445-63.

[2] Discinctus et discalceatus capite discooperto in pura tunica tanquam in patibulo suspendendus.

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kirtle alone like one about to be hanged on the gallows,' and if he stray from the highway he is liable to decapitation if caught.[1]

These texts of law are the best gloss we can desire for the grim direction by Arthur to the senator, whose departure is thus ingeniously conditioned with ignominy by the prescription of exit in the manner of a fugitive criminal. The element of the 'kirtle alone' was familiar to the 14th century; it was used in the *Titus* repeatedly; in the *Morte Arthure* we shall find it too with a context which settles beyond dispute its immediate source now to be brought forward.

### (3) *Voeux du Paon.*

This French poem,[2] after a very entertaining and courtly series of events, gets to its real business in the vows made on the peacock by the various knights of Alexander the Great. Chivalry from the 13th to the 15th century laid great store by vows, often of extravagant valour, made on choice or royal dishes at great festivals—vows on the Swan, the Peacock, the Pheasant, or the Heron. Has not La Curne de Sainte-Palaye in the *Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie* (ed. Nodier, 1826; i., pp. 157, etc., ii., 1-132, etc.) told and quoted and explained so fully as to supersede the need for repetition here? History remembers the vow of Edward I. made on the Swan[3] at Westminster in 1306 at that feast which a contemporary describes as so noble that Britain had never seen its like except that feast at Caerleon in Arthur's time.[4] It remembers also the vow of the Heron made by Edward III. and Robert d'Artois in 1338, a vow which happily found its metrical chronicler so that it lives in the old French *Voeu du Héron*.[5] It has forgotten, perhaps, that not John Barbour merely but history itself most curiously associated Robert the

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[1] My first note on this sanctuary passage appeared in the Dr. Furnivall Festschrift, *An English Miscellany*, 1901, p. 384.

[2] Students of romance await with very great interest the publication of M. Charles Bonnier's edition of the French text which is urgently necessary for purposes of collation.

[3] *Flores Historiarum*, sub anno 1306. Trivet's *Annales* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 408.

[4] *Robert of Brunne*, ed. Hearne, p. 332. Caerleon became Carlisle in *Morte Arthure*.

[5] La Curne, i., 95.

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Bruce with the vow of the peacock, for one of our chroniclers tells that in 1307, after Edward I.'s death, his son's newly created knights made similar vows to conquer King Robert to those made the year before—'emitted,' says he,[1] 'new vows to the peacock.' But it is time to return from the vow historical to the vow poetic. It was this chivalrous usage that Jacques de Longuyon enshrined in the *Voeux du Paon* to enrich the Alexander saga, making the various paladins of the great Alexander pledge themselves to perform their several feats of outstanding bravery in the approaching battle with King Clarus of India. One, for instance, swore 'to discomfit the great battale,' another to take a distinguished prisoner, another to strike down the standard of the Indian king. Thus the vows were made, and after much intervening action the poet conducts his readers to the battlefield, where knight after knight goes forward to redeem his undertaking. The 'great battale' is discomfited, the prisoner is taken, the standard is hewn down. All the vows are fulfilled to the letter. 'As they deemed to do they did full even' is the apt statement of one[2] who made an abstract and brief chronicle of the poem.

The French text of the poem is only now in course of being edited, but an early Scottish translator, who, as I believe myself to have demonstrated, was none other than John Barbour, gave this French poem vigorous and admirable rendering into the Scottish vernacular as *The Avowes of Alexander* and *The Great Battell of Effesoun*—these forming the second and third parts of the composite poem of which the first part is *The Forray of Gadderis*, and of which the general title is *The Buik of the most noble and vailzeand Conqueror Alexander the Great*, reprinted in 1831 for the Bannatyne Club in a very limited edition now grown scarce. That the French poem was well known to Barbour's contemporary and colleague, Sir Hew (if Sir Hew was Huchown), becomes evident from the use to which it is put in *Morte Arthure*. In the *Brut* there is no machinery of 'avows' made either by Arthur or his knights; no mention of any particular form of surrender or submission by the rebellious vassal

[1] Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodal, ii., 240, Novo rege Angliae creato tirones et novi milites de subjectione regis Roberti nova vota emittunt pavoni.

[2] *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, l. 567.

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or vanquished enemy; no mention of any ceremonial by way of amends to satiate the blood-feud or avert future hostility; no mention of the Nine Worthies. All these features occur in the *Voeux du Paon*, and are transferred to and made part of the framework of *Morte Arthure*.

Arthur himself and knight after knight of the Table Round with him make their avows. Arthur will by Lammas pass to Lorraine and Lombardy, mine down the walls of Milan, and sojourn six weeks at Viterbo. King Aungers of Scotland will bring 50,000 men at his own charges, the Baron of Britain the Less will bring 30,000 within a month, the Welsh king will fight with 2000 in the vanguard. Sir Lancelot will tilt with the Emperor and strike him from his steed. Sir Lottez will cleave his way through the enemies' ranks. Sir Ewayne will touch the eagle of the Emperor and dash down his golden banner. All which avows are perfectly accomplished; 'as they deemed to do they did full even.'

In the *Voeux* a powerful dramatic situation is presented by the amends and satisfaction which the leading paladins of Alexander offer to the younger Gadifer. In the battle which closes the *Forray of Gaderis* (*Fuerre de Gadres*) the valiant Gadifer had fallen under the spear of Emenydus. Subsequently Cassamus the Auld conducts Gadifer the Young, eldest son of the slain Gadifer, to the camp of Alexander, where he becomes the ally of the Macedonian. But when he discovers the exact position he is somewhat taken aback, and a conflict is imminent between his sense of the duty of revenge on the one hand and the requirements of his new environment on the other. Emenydus generously resolves to remove the last obstacle to harmony in the camp. To the surprise of Alexander, Emenydus and twelve companions march, barefoot, bareheaded, beltless, and in their shirts, to the presence of the young Gadifer, making submission to him by kneeling before him, tendering their swords, which they hold by the points, and reaching the hilts to the man whose blood-feud they thus hope to appease. This submission, which was gratefully accepted by Gadifer, quite evidently supplied the idea which more than once appears in *Morte Arthure*. There are minor examples, but the chief instance is that in which, after the fall of the 'Emperour' Lucius, senators and knights of Rome beg for mercy.

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Twa senatours ther come and certayne knyghttez,
Hodles fro the bethe ouer the holte eyves,
Barefote ouer the bente with brondes so ryche,
Bowes to the bolde kynge and biddis hym the hiltes,
Whethire he will hang theym or hedde or halde theym on lyfe,
Knelyde before the conquerour in kyrtills allone.[1]

Where could this have come from unless from the *Voeux?* If it should be answered that the usage was one not ill-known to chivalric courts-martial,[2] and that its very presence in the *Voeux* comes from that fact, it will only be necessary to recall the existence of other points of contact. Of these a third and most prominent instance of borrowing is the account of the Nine Worthies—three pagans, Hector, Alexander, and Caesar; three Jews, Joshua, David, and Judas Machabeus; and three Christians, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon—whose fates are so aptly introduced in connection with Fortune's wheel in Arthur's vision.

### (4) *Titus and Vespasian.*

Unmistakable are the proofs of the use of the *Titus* in *Morte Arthure*—a use which is of the greatest moment in the line of chronological proofs. Sundry questions have to be asked, and the answers to them set forward and examined.[3]

Why in *Morte Arthure* (297, 309, 348, 386) are the vows of Arthur and his knights made not (as in the French romance they echo) on the peacock, but on the Holy Vernacle?[4]

Because, as we have seen, the story of the Vernacle plays so great a part in the *Titus*. As the Vernacle was an integral element of the Titus,

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[1] *Hodles*, hoodless; *holte eyves*, skirts of the wood; *brondes*, brands, swords; *biddis*, offer.

[2] See my article on 'The Submission of the Lord of the Isles,' in *Scottish Antiquary*, xv., 113, and add a Glasgow example, since pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Robert Renwick, in *Records of Burgh of Glasgow* (Burgh Records Soc.), 1573-1642, p. 293. Note also Du Guesclin's reference to this form of penitential surrender as recorded in Cuvelier's *Vie Vaillant Bertran du Guesclin*, ll. 2457-9.

[3] Most of these points were set forth in 'Huchown' (part I.), *Athenæum*, 1st June, 1901.

[4] Because, says Mr. Henry Bradley (*Athenæum*, 15th June, 1901), the 'words *avowe* and *vernacle* alliterate in *v*.' It is indeed a notable reason, the publication of which evinces Mr. Bradley's penetration!

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Vespasian, and Veronica legend, it goes without saying that the *Titus* did not borrow the Vernacle from *Morte Arthure*.

Why in *Morte Arthure* (2331-35) is it that Arthur by way of doing shame to Rome shaves the senators who came as ambassadors of submission to him after the death of Lucius?

Because in the *Titus* (355-378) ambassadors of Rome demanding surrender of Jerusalem are sent back shaven, 'scorned and shent upon shame wise,' by the indignant garrison. This is not Roman, for with the Romans shaving was a symbol of manumission; it does not seem to occur in either the ancient or medieval stories of the fall of Jerusalem; but it is an incident so oriental in character as to be as natural and as much in keeping with the story of Titus and the Jews as at first it seems out of keeping with Arthur and the Romans. *Ogier Danois* with its shaven ambassadors supplies an exact enough precedent for both poems.

How comes it that in *Morte Arthure* (1252, 2026, 2057) there is such insistence on the significance of the dragon banner?

There is the same insistence in the *Titus* (278, 325, 387-8, 396-400) concerning it. Perhaps the hint for it in both *Titus* and *Morte Arthure* came partly from Geoffrey of Monmouth (vii., chaps. 3 and 4) and partly from fourteenth century life or literature, but the allusion of *Titus* (397) to the dragon as an indication of the royal presence in person and (398-400) to its menace as precluding any terms short of absolute surrender, harmonises remarkably with the *Morte Arthure* allusions to the dragon[1] raised to threaten only when Lucius is himself in the field.

Whence came into *Morte Arthure* (3353-62) the 'pome' symbol of sovereignty of the earth with the sword as its companion token?

It came from the same quarter as produced the four-bladed falchion and the ball of burning gold betokening conquest of 'al the world riche' in *Titus* (390-395).

Whence came into *Morte Arthure* (900-919) the suggestion of the fine picture of Arthur arming himself for the fight with the dragon?

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[1] On this see further my article on 'Raising Dragon' in *Scottish Antiquary*, xii. 147. But see also chap. 12, sec. 1, below.

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In the *Titus* (734-762) there is a closely analogous picture of Vespasian arming himself, a picture not occurring in the original Latin sources. The two pictures have, moreover, features and alliterations in common.

| *Titus.* | *Morte Arthure.* |
|---|---|
| 735 ['Leverockes' sing]. | 925-30 [Birds sing].[1] |
| 738 [Vespasian] busked hym fayr. | 917 [Arthur] sterys hym faire. |
| 741 brynye browded . . . . brest. | 1858 brenys browden brestes . . . . |
| 741-2 [Vespasian has a breast-plate of steel and gold.] | 902 [Arthur has an 'acton with orfraeez.'] |
| 748 A brod schynand scheld on scholdir he hongith. | 914 He bracez a brade schelde. |
| 750 The glowes of gray steel that wer with gold hemyd. | 912 His gloues gaylyche gilte and grauen at the hemmez. (This is repeated at l. 3462.) |
| 751 . . . . and his hors asketh. | 914 . . . . and his brande aschez. |
| 752 The gold hewen helme haspeth he blyve<br>With viser and with avental devysed for the nones<br>A croune of clene gold was closed upon lofte<br>Rybande umbe the rounde helm ful of riche stones,<br>Pyght prudely with perles into the pur corners. | 908 The creste and the coronall enclosed so faire<br>Wyth clasppis of clere golde couched wyth stones<br>The vesare the aventaile enarmede so faire.<br><br>[3462 pighte was full faire<br>With perry of the oryent and precyous stones.] |
| 758 He strideth on a stif stede and striketh over the bente.<br>[521 Stith men in stiropys striden alofte].<br>*Gawayne and Green Knight*, 435:<br>Steppez into stelbawe and strydes alofte.<br>*Alex.* 778 Striden to stelebowe startyn upon lofte. | 915-6 Bounede hym a broun stede and on the bente hovys<br>He sterte till his sterepe and stridez on lofte. |
| 760 His segges sewen hym alle . . . . | 919 . . . hys knyghtes hyme kepede . . . |

How comes it that whilst, as we have seen, there are so many lines and phrases common to *Titus* and *Troy*, and whilst, as we shall see, there are so many common to *Morte Arthure* and *Troy*, there are also so many common to *Morte Arthure* and *Titus*?

[1] An accompaniment perhaps suggested by *Perceval le Gallois*, ll. 19056-84, M. Amours, *Sc. Allit. Poems*, pp. 276-7.

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As a riming poet is tested by his rimes, so an alliterator is tested by his alliterations. Here are a few alliterative points of contact.

| *Titus.* | | *Morte Arthure.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 283 | . . . floynes aflot farcostes many | 743 | . . . floynes and fercostez . . . . |
| 284 | Cogges and crayers . . . | 738 | Coggez and crayers . . . . |
| 287 | . . . tyghten up talsail (? topsail). | 744 | Tytt saillez to the toppe . . . . |
| 290 | Port Jaf. | 1520 | Port Jaf.[1] |
| 308 | . . . that fauconn wolde strike . . . | 788 | . . . as fawcone frekly he strykes. |
| 387 | . . . dragoun was dressed . . . | 786 | . . . dragone on dreghe dressede . . . |
| 451 | Cameles closed in stele. | 616 | Bot coverde camellez of toures enclosyde in maylez. |
| 622 | . . . dewe was donked. | 313 | . . . dewe that es daunke . . . |
| 815 | Fought right felly foyned with speres [cf. *Troy*, 815]. | 3690 | Then they falle to the fyghte ffoynes with sperys. |
| 859 | . . . torsom (torfour) and tene . . . | 1956 | . . . tene and torfere . . . |
| 883 | Ride to the rever . . . . [*Rever* in the sense of hawking ground]. | 619 | Rides in by the ryvere . . . (cf. 920-925 for connection with hawking; also verb *ryvais* 4000). |
| 1007 | My wele and my worschup . . . . | 401 | My wele and my wyrchipe . . . |
| 1113-4 | Schaftes schedred wer sone and scheldes ythrelled | 2169 | . . . Schafte scodyrde . . . (3845 also). |
| | Brunyes and bright wede blody by runne. | 1412 | Thrughe brenes and bryghte scheldes brestes thyrle. |

This list admits of considerable extension. The arithmetic of citations calls for a word in passing to annotate the fact that in comparing *Morte Arthure* (4347 lines) with *Titus* (1332 lines) there is numerically far less chance of similarities between these two than in comparing either with the *Troy* (14,044 lines). Such at least must be the presumption unless it is disturbed by relations of time or theme which may bring one pair of poems closer to each other and reveal more resemblances than numerical proportions might have led a critic to expect. Those considerations will not be forgotten when we turn to yet other sources of *Morte Arthure*.

### (5) *Supplementary French Sources.*

That a considerable use is made of French romance in *Morte Arthure* has been signalised by the borrowings from the *Voeux du Paon*. For some very slender information regarding others less distinct Branscheid's essay

[1] The Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1 (f. 266 + 5) spells *Portum Japh.*

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and Sommer's introduction to Malory may be consulted, as well as Mrs. Banks's introduction.

Two sources not brought forward in any of these discussions may be suggested as possible. The noble and impassioned outburst of Arthur over the body of the slain Gawayne, which he lifts and clasps to his breast, (l. 3952) may be compared with the passage in the Itinerary of the Pseudo-Turpin (*Itinerarium domini Turpini*) found in the Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1, where (fo. 184) Charlemagne mourns over the fallen Roland. '*Karolus Rothlandum exanimatum jacentem eversum brachiis positis super pectus in effigie crucis, et irruens super eum cepit lacrimis gemitibus et singultibus . . . lugere*,' etc. Not the words of Charlemagne are followed by Arthur, but the echo of their spirit is very close. A second possible and quite subsidiary source is *Generydes*, to which reference may be made in its late English version (E.E.T.S., 1873), for several points of contact with the Huchown set of poems. Thus the temptation in ll. 477-483 suggests the recurrent machinery of *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. The steed of Generydes, 'Grisselle,' is the steed[1] of Gawayne in the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, just as in another poem Hector's steed, 'Galathe,' appears to have given name[2] to Gawayne's sword, 'Galuth.' The sword of Generydes, 'Claryet,' suggests[3] Arthur's weapon, 'Clarent.' And in one of the battles of Generydes there are 'boustous folk' 'on camelys' who look very like[4] the 'boustous churlles' on 'camellez' who are ranged among the enemies of King Arthur in the army of the 'Emperour. The probability of *Generydes* being indeed a source is vastly heightened by a direct reference to it in another of the Huchown poems, to be afterwards noticed,[5] which is in part a derivative of *Morte Arthure*. That there are other French sources, as for instance, for the Priamus and Gawayne encounter, is certain. *Ogier Danois*, we have seen, probably accounts for the four shaven ambassadors. Not less probably it accounts for the incident of the curative ointment carried by Priamus, which, taken from his girdle after

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[1] *Generydes*, 3301—*Awntyrs*, 547.

[2] *Troy*, 7780—*Morte*, 1387.

[3] *Generydes*, 3481—*Morte*, 4202.

[4] *Generydes*, 2152-7; *Morte*, 615-6; 'Bioustious,' the same adjective, occurs in *Troy*, 4116.

[5] See ch. 10, sec. 2, below.

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Gawayne has wounded and captured him, makes all the injured knights 'fischehalle' within four hours (ll. 2705-13). In *Ogier Danois* the giant Brehus has in the buckle of his shield an ointment similarly effective, whereby he at once makes himself, says the romance, 'more sound than a swimming fish.' The victorious Ogier and Gawayne alike possess themselves of the vanquished enemy's ointment. Hence, therefore, seems to have come the suggestion of the encounter of Priamus and Gawayne. Other French sources may be taken to include some version of *Ferumbras*, the allusion to the relics, the crown of thorns, the lance, the cross, and the nails[1] being in all likelihood brought from that romance.

### (6) *The 'Troy' and the 'Alexander.'*

Approaching now a series of extensive parallels between *Morte Arthure* and the *Troy* one finds it simplest to deal with the *Alexander* also in the same connection as a subsidiary source connected with the *Troy* in *Morte Arthure* passages as we have already seen it in *Titus* passages.

One group of parallels to the *Alexander* is geographical, and has been commented upon by Professor Skeat. At the end of the *Alexander* there is a singular list of provinces subject to the rule of Alexander the Great. The Latin original has been reprinted above. While this list gives the key to at least thirty-two of the names in the alliterative rendering, it also makes clear the inference that a number of the alliterative names were not in the original Latin. The further comparison of a similar list of names in *Morte Arthure* with that in the *Alexander* poems reveals (1) that the former contains pairs occurring in the latter; (2) that these pairs embrace names not in the Latin source of the *Alexander*; and (3) that thus such combinations and coincidences as 'Gyane and Grece,' 'Bayone and Burdeux, or 'Naverne and Norway' are rendered doubly significant.

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[1] *Morte*, 3427-29. In Scottish chronicle of 1360 there is mention of these 'tresnoblis precious reliqes.' *Scalacronica*, 195. There is, however, no list of what they were, and it is observable that, while the lists differ in the *Ferumbras* romances the version used by Barbour (*Bruce*, iii., 459-61) also mentions the crown, the spear, the cross, and the nails. *The Sowdan of Babylon* does not name the spear.

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| | | | *Morte Arthure.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Alex.* | 5674 | *Flandres* and *France* . . . | 34 | Flaundrez and Fraunce. |
| [*Awntyrs of Arthure* 276. *Bretane* and Burgoyne.] | | | 36 | Burgoyne and Brabane and Bretayne the lesse. |
| | | | (1018 | Burgoyne or Bretayne.) |
| *Alex.* | 5667 | Gyane Garnad and *Grece* and Gascony. | 37 | Gyane and Gothelande and Grece. |
| [*Titus* | 26 | Gascoyne gat and Gyan.] | | |
| *Alex.* | 5668 | Bayone and Burdeux. | 38 | Bayone and Burdeux. |
| *Alex.* | 5672 | *Norway* thire Navernes alle. | 44 | Naverne and Norwaye and Normaundye. |
| *Alex.* | 5669 | *Capidos.* | 580 | Capados. |
| *Alex.* | 5665 | *Turke*, Tuscane, Troy, and Tartary. | 582 | Tartary and Turky. |
| | 2190 | *Thebea.* | 583 | Thebay. |
| | | | [The next line (584) refers to the Amazons, thus showing the Alexander connection. Line 586 too speaks of Babylon, also referable to the Alexander story.] | |
| | 5657 | Pers and *Pamphalie.* | 588 | Perce and Pamphile. |

The above *italicised* names from the *Alexander* occur in the Latin, the others do not, thus making the recurrence of the same pairs in another poem so much the more indicative of a single hand. How this indication gains from extended collation of certain identities of line and alliteration between the poems as undernoted will be too plain to need much argument.

| | | | *Morte Arthure.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Troy* | 2683 | Warpet out wordes . . . | 9 | . . . werpe owte some worde . . . |
| *Troy* | 207 | . . . with daintes ynogh. | 199 | With darielles endordede and daynteez ynewe. |
| *Awntyrs* | 459 | With riche daynteths endorrede . . . | | |
| *Awntyrs* | 14 | Sir Gawane the gay dame Gayenour he ledis. | 233 | Sir Gaywayne the worthye Dame Waynour he hledys. |
| *Troy* | 2140 | To venge of our velany. | 298 | Of this grett velany I salle be vengede ones. |
| *Titus* | 20 | . . . the vyleny to venge. | | |
| *Troy* | 6537 | With thre thousand thro men thrivond in armys. | 317 | Thyrtty thousande be tale thryftye in armes. |
| *Troy* | 7733 | Sparit for no spurse, speddyn to the flight. | 449 | . . . spede at the spurs and spare not . . . |

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| | | | | *Morte Arthure.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Troy* | 2371 | Bound up my blonke to a bogh evyn. | 453 | Bynde thy blonke by a buske with thy brydille evene. |
| *Alex.* | 5317 | For alle the welthe of the wer[l]d. | 541 | Ne of welthe of this werlde . . . |
| *Troy* | 313 | The mighty Massidon Kyng . . . | 603 | The myghtyeste of Macedone . . . |
| *Troy* | 3551 | In a swyme and a swogh as he swelt wold. | 716 | . . . swonyng swe[l]te as cho walde. |
| | 9454 | . . . swym as he swelt wold. | | |
| | 8046 | . . . swonyt in swym as ho swelt wold. | | |
| *Alex.* | 64 | . . . dryfes over the depe . . . | 761 | . . . dryfande one the deep. |
| *Troy* | 1484 | . . . a philosoffer a fine man of lore<br>In the syense full sad of the sevyn artes. | 807-8 | . . . phylozophirs. . . .<br>In the sevyne scyence the suteleste fondene. |
| *Troy* | 23 | . . . wees that wist . . . | 891 | Thare was no wy of this werlde that wyst. . . . |
| *Troy* | 2735 | . . . florisshet with floures. . . | 924 | The frithez ware floreschte with flourez. . . . |
| *Troy* | 12973 | Nightgalis with notes. | 929 | Of the nyghtgale notez the noisez. |
| *Troy* | 1061 | Swoghyng of swet ayre swalyng of briddes. | 932 | . . . swowynge of watyr and syngynge of byrdez. |
| *Alex.* | 4385 | The swoghing of . . . swete wellis. | | |
| *Troy* | 8273 | Thow dowtles shall dye with dynt of my hond. | 1073 | For thow salle dye this day thurghe dynt of my handez.<br>[Same, 1505, 4228.] |
| *Awntyrs* | 390 | . . . an anlas. | 1148 | . . . with ane anlace. |
| *Troy* | 92 | . . . dede throughe dyntes of hond. | 1277 | . . . derely be delt with dynttez of handez. |
| *Awntyrs* | 442 | . . . a pavilone of palle that prodly was pighte. | 1287 | Palaisez proudliche pyghte . . . that palyd ware. . . . |
| *Pistill of Susan* | 59 | Thei caught for heor covetyse the cursyng of Cayme. | 1311 | That ilke cursynge that Cayme kaghte for his brothyre. |
| *Troy* | 9406 | He gird hym thurgh the guttes with a grym speire.<br>Cf. 1232. | 1369-70 | He gryppes hym a grete spere. . . .<br>Thurghe the guttez into the gorre he gyrdes hyme ewyne. |
| *Troy* | 7780 | . . . Galathe that was the gude stede.<br>[Name of Hector's horse.] | 1387 | . . . Galuth his gude swerde. . . .<br>[Name of Gawayne's sword, probably a transfer from Hector's horse.] |

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| | | *Morte Arthure.* |
|---|---|---|
| *Troy* 9061 | . . . brest . . . thirlet. | 1413 . . . brestes they thirl. . . . Cf. 1858. |
| *Troy* 3881 | . . . a litle he stotid. | 1435 . . . stotais a lyttille. |
| *Troy* 10541 | Swordis out swiftly thai swappit. . . . | 1464-5 Swyftly with swerdes they swappene thereaftyre. Swappez doune fulle sweperlye sweltande knyghtez. |
| *Troy* 1889 | And with swappyng of swerdys thof be swelt wolde. Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 480-81. | Cf. 2982 And with a swerde swiftly he swappes him thorowe. |
| *Troy* 5935 | He swappit at hym swithe with a swerd felle. [Same, 6921.] | |
| *Awntyrs* 514 | He swapped him yne at the swyre with a swerde kene. | |
| *Troy* 11091 | Stedes doun sticked. . . . | 1488 . . . stekede stedys. . . . |
| *Alex.* 5482 | . . . biche sons. . . . | 1723 . . . dogge-sone in ȝone dyme schawes. |
| *Alex.* 561 | . . . and demyd the skewys. | |
| *Awntyrs* (Douce MS.) 53 | . . . in the dymme skuwes. | |
| *Awntyrs* 293 | . . . Rownde tabille losse the renowne. | 1732 Thynke one riche renoune of the rounde table. |
| *Awntyrs* 266 | Maye no man stere hym of strenghe. | 1793 Many steryne mane he steride by strenghe of hyme one. |
| *Alex.* 1324 | And makez a way wyde enogh. . . . | 1796 Wroghte wayes fulle wyde. . . . |
| *Troy* 5932 | Make wayes full wide. [Same, 6513.] | |
| *Troy* 5933 | Shot thurgh the sheltrons shent of the pepull. | 1813 Schotte thorowe the schiltrouns and scheverede launces. |
| Cf. *Troy*, 5249. | He shot thurgh the sheltrone and shent of hor knightes. [Same, 6830.] | |
| *Troy* 1194 | Shildes throgh shote shalkes to dethe. | 1857 Schalkes they schotte thrughe shrenkand maylez. |
| *Troy* 6780 | Mony shalke thurgh shot with there sharpe gere. | |
| *Troy* 6780 | Mony shalke thurgh shot. . . . | Cf. 2545 Thorowe scheldz they schotte and schorde thorowe males. |
| *Troy* 5820 | That hit shot through the shilde and the shire maile. | |

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| | | | *Morte Arthure.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | [See entry preceding.] | |
| *Troy* | 9433 | Shot thurgh the sheld and the shene mayle. [Same, 6401.] | | |
| *Troy* | 81 | . . . torfer and tene. | 1956 | . . . tene and torfere. . . . |
| *Troy* | 1197 | All dynnet the dyn and dales aboute. | 2031 | Alle dynned fore dyne that in the dale hovede. |
| *Troy* | 6407 | . . . braid out a brond. . . . | 2069 | Braydez owte his brande. . . . |
| *Troy* | 7458 | How stith men and stedes were strikon to ground. | 2079 | The stede and the steryne man strykes to the grownd. |
| *Troy* | 6789 | Mony lyve of lept. . . . | 2084 | . . . somme leppe fro the lyfe. . . . |
| *Awntyrs* | 502 | So jolyly those gentille mene justede one were. | 2088 | Jolyly this gentille forjusted . . . another. |
| *Troy* | 7400 | . . . bowmen . . . bykirit. | 2095-6 | . . . bowmene . . . bekerde. |
| *Troy* | 5285 | . . . dede and done out of lyve. | 2178 | That he was dede of the dynte and done owte of lyfe. |
| *Awntyrs* | 25 | On a mule as the mylke. | 2287 | Moyllez mylke whitte. . . . |
| *Troy* | 1089 | Skairen out skoute wacche. . . | 2468 | Skayres thaire skottefers and theire skowtte waches. |
| *Alex.* | 2175 | He pight doun his pavilion. . . | 2478 | Pyghte pavyllyons of palle. . . . |
| *Alex.* | 4178 | . . . pavillions of pall. . . . | | |
| *Alex.* | | Als fast was he fyschehale . . . Cf. 4282. | 2709 | . . . freke schalle be fischehalle within foure houres. |
| *Troy* | 5939 | Slit hym doun sleghly thurghe the slote evyn. | 2976 | Sleyghly in at the slotte slyttes hyme thorowe. |
| *Troy* | 6409 | Slit him full slighly to the slote evyn. | | |
| *Troy* | 6955 | Miche slaght in that slade of tho slegh knightes. Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 481. | 2978 | Sixty slongene in a slade of sleghe men of armes. |
| *Troy* | 5250 | Mony doughty were ded thurgh dynt of his hond. Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 501, also lines. | 3025 | Many doughty es dede by dynt of his hondes. Cf. 1073, 1277, 4228. |
| *Troy.* | 7795 | And mony deghit that day thurgh dynt of his hond. | | |
| *Awntyrs* | 318 | . . . the dawngere and the dole that I in duelle. | 3068 | To duelle in dawngere and dole |
| *Titus* | 1108 | Up a buschment brake. . . . | 3125 | Thane brekez oure buschement. . . . |
| *Awntyrs* | 340 | Undir a seloure of sylke . . . | 3195 | Undyre a sylure of sylke. |
| *Awntyrs* | 135 | . . . whedir that thou salle. | 3232 | That I ne wiste no waye whedire that I scholde. |
| *Pistil* | 11-12 | Of Erberi and Alees Of alle Maner of trees. | 3245 | Enhorilde with arborye and alkyns trees. |

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| | | | *Morte Arthure.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Troy* | 7997 | . . . dew dankit . . . | 3249 | . . . downkynge of dewe. . . . |
| *Awntyrs* | 16 | Withe riche rebanes reversede. | 3256 | And alle redily reversside with rebanes of golde. |
| *Titus* | 637 | Byes, broches, besauntes. . . | 3257 | Bruchez and besauntez and other bryghte stonys. |
| *Awntyrs* | 17 | Raylede with rubes one royalle arraye. | 3264 | Raylide with reched and rubyes inewe. |
| *Troy* | 9038 | Slogh hom doun sleghly with sleght of his hond. [Same, 9451.] | 3419 | For he slewe with a slynge be sleyghte of his handis. |
| *Titus* | 472 | . . . sawters seten . . . psalmys. | 3422-3 | . . . psalmes That in the sawtire ere sette. . . . |
| *Alex.* | 4960 | Pesan pancere and platis. | 3459 | A pesane and a paunsone. . . . |
| *Titus* | 509 | Plate ne pesan. | | |
| *Awntyrs* | 151 | And nowe am I cachede owte of kyth in carys so colde. | 3514 | Now am I cachede owtt of kyth with kare at my herte. |
| *Alex.* | 24 | The wysest wies of this werd. | 3554 | Of all the wyes of this worlde. |
| *Troy* | 10706 | . . . and his ble chaungit. | 3559 | . . . alle his ble chaungide. |
| *Titus* | 1088 | . . . and all hir blode chaungeth. | 4214 | . . . and alle his ble chaunges. |
| *Troy* | 2758 | And shope hom to ship. | 3600-1 | And thane he schoupe hyme to chippe. . . . |
| | 2744 | . . . on the shyre water. | | . . . over the schyre waters. |
| *Troy* | 13730 | And schunt for no schame but hit schope faire. Cf. *Troy*, notes p. 474. | 3716 | He ne schownttes for no schame but schewes fulle heghe. |
| *Troy* | 943 | Shott thurgh the sheld and the shene mayle. | 3747-9 | Thourghe the scheldys so schene schalkes thay towche With schaftes scheverid schorte of thas schene launces Derfe dynthys they dalte. . . . |
| *Troy* | 1264 | His shafte all to sheverit the shalke was unhurt. | | |
| *Alex.* | 2091 | Derfe dintes and dreghe delt and taken. | | |
| *Troy* | 5810 | Launsit as a lyoun. Cf. *Troy*, 10985. | 3832 | . . . alles a lyone he lawnches theme thorowe. |
| *Awntyrs* | 617 | The swerde sleppis on slante and one the mayle slydys. | 3855 | His hand sleppid and slode oslante one the mayles. |
| *Titus* | 1014 | Wende wepande away. | 3889 | Went wepand awaye . . . |
| *Troy* | 1328 | . . . blody beronyn. Cf. *Troy*, 10424, 11141. | 3947 | . . . al blody bero[n]ene. |
| | | | 3972 | . . . blody berowne. |
| *Troy* | 10757 | Ne hope of hor hele in hor hert thoght. | 3959-60 | . . . the hope of my hele . . . my herte. |



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| | | | *Morte Arthure.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Troy* | 1516 | Soche sikyng and sorow sanke in his hert. | 3984 | Was never sorowe so softe that sanke to my herte. |
| *Awntyrs* | 230 | To mene me with messes grete menske nowe it were. | 4019 | Menskede with messes for mede of the saule. |
| *Troy* | 3239 | Thai shotte into shippe the scheltrun. | 4116 | Schotte to the schiltrones. . . . |
| *Troy* | 313-5 | The mighty Massidon King master of all. . . .<br>He wan all the world and at his wille aght. | 4161 | Of alle that Alexander aughte qwhilles he in erthe lengede. |
| *Titus* | 720 | . . . tresoun and trey. . . . | 4193 | . . . tresone and trayne. . . . |
| *Troy* | 1248 | The bourder of his basnet brestes in sonder. | 4212 | The bordoure of his bacenett he bristes in sondire. |
| *Awntyrs* | 521-2 | He kervet of the cantel that covurt the knyghte.<br>Thro his shild and his shildur a schaftmun he share. | 4232-3 | The cantelle of the clere schelde he kerfes in sondyre<br>Into the schuldyre of the schalke a schaftmonde large. |
| *Alex.* | 4961 | Jopone and jesserand. . . . | 4239 | Thorowe jopowne and jesserawnte. . . |

The arguments about dissimilarities in style and vocabulary between *Morte Arthure*, the *Troy*, the *Alexander*, and other poems are so completely undermined by the great facts of connection now for the first time established, that the tedious and invidious task of replying in detail to so many scholars and personal friends is happily unnecessary. That entirely mistaken stress was laid upon divergences of vocabulary, and that supposed distinctions of alliterative system were unwarrantably believed to make unity impossible—these seem now to be self-evident propositions, with every presumption in favour of unity. The earlier arguments were brought forward under conditions now enormously modified and reversed—a body of new positive fact having practically superseded the anterior basis of Huchown's case.

For Huchown, especially considered as a postulate of unity, the claim now rests not on general or special resemblances of lines or style—always the most slippery of grounds—but on a long and firm series of proved and interlocked connections uniting four poems, *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*.

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(7) *Events of* 1346-64 *as sources.*

Taking as proved the influence of the French wars on the fabric of *Titus* one finds a ready test for the chronology of *Morte Arthure.*[1] Full of chivalry, must there not emerge in it points of special contact as regards the art of war itself? Let us therefore examine the dispositions of his troops made by King Arthur in his great battle with the 'Emperour.' In Geoffrey the king has eight squadrons besides his own, and he has no archers. In *Morte Arthure* the array is quite altered. There are three battalions. The king appoints Sir Valiant

> Cheftayne of the cheeke with chevalrous knyghttez,
> And sythyne meles with mouthe that he moste traystez,
> Demenys the medylward menskfully hymeselfene,
> Ffittes his fotemen alles hym faire thynkkes,
> On fronnte the forebreste, the flour of his knyghtez.
> His archers on aythere halfe he ordaynede theraftyre
> To schake in a sheltrone to shotte whene theme lykes:
> He arrayed in the rerewarde fulle rialle knyghtez,
> With renkkes renownd of the rounde table.[2]
>
> *Morte Arthure*, 1986-94.

The best possible commentary on this is the battle of Crecy.[3] There were three 'battles,' two forming the front line, the third the reserve. 'The men at arms' (says Mr. Oman)[4] 'all on foot, were formed in a solid line—perhaps six or eight deep—in the centre of the 'battle.' The archers stood in two equal divisions to the right and left of the men at arms.' Edward's array and Arthur's are thus essentially the same—(1) three 'battles,' *i.e.* the 'cheeke' or 'fronnt,' the middleward, and the rearguard; (2) the flower of the knights on foot in the battlefront; and (3) the archers on each side of (4) the dismounted men at arms. One may not press such things too far, yet must it be noticed how the bowmen of Britain overbore the 'bregaundez' of the enemy[5] just as the archers of

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[1] The chief heads of this section, with additional details, are set forth in my article on the subject about to be published in *The Antiquary.*

[2] *Cheeke*, the 'front' or vanguard; *meles*, addresses; *demenys*, arrays; *menskfully*, becomingly; *halfe*, side; *sheltrone*, arrayed body; *renkes*, men.

[3] See Murimuth (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 165-7; Galfridus le Baker (ed. Giles), 164-7.

[4] *Art of War* (Middle Ages), 605.

[5] *Morte Arthure*, 2095-107.

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Edward drove back the cross-bowmen of Genoa, who were armed in 'brigandines' of mail.[1] In the poem[2] a great charge of horse followed, in which many men were trodden down. This sequence was historical at Crecy also.[3] Nor are there wanting analogies for the threats of no quarter, characteristic of both the battle poetic[4] and the battle real.[5] Surely the test of Crecy is well sustained.

The 'brigands' introduce themselves to us in Froissart under the year 1358—the infantry of the freebooting mercenary class produced by the English wars in France. The word itself carries a general indication of date corroborated by so many companion facts.

Turn from land to sea and the same test stands. Consider certain of the characteristics of the great sea fight between Arthur and the allies of Mordred, and place this engagement in its entirety over against the historical sea-fight off Winchelsea, between the English and the 'Espagnols,' on 29th August, 1350. And note how every point of the historic battle, (now to be gleaned from divers chronicles, etc., Minot, Murimuth's continuator, Walsingham, Galfridus le Baker, and Froissart) comes blazing into the wonderful poem—the topcastles with the stones and gads of iron, the 'hurdace,' the 'beaver' of Edward and then his helm, the cutting of head ropes, the English archers outshooting the enemy, the storming of the ships, the gay cabins hacked with arrows and bespattered with men's brains, and then the grim end of all when—a momentary lapse of the poet dubbing the Danish enemies of Arthur the 'Spanyolis'—he tells how to a man they sprang into the sea or stubbornly died upon their decks; exactly, as the historians assure us, did the Spaniards off Winchelsea, refusing the summons to

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[1] Oman's *Art of War*, 611. The 'brigandine' is figured in Demmin's *Die Kriegswaffen* (ed. Leipzig, 1886), 457-8. The word 'brigand,' originally denoting a footsoldier, was introduced into French in the 14th century (Brachet's *Dict.*). I find it in a letter to King John just before the battle of Poitiers, in 1356. Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir*, ed. Michel, 1883, p. 333. See also Cuvelier's *Du Guesclin*, l. 1584. It is used by Froissart relative to the 'companies' in 1358; also under same year in *Scalacronica*, p. 186, and earlier on p. 108.

[2] *Morte*, 2140-52. [3] Galf. le Baker, 165. [4] *Morte*, 2007, 2203.

[5] Galf. le Baker, 164-5

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surrender, and meeting death with invincible disdain. This will be made fully apparent from the collation[1] exhibited here.

| CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES. | *Morte Arthure* (ll. 3600-700). |
|---|---|
| Saxis volantibus a turriculis malorum et pilis vibrantibus . . . classica armatura. (Baker.) | The King prepares his ships for battle. 'Drawing up stones' for projectiles as they lie at anchor, 'the topcastles he stuffed with toyelys,' and with 'gads of steel.' There is a 'hurdace on height' with helmed knights. The King is bareheaded 'with beveryne lokkes,' his headpiece, however, at hand, and when the anchors are weighed and the engagement begins he dons 'his comely helm.' |
| Gros barriaus de fer forgiés et fais tous faitis pour lancier et pour effondrer nefs en lançant de pières et de callias sans nombre. (Froissart.) | |
| Thaire hurdis thaire ankers hanged thai on here. (Minot. x. 14.) | |
| Si se tenoit li rois d'Engleterre ou chief de sa nef vestis d'un noir jake de velviel et portoit sus son chief un noir chapelet de beveres qui moult bien li sevit. (Froissart.) | |
| Et puis mist li rois le bacinet en la tieste et aussi fissent tout le aultre. (Froissart.) | |
| 'With trompes and taburns.' (Minot x. 8.) 'Tubis lituis et musse cornibus suos ad arma concitantes. (Baker.) | Signal of battle comes when the crews 'bragged in trompes.' The wind rises out of the west. |
| 'When thai sailed westward.' (Minot x. 13.) | |
| S'encontrerent de tel ravine que ce sembla uns tempestes que là fust cheus. Et dou rebombe qu'il fisent li chastiaus de la nef dou roy d'Engletene consievi le chastiel de la nef Espagnole par tel maniere que li force dou mas le rompi amont sus le mas ou il seoit et le reversa en le mer. (Froissart.) | Ships sail into each other with a crash. 'Sways the mastys; over falls in the first'; men bicker with 'gads of irons.' |
| Si acrokièrent a cros de fer et de kainnes. (Froissart.) | As the ships grapple the seamen 'castys crepers one cross.' |
| Hanekin . . . copa le cable qui porte le voile par quoi li voiles chei . . . il copa quatre cordes souverainnes qui gouvrenoient le mas et le voille. (Froissart.) | 'Thane was hede-rapys hewene that helde up the mastes.' (l. 3668.) |

[1] Works cited are *Poems of Laurence Minot*, ed. Hall, pp. 33-4. *Galfridus le Baker*, ed. Giles, pp. 204-5. *Froissart*, ed. Luce, tome iv., pp. 88-96 (livre premier, §§ 323-7). *Murimuth*, (Eng. Hist. Soc.) p. 180. *Walsingham*, *sub anno*, 1350 In examining Froissart I have had the benefit of notes on Lettenhove's text from my friend Mr. J. T. T. Brown.

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| CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES. | *Morte Arthure* (ll. 3690-700). |
|---|---|
| Terebrarunt tandem sagittarii longiore jactu sagittarum illorum balistarios . . . E turribus saxa fulminabant. (Baker.) | 'Archers of England full eagerly shoot' 'till all the Danes were dead and in the deep thrown.' (l. 3694.) |
| Tunc scalas conscensi nostri in Hesperias naves irruerunt gladiis et securibus obvios truncantes. (Baker.) | Arthur's men then board and storm the ships 'leaping in upon loft.' |
| Ibi vidisses sanguine et cerebro naves pictas demiono sagittas in malis velis temonibus et castris infixas. (Baker.) | Mony kaban clevede cabills destroyede<br>Knyghtes and kene men killide the braynes<br>Kidd castells were corven with all theire kene wapen. (ll. 3671-3.) |
| Hispani . . . quia se reddere noluerant jussu regis Edwardi omnes miserabiliter perierunt. (Murimuth's continuator.) Hispani . . . omnes miserabiliter perierunt alii ferro cæsi alii aquis submersi. (Walsingham.) | Spanyolis spedily sprentyde over burdez<br>Alle the kene men of kampe knyghtes and other<br>Killyd are colde dede and castyne over burdez. (ll. 3700-2.)<br>[The 'Spanyolis' of l. 3700 are Danes in all the other allusions to them. ll. 3528, 3610, 3694.] |
| In brevi vasa plena Hispanis vacuabant. (Baker.) | |
| Inopes Hispanos mortuos et languidos in mare projicientes. (Baker.) | |

From these passages what follows? That there is more of live chronicle of the fight of Winchelsea in the little finger of *Morte Arthure* than there is in the entire body of Laurence Minot's song of *Les Espagnols sur Mer*: That the poet who in *Titus* drew upon the surrender of Calais in 1347 for poetic colouring, similarly drew in *Morte Arthure* on the battle of Crecy in 1346, and the Spanish sea fight of 1350: That the Arthur of *Morte Arthure* is not indirectly Edward III.: That every presumption therefore points to the poem as a contemporary and chivalric tribute to the founder of the Table Round.

Crecy, as already shewn, supplied much for Arthur's great battle with Lucius, but it fails entirely to clear away an editorial difficulty and determine the site of the field. What lacks in 1346 we may chance to find in 1359. The romance-battle was fought in the 'vale' of 'Sessoyne,' which has been supposed to be Saxony, but the true understanding of which has long been a problem[1] owing to the topographical impossibilities Saxony involves.

[1] Mrs. Banks's notes to *Morte Arthure*, ll. 1964, 1977. That 'Sessoyne' is sometimes Saxony is clear enough, being the French 'Sassoigne,' but not so here.

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Prior to the battle Arthur had been in Normandy advancing eastward; Lucius, too, was sojourning not far away by the Seine and Rouen and Paris (ll. 1336-40); and after the battle Arthur is again found at Cotentin, still in Normandy. Saxony is not a 'vale,' and is a good seven hundred miles from Normandy. Moreover, the poet's 'vale' has a city; and Arthur's army just before being arranged in order of battle

'Forsette them the cite appon sere halfez' (l. 1979).

Now in the year 1359, according to an English author,[1] an English 'company' did this very thing. *Un compaigny dez Engles enforcerent la vile de Veillye en la vale de Sessoun.* French chronicle[2] of the same fact calls the place 'Sissone,' and Sissonne still lives as a township in the department of Aisne in Picardy. Huchown's 'vale' therefore we may assume, after a glance at the map, was here.[3]

The term 'chartire of pes'[4] belongs to the same period, having, according to Froissart, been applied to the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360, and having probably become current shortly after. In *Morte Arthure*, in the great sea fight against Mordred and his allies, the king arrays his ships 'alle ryally in rede' (l. 3614). From 1361 we hear of a war vessel[5] of Edward III. called 'le Reade Cogge.' 'The genatours of Genne,' and 'bregaundez,' who change sides[6] with such promptitude and fight forthwith against their dilatory Roman paymasters, reflect the period of

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[1] *Scalacronica*, 185.

[2] *Jehan le Bel*, ii., 239.

[3] It is curious to note the existence of a Crecy (Crecy sur Serre) within a few miles of Sissonne. This was not Edward III.'s Crecy, which is in the adjoining department of Somme, nearer the sea.

[4] *Morte Arthure*, 1542, 3059. Compare with Froissart's reference concerning 1360, that of the *Grandes Chroniques de Saint Denis*, to *toutes les chartes de la paix* in 1368 Zeller, *Charles V. et Du Guesclin*, 105.

[5] *Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 172.

[6] *Morte Arthure*, ll. 2096, 2897, 2909, 2920. The 'genatours of Genne' (Gênes, Genoa) are thus described in Cuvelier's *Du Guesclin*, ll. 11144-5:

XX. mile Genevois sur genes chevauchant
Qui portoient les dars de coi on va lançant.

Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir* (l. 3105) calls them

Geneteurs hommes a chival.

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the Spanish campaigns of the Black Prince; they are 'true to the life of 1360 or thereabout.'[1] Certain of the historical personages and places introduced enable a closer date-approximation. The King of Cyprus[2] is one; he visited England in 1363, and was royally entertained, the King of Scotland visiting Edward III. at the same time. Such things are the political atmosphere of the poem.

In 1359 the talk of knightly circles, expressed in a well-known chronicle (written in Anglo-French), had been of the passage to France by 'Sandwiche,' of 'Barflu,' of 'Sessoun,' of 'Vien,' of 'Millein,' of 'Costentyn,' of 'Paiters,' of 'le markeis of Mise,' of the 'Allemaunz,' of 'Lorrein,' and of 'Reyns,' of 'Troies,' of 'Turry.' In 1360 we hear further of 'Chartres and 'Tullous,' 'Roan,' 'Came,' and 'Provynce.' The brief annals of 1361 mention 'Henaw' and 'Holand' and 'Denemark,' especially recording that the Danish king had made war on the Easterlings and reconquered much of 'Swetherik' from the king of 'Norway,' while the king of 'Lettow' had been made captive by the lords of 'Spruce.' Besides, 'le roy de Cypre' had taken a town in 'Turky' by assault. In 1362 we hear of 'Spayn,' 'Gascoigne,' 'Gyene,' 'Normandy,' and 'Burgoyne.' All these, culled from about a dozen consecutive pages of the *Scalacronica*,[3] begun in the castle of Edinburgh in 1355, tally with the names which Huchown, supplementing his original, made place for in *Morte Arthure*. They shew to a marvel that his geographical embroidery of Arthur's story was taken from the topography of 1359-63, just as we have already seen[4] that the stations on Arthur's march Romewards were borrowed from the itinerary of the time.

Indefinite additions to these evidences might be made from annals of the period, but it is proper to emphasise one or two names which appear

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[1] I steal these words from a letter of Prof. W. P. Ker.

[2] *Morte Arthure*, 596; *Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 199; *Walsingham*, sub anno 1363.

[3] *Scalacronica*, 185-202. It is unnecessary to quote the corresponding names in *Morte Arthure*, but Sandwich (l. 635) may be noted as a point of Huchown's divergence from Geoffrey, who makes Southampton the port of embarkation. 'Paiters' (Poitiers) is 'Peyters' in *Morte* (l. 40). 'The Marche of Meyes' in *Morte* (2417) is well vouched by *Scalacronica*.

[4] Ch. 2 above.

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to make it certain that *Morte Arthure* can hardly have been finished before the beginning of 1365. Among the 'Sowdanes and Sarezenes' summoned to his banner by Lucius[1] are

> Of Babyloyn and Baldake the burlyche knyghtes,

as well as those of 'Tartary,' and 'Turkey,' and 'Lettow,' while the 'Kynge of Cyprys' with 'all the realls of Roodes'—evidently Arthur's ally—on shipboard in the Mediterranean, lies in wait for the Saracen enemy.

> The Kynge of Cyprys on the see the Sowdane habydes
> With all the realls of Roodes arayede with him one.

So much for poetry: for history we have a great victory over the Turks, gained in November, 1364, when the Grand Master of the Hospitallers of Rhodes and many of his knights were counted among the 5000 Christian dead, while the princes of the other side (as Capgrave translates[2] Murimuth's continuator) 'were these: The Soudan of Babilony; the Kyng of Turkye; the Kyng of Baldak; the Kyng Belmaryn; the Kyng of Tartare; the Kyng of Lettow—of which iii were slayn.' The king of Cyprus, who had in 1361 captured Satalie by a sea-expedition, was in the end of 1364 getting ready a fleet at Venice for a similar exploit against the Sultan of Alexandria.[3] There is neither Baldak, nor Lettow, nor Rhodes, nor Cyprus, nor Sultan, in Geoffrey of Monmouth (or in the translations by Layamon and Wace). The grouping, therefore, is a powerful item in the proofs[4] for a date soon after the close of 1364 (in which connection it will not be amiss to recall Sir Hew of Eglintoun's presence in London[5] in May, 1365), before the Cyprian swoop on Alexandria was known.

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[1] *Morte*, 582-607.

[2] *Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 201. Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 223.

[3] Machaut's *Prise d'Alexandrie*, ll. 640-660, 1540-1620. Note also Cuvelier's line stating that the king 'Satalie conquist et occist le soudant,' *Du Guesclin*, l. 7443.

[4] Sir Hew of Eglintoun's father-in-law and brother-in-law both held high position among the Scottish Hospitallers.—Mr. John Edwards in *Transac. Glasg. Archaeological Society*, new series, vol. iii., pp. 322, 326.

[5] Safe conduct, dated 20th May, 1365. *Rot. Scot.*, i., 893[b].

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Finally, to be appealed to as most oddly significant of all the notes of date in *Morte Arthure*, are the lines (1943-5) in which, after a reprimand followed by an apology to Cador of Cornwall, his nephew, King Arthur says:

> 'Thare es none ischewe of us on this erthe sprongene
> Thow art apparant to be ayere, are (*read* or) one of thi childyre
> Thow arte my sister sone, forsake salle I never.'

Why should Arthur have made any alternative? Cador was heir. Only because he died in battle before the king was it that not he but his son succeeded—in Geoffrey—to the throne. Why the 'or one of thy children?' It was a singular observation—like an entail—to let fall. There could be only one apparent heir. Scottish history supplies the answer, and points to the intrigue and privy agreements[1] of 1363-4, whereby the childless David II. made in so far as in him lay Edward III.[2] or one of his children heir-apparent to the Scottish Crown.

By the first convention Edward himself was made inheritor of the crown failing lawful issue of David II.; the Scottish Parliament rejected the proposal in March, 1364, and the substituted terms arranged that year were that one of King Edward's children other than the heir-apparent to the Crown of England should become the heir-apparent of Scotland. But the Scottish Parliament and people were obdurate, and a chief service of the agreements may be to give us confirmation of the date of *Morte Arthure*.[3]

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[1] See these discussed in my *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* (Phil. Soc. Glas.), and in note to ch. 12, sec. 2, below.

[2] The terms of the first agreement of 27th November, 1363, were: Ou cas que le dit Roi d'Escoce trespasse du siecle sanz hoir engendre de son corps le devant dit Roi d'Engleterre ou quiconques qui alors en seroit Rois et ses hoirs Rois d'Engleterre aient succession heritable du dit roialme d'Escoce (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., 493).

[3] The substituted proposal is contained in a document worn away in parts, but printed thus: Item ou cas que le Roi . . . au present devie sanz heir . . . de son corps et en matrimoigne engendre l'un des filz du Roi d'Engleterre qui n'est pas heir apparant d'Engleterre lui succedera . . . oialme et a la coronne de Escoce (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., 495.

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## 10. 'The Parlement of the Thre Ages.'

### (1) *Tests to be applied.*

The sequence of the four poems already dealt with, and the significance of their mutual relation, will not appear of less account when the quartet is made a quintet—when the series closes in the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*,[1] with an outline of its story, an analysis of its textual affinities, and a discussion of a source, little suspected, for its plot. Tests of each of the preceding four poems have been found in the evidence of each in succession of the use and influence of the poem before, the occurrence of entire lines as well as poetical figures and phrases in each found in one or more of the others, and features not well admitting classification, which bring out as a kind of *résumé* in the later work certain aspects of paraphrase or retrospect of the earlier performances. As applied to *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (a poem found in one of Robert of Thornton's priceless manuscripts conjoined with the *Titus* and with the beautiful *Lay of the Truelove*[2]), the tests already seen in operation might not be satisfied by proofs of (*a*) identity of versification, supplemented by (*b*) the occurrence of detached lines and phrases held in common by (*c*) more than one of the antecedent suite. These alone might not serve; an exacting critic might demand demonstration that concurrently with these things there are in reasonable clearness signs (*d*) that the author was familiar with the authorities employed in the previous books, (*e*) that the characteristics and poetical method of the works compared should be analogous, and (*f*) that the collation should furnish instances not of general merely but of intimate suggestion of unity of authorship. A tolerably heavy load of responsibility to undertake—a load, be it said, under which the attempt to prove by internal evidence the common authorship of many

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[1] *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, edited by Israel Gollancz, M.A. (Roxburghe Club, 1897). To my friend, Prof. W. P. Ker, for introducing me to this book, and lending me his copy, I can hardly be grateful enough.

[2] Edited from the MSS. by Mr. Gollancz—in the Dr. Furnivall birthday volume, *An English Miscellany*, 1900, under the unsatisfactory title, 'The Quatrefoil of Love.'

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great pieces of English literature by their acknowledged authors would hopelessly break down! But he who takes this responsibility of maintaining the claim of Huchown to the *Parlement* can with a light heart challenge all the tests combined. The *Parlement* itself supplies all the arms its champions need. It is an alliterative poem (*a*) of the same measure as the antecedent four, (*b*) containing whole lines and very many identical phrases, not commonplace, found (*c*) in various members of the preceding quartet, while (*d*) it cites or shows close knowledge of *Alexander* and of *Troy*, of the *Brut* and of the *Voeux du Paon*, and at the same time it quotes *Titus* and *Morte Arthure*, and presents clear analogies not only with the *Pistill of Sweet Susan*, but also—it is of grave moment to remark it—with *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. The analogy of (*e*) poetical mode among the five poems is fairly absolute, passing through a phase of sheer and simple translation to one of expanded paraphrase and narrative, partly independent, resting at many points upon authority, but with constant deviations into originality. Finally, (*f*) the *Parlement* binds together the whole range of the work of Huchown in a manner at once intimate and explicit.

These be large assertions; and now—after the plot of the story itself—there come the proofs.

### (2) *The Plot of the 'Parlement.'*

The *Parlement* is a work accessible only in a very limited club edition. The story it tells, therefore, may becomingly be told here in fuller outline than was thought necessary in any other item of the quartet. It opens with a magnificent hunting picture of the stalking of a deer, "In the month of May when mirthes been fele," in which the hero, waiting beside a tree in the woods, caught sight of a hart. Creeping under a crabtree he was about to shoot when a buck that was with the hart sounded the alarm, and the sportsman had to lie low for a while in spite of the gnats which greatly him grieved and gnawed his 'eghne.' Soon as the opportunity came he drew his bow and shot, hitting the hart behind the left shoulder. Then he flayed and disembowelled the prize after the approved rules of venery, which done, he sat down in the warm sunshine and fell asleep.

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As natural in the romance period, the sleep was not wasted, the inevitable dream came—the dream which is the remainder of the poem.

'And what I saw in my soul, the sooth I shall tell.'

He saw three men quarrel. The first was a gallant young noble on horseback clad in green, decked with a chaplet of flowers, his collar and sleeves set with jewels.

'The price of that perry were worth pounds full many.'

He was thirty years of age, he was young and 'yape,' says our poet, and YOUTH was his name.

The second man was a sober personage in grey sitting full of thought about his money, his lands, his rent, and his cattle. He was sixty, and men called him MIDDLE ELDE.

The third had a hundred years. All in black, bald, blind, white-bearded, crooked, toothless, and pious, he mumbled the Creed and invoked the saints. This was the last of the trio whom the poet made interlocutors in his 'parlement,' and ELDE was his name.

Youth reveals himself carolling in his saddle as he goes, making to his absent lady love a 'high avow.' Middle Elde reproaches him for his extravagance. Youth will none of Middle Elde's worldly wisdom. He will, he retorts, rather make and perform his high avow than own all the gold ever Middle Elde got. Then would he go a-hawking, and he describes in glowing terms the falcon soaring like heaven's angel, to swoop on mallard and heron, which fall beneath the stroke. Next the falconers treat the quarry as the code of falconry requires, and the episode closes when the hoods are put on the hawks, and Youth figures himself on the way home—

'With ladies full lovely to lappen in mine arms.'

The man in russet-grey has just begun angrily to expostulate when the old worthy in black strikes in between to preach a sermon which lasts till nearly the very end of the poem—a sermon which, as one listens to it, grows ever more and more nobly eloquent of the Middle Ages, eloquent of its literature and literary standards, eloquent of the culture of the Scottish Court under the Bruces and the Stewarts, eloquent above all of the majestic poetic stature

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of Huchown of the Awle Ryale. For this sermon, with which Age silences the vain jangling of Youth and Middle Age, this sermon of Elde, wise with the lore of Time, although its moral be the trite moral of Death, yet preaches it, as rarely preached before, by compressing into brief compass the whole romance story of the Middle Ages. It tells of Hector and the heroes of Troy; tells of Alexander and the worthies whom remote Egyptian fiction and more recent French romance had sent into the field with him; tells of Caesar and the Tower of London; tells of gentle Joshua and David the doughty, and Judas Machabeus—'Jews full jolly and jousters full noble'; then flings itself heart and soul upon King Arthur and Sir Galahad 'the good that the gree wan,' Sir Lancelot of the Lake, Sir Kay, and all the Round Table, with the spotless Sir Gawayne and the frail fair Guinevere. His list of the Noble Nine, after mere mention of Godfrey of Bouillon, concludes with a long passage concerning Charlemagne, mentioning amongst other heroes Roland and Oliver and Ogier the Dane,[1] and telling that tale of Ferumbras and the Brig of Mantrible, which Barbour,[2] perhaps with some poetic license, placed on the lip of Robert the Bruce to cheer his dispirited followers as they crossed Loch Lomond during the ill-omened campaign of 1306. And the sum of all is—the lesson of life as told by him in black from the mighty careers of the foremost warriors of Time—

> 'Now have I named you the names of Nine of the best
> That ever were in this world wist upon earth,
> And the doughtiest of deeds in their days' time,
> But Doughtiness when Death comes ne dare not abide.'

What was true of prowess in battle the pessimist Elde found also of learning. Aristotle and Solomon and Merlin, these were the wisest of the world, but their wit was powerless against Death. Nor was love, nor beauty itself, exempt. Amadace and Ydoine, Samson and Delilah, Generydes the gentle and Clarionas the clere,[3] Eglamour and Christabel, Tristram and Iseult, Dido of Carthage and Candace of Babylon, Penelope and

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[1] 'Ogere Deauneys' (l. 523). For the significance of this and of Generydes mentioned below see ch. 9 above, sections 4 and 5.

[2] *Bruce*, iii., 405-465.

[3] See reference to *Generydes* in ch. 9 above, sec. 5.

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Guinevere—through the glittering catalogue of romance heroes and heroines he marches mournfully to the old old tune—Death will have his way: nothing is certain but Death. At the close Elde the wise commands Youth and Middle Elde to cease their wrangle, for Elde is sire of Middle Elde and Middle Elde of Youth, and he, their sire and grandsire, bids them

> Haves good day for now I go, to grave must me wend,
> Death dings on my door, I dare no longer bide.

Here the dreamer—he that had hunted the deer and fallen asleep—heard a bugle blow full loud, and woke to find that the sun had set and "Thus ends the Thre Ages."

Peradventure we also, if our slumbers in the forest are not too sound, may chance to hear a bugle blow, and mark how the bent echoes with Huchown's trumpet note.

### (3) *Parallels of the 'Parlement.'*

The hunting scene as a whole and the hawking picture, too, fit to a miracle into the structure of Huchown's work if, as may be assumed (in spite of critical *dicta* to the contrary), Sir Frederick Madden was right in understanding Wyntown's reference to the *Awntyre of Gawane* as referring explicitly to *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. In *Gawayne* there were described three hunts—respectively of a deer, a boar, and a fox. In the other extant poems there are indeed many passing and often intimate allusions to the chase, but no detailed description. This story in the *Parlement*, therefore, describing how the deer was shot and how the falcon brought the heron down, is most opportune to fill a gap. These picturesquely technical accounts in no way overlap what the poet has written elsewhere, and yet there are points at which the different references to the deer hunt touch each other so as to reveal identity of workmanship. Mr. Gollancz has well said that these descriptions are supplementary. To reckon them complementary would be still better. The points of contact with *Gawayne*[1] are special enough to call for treatment by themselves.

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[1] Of course I am aware of certain analogies in hunting matters with *Sir Tristram*, but the present correspondences are verbally exact, and most intimate.

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| *Gawayne.* | | *Parlement.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1455 | Haled to hym of her arewez, hitten hym oft. | 53-4 | And I halled to the hokes. . . . And happenyd that I hitt hym. . . |
| 1609-10 | Braydez out the boweles . . . his braches rewardez. | 69 | Brayde out his bowells my berselett to fede. |
| 1328-9 | Serched him at the asay summe that ther were, Two fyngeres thay fonde. . . . | 70-71 | And I sisilte hym at the assay to see how me semyde And he was floreschede full faire of two fyngere brode. |
| 1330 | . . . sesed the erber. | 73-82 | And ritte doun at a rase reght to the tayle And than the herbere anone aftir I makede. |
| 1332 | Sythen rytte thay the foure lymmes and rent off the hyde. | | I raughte the righte legge before, ritt it ther aftir And so fro legge to legge I lepe thaym aboute And the felle fro the fete fayre I departede And flewe it doun with my fiste faste to the rigge. |
| 1337 | Then scher thay out the schulderez with her sharp knyvez. | | I tighte owte my trenchore and toke of the scholdirs |
| 1355 | And the corbeles fee thay kest in a greve. | | Cuttede corbyns bone and kest it awaye. |
| 1330 | . . . thay slyt the slot. . . . | | I slitte hym full sleghely and slyppede in my fyngere |
| 1339 | [Object aimed at] to have hole sydes. | | Lesse the poynte scholde perche the pawnche or the guttys. |
| 1335 | . . . thay gryped . . . and graythely departed. | 85-87 | I grippede owte the guttes and graythede theym besyde, And than the nombles anone name I there aftire Rent up fro the rigge reghte to the myddis. |
| 1347 | And that thay neme for the noumbles. . . . | | |
| 1341 | Ryvez hit up radly ryght to the byght. | | |
| 1608 | . . . rendez him . . . bi the rygge. . . . | | |
| 1357 | . . . the fourchez. . . . | 88 | . . . the fourches. . . . |
| 1353-4 | Bothe the hede and the hals thay hwen of thenne And sythen sunder thay the sydez swyft fro the chyne. | 89-90 | And chynnede hym chefely and choppede of the nekke And the hede and the haulse homelyde in sondree |
| 1346 | And heven hit up al hole. | 92 | And hevede alle into ane hole. |
| 1628 | Of the were of the wylde swyn. . . | 99 | To wayte it frome wylde swyne. . . . |

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| *Gawayne.* | | *Parlement.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2175 | The knyght kachez his caple. | 189 | And thu hafe caughte thi kaple. |
| 1158 | The hindez were halden in with 'hay' and 'war.' | 223 | With 'hoo' and 'howghe' to the heron. . . . |
| 1445 | . . . halowed . . . 'hay' 'hay.' | | |
| 1655 | As coundutes of krystmasse and carolez newe. | 254 | With coundythes and carolles. |
| 2525 | After the segge and the asaute [of Troy]. | 303 | [Troy] cite asseged and sayled. |
| 1584 | Braydez out a bryght bront. . . . | 371 | And brayde owte the brighte brande. . . . |
| 1901 | And braydez out the bryght bronde. . . . | | |
| 2419 | . . . Barsabe that much bale tholed. | 453 | For Bersabee . . . was alle that bale rerede. |
| 2448 | The maystres of Merlyn. . . . | 469 | That Merlyn with his maystries made. . . . |
| 1928 | He were a bleaunt. . . . | 482 | He made a blyot. . . . |
| 2446 | Thurgh myght of Morgne la Faye. | 511 | . . . Morgn la fay that myche couthe of sleghte. |

Lest anybody should urge that these are chance coincidences, I append a brief list of others which connect *Gawayne* equally with some poems of which we have heard a good deal in this essay.

| *Alexander.* | | *Gawayne.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [*Exordium*] 15 | And I forwith yow alle ettillis to schewe. | [*Exordium*] 27 | Forthi an aunter in erde I attle to schawe. |
| *Alex.* 3020 | Was never sene I suppoyse sen the seyge of Troye. | 1 | Sithen the sege and the assaut watz sesed at Troye. |
| 778 | Stridis into stele bowe stertis apon loft. | 435 | Steppez in to stel bawe and strydez alofte. |
| | | Cf. 2060 | Steppez he into stirop and strydez alofte. |
| 1540 | . . . wodwose and other wylde bestes. | 721-2 | . . . wodwos . . . bullez and berez and borez. |
| 2617 | The cry of the clarions the clodez it persyd. | 1166 | . . . kry as klyffez haden brusten. |

| *Titus.* | | *Gawayne.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1244 | . . . gretter than a grehounde . . . | 1171 | . . . grehoundez so grete . . . |
| 54 | Cloudes clateren gon as they cleve wolde. | 2201 | . . . clatered in the clyff as it cleve schulde, |



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| *Titus.* | | *Gawayne.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 849-50 | . . . with dynnyng of pipis<br>And the nakerer noyse . . . | 118 | Nwe nakryn noise with the noble pipes. |

| *Morte Arthure.* | | *Gawayne.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3151 | Into Tuskane he tournez . . . | 11 | Ticius [turnes] to Tuskan. |
| 532-3 | For whyeseste and worthyest and wyghteste of haundez.<br>Of all . . . this werlde ryche. | 261 | The wyzest and the worthyest of the worldes kynde. |
| 451 | . . . one nyghte nedez moste thou lenge. | 693 | . . . alone he lengez on nyghtez. |

Having now left in no doubt the intimate relation between the *Parlement* and *Gawayne*, we may turn to a general grouping of certain other parallels, reminding ourselves before we begin that the *Parlement* has only 665 lines, thus offering numerically a much smaller area of comparison than the greater pieces do.

| | | | *Parlement.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Troy* | 12969 | Hit was the moneth of May when mirthes begyn. | 1 | In the moneth of Maye when mirthes bene fele. |
| *Morte* | 3249 | Downkynge of dewe. . . . | 10 | The dewe . . . donkede. . . . |
| *Troy* | 2736 | Burjons of bowes brethit full swete. | 11 | Burgons and blossomes and braunches full swete. |
| *Morte* | 930 | They threpide with the throstills. . . . | 14 | . . . the throstills full throly threpen. . . . |
| *Alex.* | 2264 | . . . fayne . . . as fowelle of the day. | 15-6 | And iche foule in that frythe faynere than other<br>That the derke was done and the day lightenede. |
| *Titus* | 1005 | Fayn as the foul of day . . . | | |
| *Titus* | 850 | Whan the derk was doun and the day spryngen. | | |
| *Troy* | 1079 | Wen the derke was done and the day sprange. | | |
| *Troy* | 2378 | . . . sleghly on slepe. . . . | 36 | . . . sleghe . . . slepe. . . . |
| *Morte* | 3467 | . . . stalkis . . . stille . . . | 41 | . . . stalkede full stilly. . . . |
| *Morte* | 3468 | . . . stotays . . . studyande. | 51 | . . . stotayde and stelkett. |
| *Troy* | 8045 | That the blode out brast . . . | 55 | That the blode braste owte appon both the sydes. |
| *Troy* | 10424 | . . . bent blody be-ronnen. | 62 | . . . brakans were blody by-ronnen. |
| *Titus* | 1070 | Ded as a dore nayle. . . . | 65 | Dede als a door nayle. . . . |
| *Troy* | 524 | . . . thro men in threpe and thretyms. . . . | 104 | . . . thre thro men threpden. . . . |
| *Titus* | 269 | A bold burne on a blonk . . . | 110 | A bolde beryn on a blonke bowne for to ryde. |

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| | | | | *Parlement.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Alex.* | 792 | Than strenys he hys steropes and streght up sittes. | 116 | He streghte hym in his steropis and stode up rightes. |
| *Awntyrs* | 510 | . . . with trayfoles and trewluffes bytwene. | 120 | With trayfoyles and trewloves of full triede perles. |
| *Alex.* | 1538 | With riche rabies of golde railed bi the hemmes. | 128 | With full rich rubyes raylede by the hemmes. |
| *Morte* | 3264 | Raylide with reched and rubyes inewe. | | |
| *Awntyrs* | 17 | Raylede with rubes . . . | | |
| *Morte* | 3964 | My wele and my wirchipe of alle this werlde riche. | 175 | My wele and my wirchipe in werlde where thou dwellys. |
| *Morte* | 3959-60 | Here es the hope of my hele my happyge of armes. My herte. . . . | 177 | Alle my hope and my hele myn herte is thyn owen. |
| *Titus* | 969 | I have heylych heyght. . . . | 178 | I behete the a hest and heghely I avowe. |
| *Troy* | 13824 | Had a glaive, a full grym grippit in honde. | 202 | With a grym grownden glayfe graythely in my honde. |
| *Morte* | 3762-3 | . . . gryme launce That the growndene glayfe graythes in sondyre. | | |
| *Titus* | 883 | Ride to the rever and rer up the foules. | 208 | And ryde to a revere.[1] . . . |
| | | | 217 | To the revere with thaire roddes to rere up the fowlis. |
| *Morte* | 6 | . . . kayre till his courte. . . . | 246 | . . . kayre to the courte. . . . |
| *Morte* | 3293 | And ladys me lovede to lappe in theyre armes. | 247 | With ladys full lovely to lappyn in myn armes. |
| *Troy* | 10097 | . . . wandrit and woke for woo. . . . | 257 | . . . with wandrynge and wo schalte wake. . . . |
| *Morte* | 2370 | . . . wakkens wandrethe and werre. . . . | | |
| *Morte* | 975 | . . . dolvene and dede. . . . | 258 | . . . dolven and dede. . . . |
| *Morte* | 2216 | Threppede . . . thryttene sythis. | 262 | . . . threpid this thirtene wyntir. |
| *Morte* | 2770 | And alle dysfegoures his face . . . | 284 | And all disfeguride my face and fadide my hewe. |
| | | | Cf. 155 | Alle disfygured was his face and fadit his hewe. |

[1] This in its hawking connexion is *riparia* in medieval Latinity. *Juxta quandam ripariam falconum aucupio se exerceret*—is written of Edward III. in Trivet's *Annales* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 282.

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| | | | *Parlement.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Alex.* | 5655 | Now sall I nevyne yow the names. . . . | 297 | And I schall nevyn yow the names of nyne of the beste. |
| *Morte* | 3440 | Alles nynne of the nobilleste namede in erthe. | | |
| *Morte* | 3496 | Ne for no wy of this werlde that wroghte es one erthe. | 298 | That ever wy in this werlde wiste appon erthe. |
| *Awntyrs* | 639 | . . . no wy in this werlde. . . . | | [Lines 297-8 are almost exactly repeated 580-1.] |
| *Morte* | 3408 | That were conquerours kydde and crownnede in erthe. | 299. | That were conquerours full kene and kiddeste of other. |

[Both passages referring to the Nine Worthies.]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Troy* | 14031 | . . . Ector the honourable oddist of knightes. | 300 | . . . Sir Ector and aldeste of tyme. |
| | 3879 | . . . Ector the eldest. | | |
| *Alex.* | 1114 | The mody kyng. . . . | 302 | . . . the mody kynge. . . . |
| *Titus* | 1039 | . . . the mody kyng. . . . | | |
| *Gawayne* | 1 | . . . the sege and the assault [Troy]. | 303 | . . . assegede and sayled it [Troy]. |
| *Troy* | 9506 | Paris the prise knight. | 305 | Paresche the proude knyghte. |
| *Troy* | 14006 | (rubric) Thies Ector slough with hond of kynges. | 307-8 | And as clerkes in the cronycle cownten the sothe Nowmbren thaym to xix and ix mo by tale Of kynges with crounes he killede with his handes. |
| [The list "all of du kynges," lines 14006-14021, has eighteen names.] | | | | |
| *Alex.* | 1814 | . . . as mervale ware ellis | 310 | . . . als ferly wer ellis. |
| *Troy* | 668 | Thurghe wyles of woman. . . | 315 | With the wyles of a woman. . . . |
| *Gawayne* | 2415 | . . . thurg wyles of wymmen. . . . | | |
| *Troy* | 1377-8 | . . . girdyn doun the wallys Prowde pales of prise puttyn to grounde. | 318-9 | And with the Gregeis of Grece he girde over the walles The prowde paleys dide he pulle doun to the erthe. |
| *Troy* | 2067 | . . . lure that was light. . . . | 323 | . . . lure at the last lighte. . . . |
| *Morte* | 2596 | . . . Syr Priamus, a prince is my fadyre. | 324 | . . . Sir Priamus the prynce. . . . |
| *Morte* | 4345 | Syr Pryamous the prynce. | | |
| *Troy* | 1487 | Was Troylus the true tristy in wer. | 326 | Sir Troylus a trewe knyghte that tristyly hade foughten. |
| *Troy* | 9991 | Troiell the tru knight. . . . | | |
| *Troy* | 3818 | Neptolon nobill. | 327 | Neptolemus a noble knyghte. |

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| | | | | *Parlement.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Troy* | 5892 | Palomedon the prise king. | 328 | Palamedes a prise knyghte. |
| [*Troy* | 55-65 | Reference to Dares and Dytes]. | 331 | As Dittes and Dares demeden togedir. |
| *Alex.* | 18 | [Alexander] aghte . . . alle the wer[l]d ovire. | | |
| *Troy* | 315 | [Alexander] wan all the world. | 332 | After this sir Alysaunder alle the worlde wanne. |
| *Troy* | 312 | [The pillars of Hercules.] | 334 | Ercules boundes [Referring to the pillars of Hercules.] |
| *Troy* | 881 | (rubric) How Jason wan the flese of golde. | 338 | . . . gentille Jazon the Jewe wane the flese of golde. |
| *Troy* | 867 | Jason . . . gentill knight. | | |
| *Morte* | 2606 | Judas and Josue thise gentille knyghtes. | | |
| *Titus* | 782 | . . . a Jew Josophus the gentyl clerke | | |
| *Alex.* | 3972 | Quen Sir Porus saghe his princes in the prese faile. | 365 | Sir Porus and his prynces. |
| *Alex.* | 3998 | Porrus as a prince. . . . | 368 | For there Sir Porus the prynce into the presse thrynges. |
| *Morte* | 4216 | He braydes owte a brand bryghte. . . . | 371 | And brayde owte the bright brande. . . |
| *Gawayne* | 1584 | Braydez out a bryght bront. . . | | |
| *Gawayne* | 1901 | And braydez out the bryght bronde. . . . | | |
| *Alex.* | 1831 | Sire Alexander athille kyng. | 384 | Alexandere oure athell kyng. |
| | | | Cf. 484 | Arthure oure athell kynge. |
| *Alex.* | 5399 | [Alexander styled] *oure* mode kyng. | | |
| [Alexander styled Emperor constantly in the *Alexander*.] | | | | |
| *Alex.* | 2395 | Than amed thai to ser Alexander. . . . | 394 | Sir Alexander oure Emperour ames hym to ryde. |
| *Troy* | 314 | The Emperour Alexander. . . . | | |
| *Alex.* | 5611 | Now bowis furth this baratour and Babyloyn he wynnis. [Said of Alexander.] | 395 | And bewes towardes Babyloyne. . . [Said of Alexander.] |
| *Titus* | 971 | And me the ȝates ben ȝet and ȝolden the keyes. | 398 | While hym the ȝatis were ȝete and ȝolden the keyes. [Repeated 575.] |
| *Titus* | 1233 | Bot up ȝeden her ȝates and ȝelden hem alle. | Cf. 535 | While hym his ȝernynge was ȝett and the ȝates opynede. |

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| | | | | *Parlement.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Morte* | 4172 | . . . drynkles they dye dole was the more. | 400 | Thare he was dede of a drynke as dole es to here. |
| | 4241 | That derfe dynt was his dede and dole was the more. | | |
| *Titus* | 1093 | . . . that doil was to hure. | Cf. 452 | There he was dede at that dede as dole es to here. |
| *Alex.* | 1608 | The welder of all the werld and worthiest under wylde. | 404 | And thus the worthieste of this werlde wente to his ende. |

[Said of Alexander.]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Alex.* | 18 | That aghte evyn as his awynn alle the wer[l]d ovire. | 406 | Alle Inglande he aughte at his awnn will. [Said of Caesar.] Cf. same line repeated (465) concerning Arthur. |
| *Morte* | 576 | Araby and Egipt. . . . | 418 | Arraby and Egipt. . . . |
| *Morte* | 2658 | Sessoyne and Surylande. | 419 | Surry and Sessoyne. . . . |
| *Morte* | 2606 | . . . Josue . . . gentille. . . . | 426 | . . . gentil Josue that was a Jewe noble. |
| *Pistill* | 2 | . . . Jezu gentil. | | |
| *Titus* | 1283 | Mortar ne made walle. . . | 433 | . . . mode walle that made were. . . |
| *Morte* | 2935 | . . . the develle have your bones. | 438 | . . . Sathanas unsele have theire bones. |
| *Titus* | 473 | Of doughty David the king. | 441 | Than David the doughty . . . |
| *Morte* | 3419-20 | For he slewe with a slynge be sleyght of his hands Golyas the grette gome grymmeste in erthe. | 444-5 | The grete grym Golyas he to grounde broghte And sloghe hym with his slynge and with no sleghte elles. |
| Cf. *Troy* | 1296 | Slogh hom downe sleghly and slaunge hom to grounde. | | |
| *Troy* | 9038 | Slogh hom down sleghly with sleght of his hond. | | |

[See also Mr. Donaldson's note in *Troy*, page 481.]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Titus* | 1203 | Wer ded of that dynt . . . | 447 | And he was dede of that dynt the devyll hafe that reche. |
| *Titus* | 779 | . . . the devel have that recche. | | |
| *Morte* | 3413 | . . . Judas a justere fulle nobille. | 459 | ...Jeues full joly and justers full noble. |
| *Morte* | 3415 | . . . Josue that joly mane of armes. | | |

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| | | | *Parlement.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Morte* | 17 | Off the ryealle renkys of the rowunde table. | 468 | With renkes full ryalle of his rowunde table. |
| *Morte* | 3707 | Thane syr Gawayne the gude he has the gree wonnene. | 473 | Bot Sir Galade the gude that the gree wanne. |
| *Morte* | 1368 | Thane syr Gawayne the gude . . . | 475 | And sir Gawayne the gude . . . |
| *Morte* | 1152 | Thenne sir Kayous the kene . . . | 477 | And sir Kay the kene . . . |
| *Titus* | 767 | . . . thogh ye fey worthe. | 485 | . . . till he was fey worthen. |
| *Troy* | 929 | . . . drepitt the dragon . . . | 488 | . . . a dragon he dreped . . . |
| *Morte* | 304 | . . . beryne of Bretayne . . . | 490 | . . . beryns of Bretayne . . . |
| *Titus* | 26 | . . . alle Gascoyne gat and Gyan . . . | 491 | Gascoyne and Gyane gat he . . . |
| *Morte* | 4309 | And graythes to Glasschenbery the gate at the gayneste. | 494 | The gates towardes Glassthenbery full graythely he rydes. |
| *Morte* | 541 | . . . this werlde bot wyrchipe . . . | 519 | . . . wirchupe of this werlde . . . |
| *Troy* | 10306 | Slough him . . . with sleght of his hond. | 533 | . . . he sloghe with his handis. |
| *Alex.* | 1232 | Bot with a swyng of a swerde swappez of hys heved. | 551 | And one swyftely with a swerde swapped of his hede. |
| *Troy* | 13024 | And with the swing of a swerde swappit hir to dethe. | | |
| *Morte* | 2982 | And with a swerde swiftly he swappes him thorowe. | | |
| *Morte* | 3427-9 | . . . the crowne that Crist bare hymselfene<br>And that lifeliche launce that lepe to his herte<br>When he was crucyfiede on crose and alle the kene naylis. | 553-4 | . . . the corownne that criste had one hede<br>And the nayles anone naytly there aftire. |
| *Titus* | 8 | Throw Pylat pyned he was and put on the rode. | 555 | When he with passyoun and pyne was naylede on the rode. |
| *Titus* | 497-9 | . . . . . Crist one<br>That this peple to pyne . . .<br>That preveth his passioun. | | |
| *Alex.* | 48 | Than was hym bodword unblyth broght . . . | 558 | And than bodworde . . . full boldly . . . |
| *Troy* | 8315 | And the bodword broght to the bold kyng. | | |

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| | | | *Parlement.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Morte* | 1979 | Forsette them the cite appon sere halfez. | 574 | And that cite he assegede appone sere halfves. |
| *Troy* | 2416 | To have and to hold . . . | 577 | To kepe it and to hold it to hym and to his ayers. [A well-known legal phrase answering to the form in Latin deeds, *Habendum et tenendum.*] |
| *Morte* | 3440, | 3496. | 580-81 | [These almost repeat 297-8.] |
| *Morte* | 3443-4 | in my days . . . for dedis of armes<br>For the doughtyeste that ever was duelland in erthe. | 582 | And the doghtyeste of dedis in thaire dayes tyme. |
| *Alex.* | 24 | The wysest wees of the wer[l]de. | 585 | Of wyghes that were wysest . . . [Introducing Aristotle of 'Alexander's time.'] |
| *Alex.* | 247 | The wysest wees in this wer[l]d. | Cf. 610 | Theis were the wysest in the worlde. |
| *Troy* | 49 | Virgill the virtuus . . . | 594 | Virgill thurgh his vertus . . . |
| *Morte* | 233 | Sir Gawayne the worthye Dame Waynour he hledys. | 629 | And dame Gaynore the gay . . . |
| *Awntyrs* | 14 | . . . the gay dame Gayenour . . . | | |
| *Awntyrs* | 313 | Hafe gud daye . . .<br>I hafe na langare tyme<br>For me buse wende on my waye . . .<br>Unto my wonnynge wane in waa for to dwelle. | 653-4 | And 'Haves gud daye' for now I go to grave moste me wende<br>Dethe dynges on my dore<br>I dare no longare byde. |
| *Morte* | 454 | Lugge thiselfe undyre lynde. | 663 | . . . lugede me in the leves . . . |
| *Morte* | 3800 | For dere Dryghttyne this daye . . . | 664 | For dere Drightyne this daye . . . |
| *Morte* | 2872 | [Marie] that mylde qwene . . | 665 | Marie that is mylde quene . . . |

[The *Lay of the Truelove* refers to Christ as crowning His mother Queen of Heaven.]

A summation of these parallels brings results sufficiently striking. Out of 665 lines there are over 120 which contain more or less notable alliterative phrases also found in the antecedent quartet; over and above are the parallelisms with *Gawayne.* Particularly to be observed are 23 lines, practically whole lines, coincident with practically whole lines elsewhere, as under:

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LINES OF 'PARLEMENT' ALMOST IDENTICAL WITH LINES OF 'ALEXANDER,' 'TROY,' 'TITUS,' AND 'MORTE ARTHURE.'

| *Parlement.* | *Alexander.* | *Troy.* | *Titus.* | *Morte Arthure.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 116, 128, 368, 551. | 1792, 1538, 3972, 1232. | | | |
| 1, 11, 318, 326. | | 12969, 2736, 1377, 1487. | | |
| 16, 217, (398, 575), 447, 491. | | | 850, 883, 971 (1203, 779), 26. | |
| 202, 247, 297, 298, 299. | | | | 3762-3, 3293, 3440, 3496, 3408. |
| 444-5, 468. | | | | 3419-20, 17. |
| 473, 494. | | | | 3707, 4309. |

Surely it is of extreme and final value as part of the great argument with which this treatise began that in this comparison of entire lines, out of the twenty-three four are from the *Alexander*, four from the *Troy*, five from the *Titus*, and ten from *Morte Arthure*. Falling to be added are the many broken lines distributed in different proportions among the various books in question. To be added also are the special coincidences with *Gawayne*. And after all these there comes yet another argument of inestimable strength deduced from a search after the sources of the *Parlement*, that poem which ends the series of five.

### (4) *Main Sources of the 'Parlement.'*

In examining the hunting scene which opens the poem we saw that *Gawayne* had been within the poet's view. We shall see where the hunt began. But first it is to be said that besides *Gawayne* and *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*, there is unanswerable evidence that the poet used the *Brut*,[1] which he expressly names.[2] Not only so, he also knew and used the other principal authority followed in *Morte Arthure*, the *Voeux du Paon*. This appears from his narrating[3] the Foray of Gadres (*Fuerre de Gadres*) as well as the whole effect of the Avows of Alexander and Battle of Effesoun as contained in the *Voeux du Paon*. Dares and Dictys he cites[4]—at second hand probably just as he did in

[1] *Parl.*, 462-512. [2] *Parl.*, 407. [3] *Parl.*, 332-395. [4] *Parl.*, 331.

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the *Troy*[1]—and the *De Preliis Alexander* must be assumed to have been the source of part of the Alexander narrative, including the mention of Queen Candace[2] and the death of Alexander at the hands of the 'cursed Cassander.'[3] A distinct community of authorities between the *Parlement* and the antecedent poems is thus established—further corroborated by the inclusion in the part relative to Alexander of a confused reference to the Gog and Magog legend comprising a passage about the coming of Antichrist, no doubt taken from Maundeville.[4]

There remains to be stated a yet more remarkable proposition, which is that fundamentally the story of the three ages is an expansion of an episode in the *Troy*, and that here once more we have a testimony to the infinite poetic suggestion referable to Guido de Columpna. We return to the hunting scene in the *Parlement* to recall the facts. The hero is engaged in the chase alone. He ties his dog to a birch tree.[5] He sees a hart,[6] which he approaches and shoots. After disembowelling the quarry he sits down in the woodland under birch tree boughs with leaves light and green.[7] The sun is so hot that he grows drowsy and sleeps[8]—sleeps and dreams a 'dreghe' dream[9] of the strife of three men, one in green, one in gray, and one in black. What was the root from which this powerful story grew? If I may have faith in the evidences before me the root sprang from Italian seed, no doubt itself in turn a product of the Greek. Paris in the *Troy*, like the hero in the *Parlement*, went hunting.[10] Outstripping his comrades, he was alone[11] in the forest—that classic forest which Huchown's translation does not name, but which Guido did, the *nemus quod Yda vocatur*.[12]

He sees a hart[13] too. He gives chase, but it escapes. He has no dog, but his horse, weary with the pursuit, he ties to a bough.[14] He lies down

---

[1] *Troy*, 60. [2] *Parl.*, 396.

[3] *Parl.*, 401. Cassander is not named in this connection either in *Julius Valerius*, in (Michelant's ed.) *Romans d'Alixandre*, pp. 508-9, or in the *Voeux du Paon*. He is so mentioned in the *De Preliis*, at the close where the alliterative translation is missing.

[4] *Maundeville* (Wright), ch. 26, MS. T. 4, 1. fo. 266 + 59-59*b*.

[5] *Parl.*, 39. [6] *Parl.*, 25. [7] *Parl.*, 98, 100, 661-3.

[8] *Parl.*, 100. [9] *Parl.*, 101-2. [10] *Troy*, 2345. [11] *Troy*, 2358.

[12] Hunterian MS., T. 4, 1. fo. 27. [13] *Troy*, 2353. [14] *Troy*, 2371.

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'in a shadow of shene tres,'[1] for the sun is hot.[2] He sleeps,[3] and dreams 'dreghly'[4] the great dream of the strife of three goddesses—Venus and Juno and Pallas—as arbiter in which he is to determine the award of the golden apple. If he gives it to Juno his reward will be to be 'mightiest on molde,'[5] if to Pallas he will be 'wisest of wit,'[6] if to Venus love will be his.[7]

This is the absolute key of the *Parlement*—explaining the ideal of Youth with his avows, Middle Elde in his lust for possessions and power, and Elde's lofty sermon drawn from the deeds of the doughty and the lives of the sages, especially Solomon,

> 'And he was the wisest in wit that ever wonned in earth.'

'Wisest in wit'—it was the very phrase of Pallas's bribe. The whole spirit of the two dreams, if not quite the same, at least runs a most singular parallel.

In the *Troy* vision (lines 2407-9) the gift offered by Juno comes first:

> 'To be mightiest on molde and most of all other.'

In the *Parlement* vision (lines 293-583) Elde begins with the Nine Worthies, the warriors whom he then deals with in detail—

> 'Nine of the best
> That ever wy in this world wist upon earth
> That were conquerors full kene and kiddest of other.'

In the *Troy* vision (lines 2410-12) the gift offered by Pallas comes second:

> 'Thou shalt be wisest of wit.'

In the *Parlement* vision, when the poet has closed his record of the warriors with a sigh, pointing his moral that doughtiness, when death comes, may stay no longer, he tells next (lines 584-611) of the fate of the wise:

> 'Of wyghes that were wisest will ye now hear.'

And so he preaches of Aristotle and Virgil, Solomon and Merlin, who were fated to die too:

> 'These were the wisest in the world of wit that ever yet were,
> But death wondes for no wit to wend where him likes.'

---

[1] *Troy*, 2372-3. [2] *Troy*, 2374. Overhild for the hete hengyng with leves.
[3] *Troy*, 2378. [4] *Troy*, 2379. [5] *Troy*, 2408. [6] *Troy*, 2411. [7] *Troy*, 2414.

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In the *Troy* vision (lines 2413-15) the gift of love offered by Venus comes last. So, last, in the *Parlement* vision comes the stanza (lines 612-630) which is so fine a romance catalogue of lovers.

A moment given to analysis of the two visions demonstrates that the *Parlement* simply adapts the vision of Paris, brings it from the slopes of Mount Ida to our own woodlands, where the throstle, the cuckoo, and the cushat sing, and the fox, the fulmart, and the hare are denizens. But the poet transforms it too, making the pagan dream into a Christian ode on the invincibility of death. Great are the gifts of Juno and Pallas and Venus, so the pagan dreamer told: 'all vain and vanities and vanity is all' was the sore verdict of pious Elde.

> 'Since doughtiness when death comes ne dare not abide,
> Ne death wondes for no wit to wend where him likes,
> And thereto paramours and pride puts he full low,
> Ne there is riches ne rent may ransom your lives,
> Ne nought is siccar to yourself ne certain but death.'

In fine, is not the *Parlement* simply the dream of Paris reconstituted for British latitudes and having appended an old-new moral? The oak tree of the *Parlement* grew from Guido's acorn, planted by Huchown in the *Troy*. And the entire body of the narrative points to the same poetic unity, the same paternity in Huchown's busy brain. The *Gawayne* unites with the *Troy* to explain and produce the initial hunting picture. The *Voeux du Paon*, already familiarised in the poet's mind, directly supplies the suggestion of the Nine Worthies, contributing much even of the substance of the poem. Examining the various contributory sections of the *précis* of the lives of the illustrious Nine, we readily devise a canon of test. Surely if the poet was the same as erewhile wrote the other poems we should expect to find in this one, that when he touches Hector we should find traces of the *Troy*, and that when he touches Arthur we should find traces of *Morte Arthure*. How completely the *Parlement* responds to the test! The 31 lines on Hector (*Parl.*, 300-331) touch the *Troy* by direct reminiscence and repetition of special epithets almost every second line. On King Alexander (*Parl.*, 332-404) the earlier poem is much less slenderly represented, no doubt because when the *Parlement* was written the poet was drawing on two new sources, the *Fuerre de Gadres* and the *Voeux du Paon*: still there are characteristic

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touches from the *Alexander*. Of Caesar we have something, of Joshua something, of David something, of Judas Machabeus something,—all from *Morte Arthure*, of which these worthies were only a side theme; while of Arthur, its central theme, we have in 51 lines (462-512), a clear body of matter, including identical lines and not admitting of hostile debate. On Charlemagne, a number of lines from the *Alexander*, the *Troy*, the *Titus*, and the *Morte Arthure* serve abundantly the purpose of proving the closeness of the ties of association between any one of Huchown's heroes and all the others. Indeed, the *Parlement* enables us to be retrospective, and suppose with considerable probability that *Morte Arthure* had already drawn for at least three of its lines (3427-9) upon the same version[1] of the romance of Ferumbras and the Sowdan, as was utilised in the *Parlement*.

If proof by internal evidence is to establish anything, this extraordinary concatenation surely is irresistible. The method of proof adopted is only that which others have already used in a small degree for other works: only here the links are far more numerous, and far more closely drawn together than they have ever been before. To deny difficulties is no part of this argument: the proposition is that adopting the very processes of comparison which commended themselves to some of my predecessors, I reach a broader conclusion than theirs, the logic of which constrains the acceptance of the *Parlement* as bringing up the rear of the great series of poems which proceeded from one prolific pen.

### II. Huchown's Copy of 'Geoffrey of Monmouth.'

'Ring by ring,' said the French adage, 'is made the habergeon.' The argument from internal evidence before set forth was complete, and the original papers had both been read, when the prosecution of the quest further resulted in a discovery of immense interest in itself and of prime moment as evidence for the proposition now being discussed. It was the discovery of a MS., of apparently thirteenth-century date, bearing in certain marginal additions to its text in the shape of a running series of

[1] See note ch. 9, sec. 5, above. The *Parl.*, ll. 553-4, however, mentions only the crown and the nails.

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rubrics an extraordinary body of relations to the Huchown poems especially *Morte Arthure*.

Systematically, the setting forth of the grounds of belief for the identification of manuscript U. 7. 25 in the Hunterian Library will best begin with a reminder of the presence in the same library of the manuscript T. 4. 1, which disclosed such singular resemblances—(1) between its text of the *De Preliis*, and the alliterative translation *The Wars of Alexander*, and (2) between its text of Guido de Columpna, and the alliterative translation *The Destruction of Troy*, with (3) the appositeness of the presence of Maundeville's *Itinerarium* in the manuscript, as compared with the presence of a passage from that work interjected into the *Alexander* poem. Also is to be remembered the presence in the same library, which once was the small private collection of MSS. of Dr. William Hunter, of the sole extant copy of the alliterative *Troy* poem just referred to. The combination induced the thought that a careful scrutiny of other manuscripts in the same collection might result in the discovery of other books which once had formed part of the great alliterative poet's collection, which once perchance he loved to see stand, like Chaucer's, 'at his beddes head.' By the use of Dr. John Young's manuscript notes for his MSS. Catalogue, and by his kindly furtherance personally of the quest, my search was much facilitated. One day a pair of eager eyes fell on the fateful words, *Hic Rex Arthurus litteras Lucij Imperatoris recepit*, added at the top of the page in a small and defective copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, the MS. U. 7. 25 in question. The text itself on that page styled Lucius only 'Procurator': the rubricator, like Huchown, heightened the dignity: the Latin rubricator wrote 'Imperator'; the poet 'Emperour.' With this point the examination of the MS. began.

This parchment book, about seven inches long by five broad, bound in wooden covers, and having its text in a hand of the thirteenth century, is rubricated more or less throughout in a hand a century later and sharply distinguishable. These rubrications are at the beginning numerous, in black ink, in a small, neat hand, and occupy the sides. About the 38th folio a change is made; there are far fewer rubrications, and now, instead of occupying the side margins, they are, with a very few exceptions on to the end,

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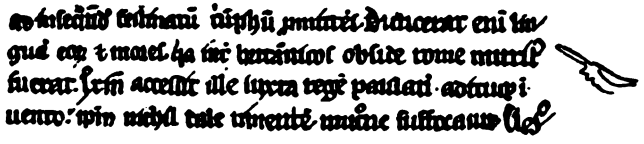
confined to the top and occasionally to the bottom of the pages. Unfortunately perhaps for the definite solution of yet other problems of early poetry, a large and important section of the MS. is now lacking—a hiatus which deprives us of the part of Geoffrey containing Merlin's prophecies. Generally the rubrications are simple breviates of the purport of passages in Geoffrey which interested the rubricator. Sometimes this is emphasised by a *Nota* or a peculiar mark on the margin, twice by a finger pointing, twice by the words *Nota bene.* How piquant these are! We are able to satisfy ourselves that the same things particularly interested the alliterative poet, that *Nota bene* reflects itself at least sometimes in his poems, that other peculiar marks of emphasis also are similarly reflected, and that, while the one *Nota bene* touches a passage of Geoffrey found, strangely enough, in *Titus and Vespasian*, the other reveals the plot of a poem, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, which years ago the editor of the *Parlement of the Thre Ages* printed as the work of the same author as the *Parlement.* And while the one marginal index finger pointed with its fruitful *Nota bene* to the tale of Brennius and Belinus as the source of *Wynnere and Wastoure*, while at the same time it emphasised a peaceful reunion of a king of Scotland with his brother, a king of England (strangely suggestive of the historical reconciliation of David II. with his brother-in-law, Edward III.), the other marginal index finger (fo. 28) pointed, as here shewn, to some hidden



consequence,—perhaps for the poet's own personal history,—of the story of a man who had learned the language and the manners of another people through his having been reared among their hostages. *Didicerat enim linguam eorum et mores quia inter Britannicos obsides Rome nutritus fuerat.* What did it mean? Was it that Huchown's English style and breadth of English sympathy, his choice of Arthurian themes, which not once but several times touched the Order of the Garter and the Table Round of Edward III., were the result of some sojourn among Scottish hostages in London

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during the Wars of Independence? So would come a fresh and surprising solvent to the crux of Huchown's problem, which is that of explaining how a poet with themes so devoid of Scottish passion, and so full of a British fervour which might almost be mistaken for English, could have written in a dialect so rich in forms which, if not largely English, are not Scottish, and yet withal could, without inexplicable irony, have had his contemporary biography written only in Scottish chronicle, and written, too, with admiring sympathy for the author and the man.

Once I had occasion to declare that, rightly apprehended, a Commonplace Book, although entirely of quotations, was an intellectual self-revelation of peculiar interest, and was, in spite of itself, autobiographical. Here is an analagous case, out of which rises the question, What do these marginal jottings tell of the rubricator's mind? They tell much: tell (1) of his reverent attitude, (2) of his fondness for moral truths, (3) of his admiration for London, (4) of his eye for courtly ceremonial, (5) of his zest for the chase and for falconry, (6) of his attention to the history of law, (7) of the attraction which religious annals had for him, (8) of his close study of the tribute question, which has so large a place in the scheme of *Morte Arthure*, (9) of his special and peculiar interest in the six chapters of Geoffrey which form the bulk of *Morte Arthure*, (10) of that looseness about proper names, which more than one of the editors of his poems have set down as characteristic of the poet, and (11) of his dramatic sense of the power in such stories as those of Lear and Cordelia, or Brennius and Belinus, or of such episodes as a council of war at midnight under the stars, or as the blazing dragon in Uther Pendragon's time. These marks on the margin are no common gloss; they are fragments of the alliterative poems in the making, still unfashioned, it is true, but already taking shape in the active imagination of genius in the fourteenth century.

Whoever will go through the representative body of extracts from these marginals which are to be quoted in a subsequent chapter may gauge for himself the degree of trust assignable to these inferences. Beginning with the fly-leaf, we have the very remarkable jotting of six items copied from the original red ink rubrics of Geoffrey's text—items which are the kernel of *Morte Arthure*. A few points of correspondence between that poem and the rubricator's

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markings may here be presented. The text names 'Petreius Cotta,' the rubricator calls him 'Petreius Senator,' Huchown calls him 'the Senatour Peter.' The text has 'Guerinus,' the rubricator 'Gerinus,' Huchown 'Geryn.' The text has always 'Modredus,' the rubricator has always 'Mordredus,' Huchown oftenest has 'Mordred.' The text never names the Saracens, the rubricator couples '*Pictis et aliis Sarracenis*,' Huchown puts the 'Sarazenes' in one line and their allies the 'Peyghtes' in the next line but two. 'Caius Quintilianus' of the printed Geoffrey is 'Gaius Quintilianus' in this manuscript text, the rubricator drops the Quintilian and calls him merely 'Gaius,' Huchown too dubs him only 'Syr Gayous.' A date, 4482, not in the printed Geoffrey at all, appears in this MS. text, and the date 'five hundred years less eighteen' will strangely emerge in another alliterative poem as we proceed—a poem[1] which contains one of the best told stories of the Middle Ages, and without exception the noblest tribute to the essential 'priesthood' of law which the early literature of Britain can boast. If these proofs do not serve to convince the alliterative critics, English and Scottish, French and German, that this Hunterian MS. was veritably Huchown's, and Huchown's work a mighty unity, it will be for the wisest of them to attempt the feat of accounting for the miracles of coincidence which the preceding statement only illustrates and does not exhaust—miracles of coincidence, be it said also, which so splendidly confirm the argument, itself of immense power, deduced from internal evidences of unity and correlation.

## 12. Clues to 'Titus' and 'Wynnere and Wastoure.'

### (1) *The Dragon in 'Titus.'*

Two chief illustrations in detail will suffice to demonstrate the force of the confirmatory argument from the MS. In a previous chapter attention was called to the singular consonance between the *Titus* poem and *Morte Arthure* in the insistence upon the significance of the dragon banner. It was then suggested that the idea came from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[1] See ch. 14 for notice of *Erkenwald*.



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With the Hunterian MS. before us the statement admits of absolute definition. On fo. 49 (*Geoffrey*, viii., 14, 15) appear the marginal additions,

> 'Nota bene: stella apparuit.
> De significacione syderis.'[1]

The passage thus marked tells of a ball of fire in the likeness of a dragon (*globus igneus in similitudinem draconis*), from the mouth of which proceeded two *radii*, one pointing to France, the other to Ireland, the significance of which, as expounded by Merlin, lay in the future dominion by Uther Pendragon's son over the realms so indicated.

Turning to the *Titus* we find that Vespasian's banner is a gaping dragon, having a falchion under his feet, with four keen blades directed to the four points of the world, which, in turn, is denoted by the ball of burning gold on which the dragon stood in sign—'in forbesyn to the folk'—of conquest of all the world. Whatever be thought of the significance of the dragon, the significance of the rubricator's *Nota bene* is certainly exceeding plain.

### (2) *The plot of 'Wynnere and Wastoure.'*

There was, however, as already observed, another *Nota bene* among the rubrications. Let us look at it also, as the second detailed illustration of the constructive value of these marginal marks as of a truth Huchown's own comment on himself. Opposite the tale of the dispute and impending battle between Brennius—king from Humber to Caithness—and Belinus—king south of the Humber—occurs a note of the very highest historical and literary consequence. Its theme is the reconciliation of the two contending monarchs by the dramatic interposition of their mother, Convenna, to whom the rubricator by a verbal slip, not unusual with him, refers as Venna—a mistake occasioned by the word being divided in the MS. text, 'Con-' at the end of one line and 'venna' at the beginning of the next.

> *Hic Venna mater eorum concordiam inter eos fecit et valde miraculose.*
> *Nota bene.* ☞

[1] The second note (De significacione syderis) strikes me as written in a different and later hand, but see facsimile.

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Scottish readers can hardly fail to remember that Sir Hew of Eglintoun was a party to the arrangement of peace, and of a very friendly understanding between Edward III. and David II. in 1359. If David II. was rather a failure as Brennius, at any rate the Belinus of the part, Edward III. was his brother by marriage. There is more than mere curiosity in this point, for an important element in the final peace footing of 1363 and 1364 seems to be singularly echoed in a couple of lines[1] of *Morte Arthure*. Letting that pass, however, we shall find the rubricator's *Nota bene* guiding us with exceeding directness to the solution of another alliterative problem—the authorship of *Wynnere and Wastoure*. The learned editor of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* had good grounds for his opinion that the unity of authorship of that poem and of *Wynnere and Wastoure*, which he printed in the same Roxburghe Club volume, was 'well nigh indisputable.' Seven reasons were assigned by Mr. Gollancz for this conclusion, especially the occurrence of whole lines common to both poems, of passages strongly reminiscent of the same poetical conceptions, of certain negligences of historical detail, and of a remarkable sameness of style evincing high pictorial power. Mr. Gollancz did not know that the *Parlement* had grown out of the *Troy* poem, nor was he

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[1] After a quarrel with Cador, Arthur warmly apologises, and, commending Cador as one of the doughtiest that was ever dubbed, he says (*Morte*, 1943-4):

> 'Thare es none ischewe of us on this erthe sprongen;
> Thou arte apparant to be ayere are (*read* or) one of thi childyre.'

There is here either a most remarkable coincidence or else there is a direct allusion—as I believe—to the negotiations of 1363 and 1364. On 27th Nov., 1363, it was agreed that, failing heirs male of the body of David II., the King of England should succeed to the kingdom of Scotland (*Acts Parl., Scotland*, i., 493). In 1364, this proposal having been rejected by the Scottish Parliament, a second agreement was substituted, under which, failing heirs male of the body of David II., the kingdom should pass to a son of the king of England other than the heir-apparent (*Acts Parl., Scot.*, i., 495). In fact, David II. had no issue; under the first agreement, so far as David II. and his Privy Council had power, Edward III. was David's heir-apparent, under the second the heir was one of Edward's children—Lionel. As to this curious intrigue and Sir Hew of Eglintoun's connection with it, see my paper, *Sir Hew of Eglintoun* above referred to, also some previous comments above, end of ch. 9.

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aware that Wastoure and Wynnere, as personifications, were the literary heirs of Brennius and Belinus.

| *In 'Geoffrey of Monmouth.'* | *In 'Wynnere and Wastoure.'* |
|---|---|
| The armies of Brennius and Belinus are about to join battle (iii. 7) | The hawberked and helmed armies of Wynnere and Wastoure are in schiltrums on either holt with only a lawn betwixt them, on the point of battle (ll. 50-54) |
| when their mother, Convenna, intervenes. | when 'the king of this kythe' (Edward III.) wearing the garter bids them stop (ll. 69-107), sending the message by a young baron (the Black Prince), who wears three feathers (l. 117). |
| She reminds them that she had suckled both. | The two commanders obey and mention to the royal messenger that they know well that the king 'clothes us both and has us fostered and fed these five and twenty winters' (ll. 197-207) |
| Thus a concord is effected. | The king receives them by the hand 'as hinds of our house both' (ll. 208-212) |
| They cross the sea to make war on France together (iii. 8) and afterwards conquer Rome (iii. 9). | After a long debate between the two (after the medieval pattern of Wine against Water) the king bids Wynnere 'wend over the wale stream' by Paris to the Pope (ll. 460-1), and wait a summons to arms and knighthood when the king goes to war at Paris.<br>Wastoure is sent to the east end of London, but the poem is incomplete, so that the probable final concord of Wynnere and Wastoure is not extant. |

### (3) *Wynnere and Wastoure*: *its sense and date.*

The poem contains the oldest known vernacular rendering of *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

> 'And alle was it one sawe appon Ynglysse tonge
> *Hethyng have the hathell that any harme thynkes.*'

Like Gawayne (which ends with this motto in French, *Hony soyt qui mal pence*), like *Morte Arthure*, and like the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, this

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piece is unquestionably of the Garter or Round Table group. It helps to make clearer why Sir Hew of Eglintoun's visits to England between 1358 and 1369 were so frequently about the time of special tournaments and chivalric functions[1] at the court of Edward III., who in *Wynnere and Wastoure*, just as in *Morte Arthure*, shines as a stately figure of chivalry. That it connects English and Scottish history is therefore obvious, and the fact that it rises out of the story of Brennius, a northern king, is in admirable keeping with its quotations from the prophecies of no less a Scottish personage[2] than Thomas of Erceldoune.

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[1] Safe conducts on the 11th of May, 1358 (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 823[a]), 26th April, 1363 (*Ibid.*, i., 872), 5th December, 1363 (*Ibid.*, i., 876), and 20th May, 1365 (*Ibid.*, 893[b]), may be adduced as instances. See the biographical calendar under these dates in my paper, *Sir Hew of Eglintoun*, above mentioned.

[2] *Thomas's Prophecies.*

**La countesse de Donbar demanda a Thomas de Essedoun quant la guere d'Escoce prendreit fyn e yl la repoundyt e dyt :**

. . . . . .

When hares kendles o the herston
When Wyt and Wille werres togedere
. . . . . .
When laddes weddeth lovedis

*Wynnere and Wastoure.*

For nowe all es Witt and Wyles that we with delyn
Wyse wordes and slee and icheon wryeth othere (ll. 5-6)
And hares appon herthestones schall hurcle in hire fourme
And eke boyes of blode with boste and with pryde
Schall wedde ladyes in londe and lede hir at wille
Thene dredfulle domesdaye it drawethe neghe aftir (ll. 13-16)

Thomas's prophecies are quoted by Dr. J. A. H. Murray in the introduction (p. xviii.) to his *Thomas of Erceldoune*. See also Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, in introduction to ballad of *Thomas the Rymer*; also Laing's *Early Pop. Scot. Poetry*, 1895, i., 88; and cf. the variant in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, i., 30.

The antithetical use of 'ladde' as above appears several times in *Wynnere and Wastoure* (ll. 375, 378, 388), *e.g.* 'Woldest thou hafe lordis to lyfe as laddes on fote.' Compare the disparaging use of 'ladde' in *Morte Arthure*, 3535, 4094.

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England and Scotland are thus alike contributory to this little poem, and Wales is doubly so, for besides the initial service of Geoffrey in furnishing the plot, there is a further debt to Walter Map in furnishing the manner of debate between Wynnere (or Thrift) and Wastoure (or Extravagance)—a debt which the Hunterian MS. again compels us to recognise. A few leaves further on than the *Nota bene* of the Venna passage there begins, at the bottom of fo. 3, and is continued at the bottom of ff. 30b-38, a copy[1] of the famous *Dialogus inter Aquam et Vinum.* The alternate stanzas have *Vinum* and *Aqua* set against them respectively, and the personified Waste and Thrift in the fourteenth-century English poem, although bodied forth with an actuality and lifelike vigour undreamt of in the pale abstractions of the twelfth-century Latin dialogue, yet may owe something of their art to the latter, the more ancient 'flyting' of Wine against Water. The poet achieved a great success in his personifications. Youth, Middle Elde, and Elde in the *Parlement* are not more superb examples of this than are Wastoure and Wynnere. The German doctor who damned the translator of the *Troy* with the faint praise of being a clever versifier declared that he was no poet. 'Ein dichter war er nicht.'[2] We have now a thousand new reasons to think that the translator was not only a poet, but a poet indeed. The allegory of the *Parlement* and the allegory of *Wynnere and Wastoure* rank among the few vivid concrete and poetic realisations of abstract portraiture achieved in English literature.

Perhaps the critics who may be of a different mind will be good enough to name a single superior example. And there is a point of view which is not to be passed over. This man, whether he was Sir Hew of Eglintoun or not, was international; if not directly connected with hostages he certainly held dear the peace and union of the North and South; an archetype to his creative effort was the reconciliation of a Scottish and an English

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[1] There are a good many minor variants from the version given in Wright's *Poems of Walter Mapes*, p. 87, and in particular this rendering does not contain lines 99 to 146 and 151 to 154 of Wright's edition of the piece. The handwriting of this poem does not seem to be the same as the rubricator's, and that it was added after the rubrications is evident, for instance, from the relative position of the two on fo. 36.

[2] Zur *Destruction of Troy*, by Wilhelm Bock (Halle, 1883), p. 13.

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king; he quoted Scottish prophetic utterances; his models and style, on the other hand, were English; much of his thought and sympathy was English too; of English law and legal history the note impressed itself equally on his copy of *Geoffrey* and on his own poems; *Morte Arthure* shews a buoyant picture of the kings of Scotland and of Wales as Arthur's most gallant allies; the sum of all is that in the body of early poetry claimed for Huchown we have a superb tribute to the solidarity of the literature of English speech,—a noble plea for the literary unity of both sides of Tweed. Whatever be the outcome of the discussions about his identity, so much at least appears to be the certain reading of his life.

Historical tests are usually the only safe basis for dating literary work. Few of the Huchown poems contain such historical evidences except in so far as the ascertainment of sources goes to establish a point of time. *Wynnere and Wastoure* in this respect belongs to a category of its own, being of a relatively early period and clearly explicable by the side light of church history. This allegorical poem of narrative and 'flyting'—an impending combat ending in a litigation—was assigned to *circa* 1350 by Mr. Gollancz on grounds[1] palpably untenable, and crucially failing to explain a main feature of the action of the poem. Although the great scene of the armies gathered over against each other came from Belinus and Brennius these heroes of ancient Britain give no clue to the bannered pomp of the two hosts drawn from France, Lombardy, Spain, England, and Ireland ranged under banners of black and green and white, with

[1] Only three need be discussed: (1) that the reference to 'five and twenty winters' (l. 206) points to the 25th year of Edward III.; (2) that the mention of the Friars and the Pope (ll. 460-70) points to the Statute of Provisors in 1351; and (3) that Scharshill (l. 317) is referred to 'evidently as Chief of Exchequer,' and therefore *ante* 1350 when he became Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The answers are: (1) that the five and twenty winters at the most can mean no more than that the date was after 1351, the King's 25th year; (2) that there is no hint whatever of the Statute of Provisors or its theme; and (3) that a reference to a judge in connection with breach of the peace ('his pese to distourbe') cannot possibly indicate the baron of Exchequer, but points necessarily to some judicial episode later than 1350, but before 5th July, 1357, when he ceased *ad tempus* to be Chief Justice. (Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales.*) Besides, the episode in question must have preceded the poem alluding to it, so that the latter may well date some months later than July, 1357.

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heraldic insignia of bibles (each with *bulla* appended) and judges' heads, galleys and boarheads and buckles not admitting ready interpretation in detail. The poet leaves no doubt, however, that the first banner is Papal, the second that of certain Judges, and other four those of the Four Orders of the Friars—the Franciscans, Dominicans, Austins, and Carmelites—in reference to whom hints are thrown out about their wealth, their confessional privileges, and their commerce. True to himself, the poet thought the fairest banner that of the Augustine Order, for they were special, 'Our Lady to serve.'

When the enigma of this threatened conflict of European armies under opposing banners (l. 52) is confronted with '*circa* 1350' as the date of the poem, the impending battle is unintelligible as a historical allusion. Another date makes the meaning at once a matter of the simplest demonstration. Apply '*circa* 1358,' and the problem is solved. The battle just about to begin is partly the '*magna controversia*,' the 'gret strif' between Archbishop Fitzralf of Armagh, the renowned 'Armachanus,' primate of Ireland, with the secular clergy of England at his back, against the Four Mendicant Orders—the world-moving plea before the Pope and the Consistorial Court at Avignon which started in 1356, and in which the Irish primate made his 'most solemn proposition' before Pope Innocent VI. on 8th November, 1357, in reply to the papal summons issued the year before. The proposition, duly noted in English and Scottish chronicle,[1] assailed the Friars for many shortcomings, including extravagance and abuse of confessional rights. This controversy (which endured until close on the archbishop's death in 1360) supplies, when taken along with Brennius and Belinus, the assured suggestion of the embattled banners of the Friars and the Pope in the poem. Our poet thus made pictorial use of the mighty question of the Friars which very soon in Wycliffe's hands was to be pressed to more practical issues.[2] Unlike William of Langland,

[1] Murimuth, Eng. Hist. Soc., 191, 193. Further accounts are given in Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 218; Bower's *Scotichronicon*, ii., 360; Knyghton in *Decem Scriptores*, 2625; Walsingham, sub anno 1358; Fleury's *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, ed. 1840, livre xcvii., ch. 36; Wolfius's *Lectionum Memorabilium*, ed. 1600, i., 642; Barnes's *Edward III.*, year 1358.

[2] Wycliffe's famous treatises, the *Trialogus* and that 'Against the Orders of the Friars,' were sequels to the onslaught by 'Armachanus.'

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our poet carefully refrains from personal entry into the fray, and strikes no direct stroke against the Friars whom Langland was so scathingly to denounce. Besides, the suspended fray had suggestion more direct still.

For this poem a date between 1356 and 1360 was needed—a date to fit the controversy, a date before 1360, because an allusion to the war 'at the proude pales of Paris the riche' (ll. 497-9) as still in progress must precede the peace of Bretigny in 1360, a date not much later than 1357 because of its allusion to Scharshill, evidently as Chief Justice. History makes perfectly clear why the poet set Pope, judges, friars, and Scharshill in the field all at one time. The contemporary annalists were doing the same thing, recording under the year 1358 both the 'gret strif' itself and Scharshill's share in another disturbance of that eventful period. Walsingham, Knyghton, and Capgrave, as well as the Anglo-Scottish *Scalacronica* all tell of this further embroilment, which accounts for the hostile banners of pope and judges, with the mention of Scharshill in the poem. The men of Bishop Lyle of Ely, who was a Dominican friar, burnt a manor of Lady Blanche of Wake, who complained to the king.[1] She charged against the bishop that her houses had been burnt by his dependants "encontre la Pees et la Lei de la terre," and one of her servants murdered. Justices were assigned to hear the cause, and the bishop, being found guilty, was delivered over to his episcopal brethren to be kept in custody, and his 'temporalties' were seized,[2] he being 'atteint de transgression incontre le peace.' On this the Pope was appealed to. He espoused the bishop's cause, expostulated[3] with the king, and excommunicated the justices, one of whom, we learn from Knyghton, was Scharshill. Serious disturbances ensued from this conflict of legal and ecclesiastical authority, and extremes involved included the violent exhumation of the excommunicated dead. 'Mech manslauth felle in this matere' says Capgrave.[4] King Edward's inter-

[1] Rotuli Parliamentorum, ii. 267.

[2] *Knyghton* in *Decem Scriptores*, 2620; *Year Books* (Maynard, 1679) for Trinity term 29 Edw. III., p. 41. The *Scalacronica*, p. 177, is interestingly technical in its account of the matter.

[3] See bull of 1 Aug., 1358, in Rymer's *Foedera*.

[4] Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 218.

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vention was therefore equally indignant and energetic. It needs no telling how completely these episodes annotate Wastoure's words in the poem:

> And thies beryns one the bynches with howes [hoods] one loft
> That bene knowen and kydde for clerkes of the beste
> As gude als Arestotle or Austyn the wyse
> That alle schent were those schalkes and Scharshull it wiste
> That saide I prikkede with powere his pese to distourbe. Ll. 314-18.

The trouble evidently was not appeased when the poem was written. Not until near the beginning of 1359[1] apparently, was the incident closed by the Pope's withdrawal of the judges' excommunication.[2]

Every finger points,[3] therefore, to *circa* 1358. That the poet chose not to define more exactly the troops and banners of opposing Church and State, and left something to the imagination of his audience, was natural enough when the strifes of friars and bishop, judges and pope were the topic of the hour. The thing as a whole is clear; no reasonable criticism would exact a detailed historical application at the foot of every letter. *Wynnere and Wastoure*, with its direct citation of the Garter motto (l. 68) is a Round Table poem easily referable to some chivalric celebration among the many of the years 1358 and 1359, of which the English annalists[4] have a good deal to say. Sir Hew of Eglintoun was in London early in 1358. He was again there in the beginning of 1359. Perhaps like his master,

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[1] *Knyghton*, 2620. The chronology here is, however, a little confusing.

[2] Was the excommunication the reason for the appointment in July, 1357, of Thomas de Seton as *Capitalis Justiciarius ad tempus loco Willelmi de Shareshull*? (Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*.) This seems very probable, and the words *ad tempus* suggest that Scharshill was only suspended in 1357, not removed. In 1368, when he died after reception as a friar minor, he is in *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii., 334, entitled *capitalis justitiarius*, but it can hardly be inferred that he had resumed that office.

[3] See *Athenaeum*, 3 Aug., 7 Sept. and 26 Oct. 1901, for the original discussion of this date. Mr. Gollancz's replies of 24 Aug. and 14 Sept. 1901, lend no support to his date '*circa* 1350,' words which in his last letter he seems to qualify as now meaning 'before 1357.' The fact that not one but several chroniclers put the episode of the friars in the same year with the incident of Scharshill, and that year 1358, appears conclusive of the historical soundness of my favour for *circa* 1357-8, or as I now prefer to say more definitely, *circa* 1358. On the banners, see further ch. 15, sec. 3, and end of ch. 17.

[4] Knyghton in *Decem Scriptores*, 2617-8; Murimuth, 191. *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii., 227; *Brut*, 33 Edw. III.

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David II., on whom he was in personal attendance on the latter of these occasions, he may have made his quarters, where David II. was, with the Friars Preachers,[1] and so have been at the very heart of the affair when courtly and chivalric society was watching, not without amusement, the front of battle lower in the great debate.

### 13. Huchown's Rubrications of 'Geoffrey.'

For this chapter the rubricator of the Hunterian 'Geoffrey of Monmouth' already described, the manuscript U. 7. 25, shall speak for himself of his cordial relationship with Huchown and his poems—shall shew his bonds of association with *Gawayne*, with the *Troy*, with the *Titus*, with *Morte Arthure*, with *Wynnere and Wastoure*, and with the moving story of Saint Erkenwald and the dead judge who lay so long uncorrupted in the foundations of St Paul's. From the beginning of the MS. to folio 55b only selections are given; from folio 55b to folio 81b, where the original MS. now ends, the rubrications are given complete. They are all in black ink, thus contrasting with the original rubrics, which are incorporated in the text and are in red.

The series of black ink rubrications starts as a crumpled fly-leaf, with a note of six heads, all concerning King Arthur.

Verba Arthuri ad suos.
Responsio Hoeli.
De responsione Anguseli regis Albanie.
De congregacione regis Arthuri.
De edicto Lucij Hiberij.
De Itinere Arthuri contra Romanos. [*See facsimile.*]

This jotting is in black ink and is all that is written on the fly-leaf of parchment forming the first—an extra—leaf of the MS. The above six items have been taken by the black ink rubricator from the original

[1] On 11th May, 1358, Sir Hew had safe conduct to Westminster. *Rot. Scot.*, i., 823. In the winter of 1358, David II. was staying with the Friars Preachers in London. Knyghton in *Decem Scriptores*, 2619. On 21st Feb., 1359, the king's seal and that of Sir Hew, were both appended to a document at the Friars Preachers, London. Bain's *Calendar*, iv., 27.

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series of rubrics in red ink forming part of the original text of ff. 62*b*, 63, 63*b*, and 64 of the MS., or in the printed Geoffrey, ix. 16, 17, 18, 20, x. 1, 2. They, of course, constitute the mainspring of *Morte Arthure*, of which it is perhaps not too much to say this jotting was a preliminary. They are on a leaf by themselves. Those that follow are the black ink marginal rubrications of the folios mentioned in connection with each.

fo. 7. (Galf. i. 12).[1] Hic columpnas Herculis [*Brutus et socii*] petierunt.

7*b*. Hic Corineus nemora petit causa venandi ubi magnum fecit conflictum.

9*b*. (i. 15). Hic naves ingreditur Brutus.

10*b*. (i. 17). De civitate Londoniensi.

Hic Brutus civitatem construxit et illam Trojam novam vocavit que postea Trinovantum dicta fuit.

(ii. 1). Hic Brutus Lond. sepelitur. [See *Erkenwald*, in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue folge, Heilbronn, 1881, p. 266, line 25.]

12. (ii. 7). Hic primus [*Ebraucus*] post Brutum classem in Gallias duxit.

12*b*. (ii. 8). Rex Ebraucus xx. filios genuit quorum primogenitus Brutus Viride scutum vocatus est.

13-13*b*. Opposite the story of King Lear and his daughters two grotesque face lines are drawn on the margin—not part of the original scribe's work.

15*b*. (ii. 17). Hic Dunvallus rex hostes suos caute devicit.

15*b*. Hic leges primo in Anglia celebrantur inter Britones.

De fugitivis.

15*b*.[2] Hic rex est mortuus cui Bellinus et Brennius succederunt et regnum inter se diviserunt.

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[1] Fo. 7 is the folio of the MS. Galf. i. 12, is book i. chapter 12, of the printed Geoffrey, *Galfridi Monumetensis Historia Britonum*, ed. Giles. 1844.

[2] On fo. 14*b*, at the end of the passage, which in the printed Geoffrey is lib. ii., cap. 15, there is in this MS. text (not the rubricator's work, but the text itself) an important variant in the shape of a note of date, not in the print. Just one chapter before the reign of Dunwallo mention is made of the date of the building of Rome—*Anno ab origine mundi, iiij cccc lxxxii.* As bearing on an interesting point of poetical chronology, it is necessary to quote here two other passages of the original MS. text not in the printed Geoffrey. On ff. 1*b*-2, at the end of what in the printed book is lib. i., cap. 2, the following stands part of the text:

*Anno ante Incarnacionem domini m c lvij et ante condicionem Rome ccc lxxx vi et ab origine mundi iij cccc xlix annis peractis Eneas cum Ascanio filio diffugiens Italiam navigio adivit.*

Similarly as part of the text on fo. 19, at end of lib. iij., cap. 9, of the printed book it is written to record the date of the capture of Rome by Brennius and Belinus:

*Anno a condicione sua ccc lv et ante Incarnacionem Domini ccc lx*

These inconsistent equations may enable the chronographic reader to achieve the marvel of reconciling them and transmute into terms of the era B.C. the year of the world 4482, to which poetic importance attaches.

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CRUMPLED FLY-LEAF.

*Nota bene* ON 'VENNA,' fo. 17.

*Woseit* NOTE, fo. 44*b*.

[These facsimiles made from photographs taken by Mr. S. Fingland, Photographic Department Glasgow University, are reduced by one-tenth from the original.]

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16*b*. (iii. 3). Hic applicuit Brennius in Albaniam.

16 (16). (iii. 5.) Hic Bellinus leges instituit et confirmavit. [The story of Dunwallo is the key to the poem of *Erkenwald*. Compare lines 25, 207, 208-13, 216, 227, 230 (Dunwallo reigned 40 years), 228 (a temple was built for Dunwallo's laws). Compare rubricator's notes quoted above with these lines; also compare some further references appended to other rubrics, and see next chapter.]

16 (16*b*). (iii. 6). De fortuna et probitate Brennii fratris Regis Bellini.

17. (iii. 7). Hic iterato Brennius in Britanniam applicuit congressum habiturus cum Bellino Rege fratre suo.

Hic Venna mater eorum concordiam inter eos fecit et valde miraculose. Nota bene ☞ [*See facsimile.*]

[This note of reference to the story of Brennius and Belinus supplies the plot of *Wynnere and Wastoure.*]

17*b*. Hic facti sunt amici Bellinus et Brennius.

(iii. 8). Hic Bellinus omnes ffrancorum regulos devicerunt.

18*b*. (iii. 9). Hic obsides Rome civitatis ante portas ejus patibulo affixerunt.

19. (iii. 10). Hic Bellinus ex hac vita migravit. [See note at end of the *Erkenwald* section of next chapter.]

22. (iii. 20). Ludgate.

22*b*. De nobilitate et probitate Regis CASSIBELLAUNUS. [*Sic.* The name is written large by the rubricator. See *Parlement*, 315.]

23. (iv. 3). Hic Thamesis Julius applicuit.

Hic adest Cassibelluanus. [*Sic.*]

25*b*. (iv. 8). De epistola Androgei ad Julianum missa. [Julianum for Julium.]

26. (iv. 9). De xxx^ta obsidibus missis ad Julianum per Androgeum.

27. Hic tractatur de pace et concordia inter Julium et Cassibell.

27*b*. (iv. 10). Hic primo tributum de Britannia dabatur Julio Imperatori.

De concordia facta inter Julianum et Cassibell. et de vectigale reddito.

28. (iv. 13). Hic Hamo princeps milicie Claudii usus est dolo.

A finger is drawn opposite the sentence in the text: Didicerat enim ☞ linguam eorum et mores quia inter Britannicos obside Rome nutritus fuerat.

[See cut, ch. 11. Note that this is the third rubric indicating special interest in hostages.]

30. (iv. 17). Sermo de Scocia.

30*b*. (iv. 19). Hic templa deorum diluuntur et evacuata. [*Erkenwald*, 15, 16.]

30*b*. Hic constituuntur tres Metropolitani in Anglia. [This explains the references to Triapolitane in *Erkenwald*, 31, 36. Lucius did this according to Geoffrey. London, York, and Caerleon were the three Triapolitanes.][1]

32*b*. (v. 5). Tempore Asclipiodoti persecucio Diocliciani Imperatoris in Christianos in regno Britannie.

33. De passione Sancti Albani et aliorum martirum in Britannia.

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[1] At the bottom of ff. 30*b*-38 is, in a changed hand, the copy of the *Dialogus* of Wine and Water mentioned above ch. 12, sec. 3.

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33*b*. (v. 6). Hic Constantinus ex Helena uxore sua filium generavit quem Constantinum vocavit.

34. (v. 8). Constantinus Rex Britannie monarchiam Rome et tocius mundi optinuit. [*Morte Arthure*, 282-3.]

39. (vi. 2). Hic Romana potestas totam Britanniam de atroci oppressione suorum inimicorum liberavit.

Nota: semper fuit Albania spelunca proditorum. [Note *Morte Arthure*, 32.]

40*b*. (vi. 4). Hic Guetelinus London. metropolitanus in minorem Britanniam hoc est ffranciam transfretavit postulans Aldronei Regis ibidem subsidium. [*Morte Arthure* never mentions Armorica, preferring 'Bretayne the lesse.' See lines 36, 304.]

Nota quod ffrancia minor Britannia vocatur.

42. (vi. 7). Hic proditor ille Vortigernus dolose pro Pictis et aliis Sarracenis misit ut terram Britannie occuparent. [No 'Saracens' in Geoffrey; *Morte Arthure*, 3530, 3533, associates Picts and Saracens.]

43*b*. (vi. 10). In isto capitulo tractatur de Hengisto et Horso: adventus Barbarorum qui diem Mercurium Woden lingua eorum vocabant quem lingua nostra Wodenesdai nominamus. [*Sic.* Heathenism of Hengist's days noted in *Erkenwald*, 7.]

44*b*. (vi. 12). Hic legati secum duxerunt quantoplures paganos unacum Rouwenna filia Hengisti que Regi [Vortegirno] dando poculum dixit Woseil.

Sermo de Woseil. [Belshazzar is made to use this word with the same technical propriety, *Cleanness*, 1508.][1] [*See facsimile.*]

fo. 49. (viii. 14). Hic Merlinus de sidere mirabili vaticinavit apparente Wyntoniam.

Nota bene: stella apparuit.

(viii. 15). De significacione syderis. [This fully explains the dragon passage in *Titus*, 387-403, and is a clue to *Morte Arthure*, 2057, etc.] [*See facsimile.*]

50. (viii. 18). Triquetra-like mark opposite sentence, At ubi Arctos temonem vertere cepit precepit Uther consules suos atque principes ad se vocari ut consilio eorum tractaret. [This exactly parallels the councils of war by night in *Troy* and *Titus*. Ch. 8, sec. 2, and ch. 12, sec. 1, above.] [*See facsimile.*]

53*b*. (viii. 23). Triquetra-like mark opposite last two sentences of viii. 23, Malo tamen semimortuos . . . vivere.

55*b*. (ix. 3). De Arthuro Rege Britonum.

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[1] Fo. 46*b*. has at the bottom in the same hand as added the *Dialogus* on ff. 30*b*-38 the lines:—

Quid de mundo senciam nolo declarare,
Et de illis qui sciunt mundum titillare.
Siquis mundi vicia querit indagare
Infinitum numerum tedet numerare.
Sed proclamat Salomon audiant mundani
Omnia sunt vanitas forma sub inani
Qui terrenis inhiant nonne sunt insani:
Qui sane considerant immo sunt hii vani.

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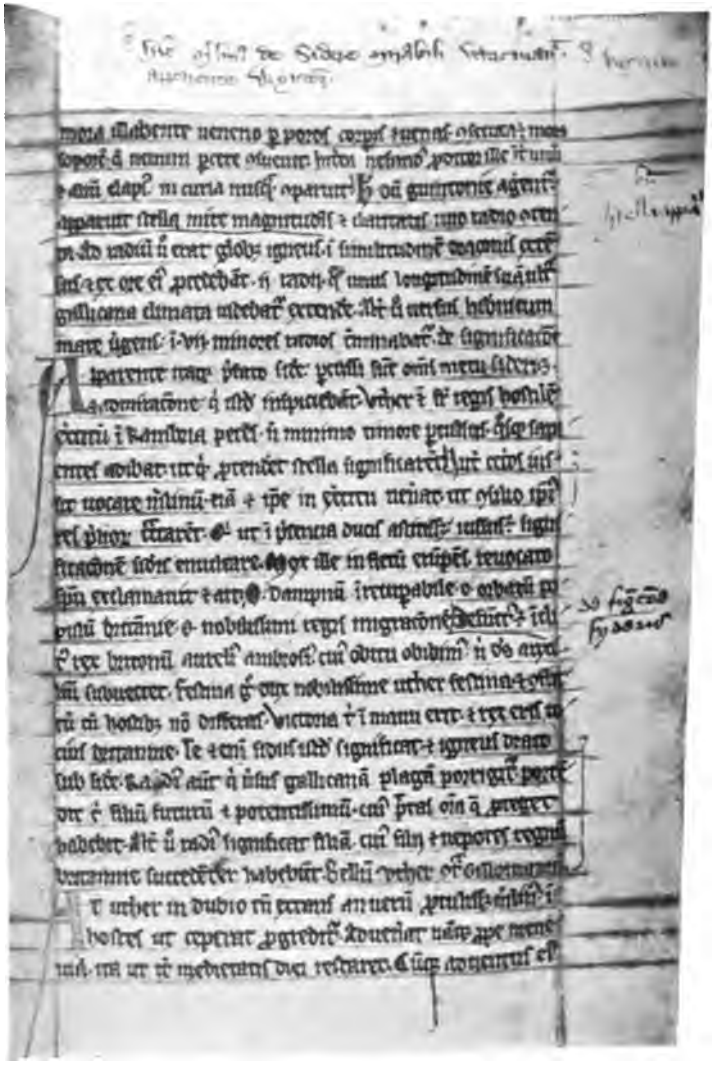

*FIERY DRAGON* NOTE, fo. 49.

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56. (ix. 4). Hic Arthurus cum paganis Saxonibus viriliter dimicavit.
De clipeo Arthuri. [*Gawayne*, 649; *Morte Arthure*, 3649.]
De gladio ejus nomine Caliburno. [*Morte Arthure*, 4230.] [*See facsimile.*]

56*b*. De victoria Arthuri contra paganos.

57. (ix. 6). De stagno mirabili lx insulas continente ad quod pagani fugerunt.

(ix. 7). De stagno Lumonoy.

57*b*. (ix. 8). Hic Rex Arthurus ecclesias per paganos destructas renovavit et totum regnum suum Britannie in pace stabilivit.

58. (ix. 10). Hic Arthurus totam Hiberniam et omnes Reges Insulanos sibi subjugavit qui omnes vectigal ei dederunt. [*Morte Arthure*, 30, 31.]

58*b*. (ix. 11). Hic Arthurus Northwegiam Daciamque sibi subjugavit. [*Morte Arthure*, 44, 46.]

59. (ix. 11). Hic Rex Arthurus cum ffullone Rege ffrancie bellum duellum commisit. [*Morte Arthure*, 3345, uses the nearly orthodox form 'Frolle.']

59*b*. (ix. 12). Hic Rex Arthurus tocius Gallie partes in ix annis subjugavit tenuitque Parisius curiam suam legesque ibi statuit et confirmavit et in Britanniam reversus est.

fo. 60. Hic Arthurus ad suum convivium omnes Reges principes et duces proceres et nobiles invitavit inferius nominatos. [*Morte Arthure*, 75.]

60*b*. (ix. 13). Hic Arthurus in Regem Britannie et Gennora in Reginam coronantur. [*Morte Arthure*, 84, has 'Gaynour.']

61. Hic magnum festum et laudes Deo in coronacione Arthuri et Regine celebrantur.

61*b*. (ix. 15). Hic Rex Arthurus litteras Lucij Imperatoris recepit. [*Morte Arthure*, 86, also calls him 'Emperour': the Latin of Geoffrey has 'Procurator.'] [*See facsimile.*]

62. Hic Arthurus consilium habuit super sibi mandatis per Imperatorem. [*Morte Arthure*, 243.]

62*b*. (ix. 16). Hic Rex Arturus sanxivit tributum de Lucio Cesare sibi dari. [*Morte Arthure*, 275.]

63. (ix. 17). Consilium Arthuri de Romanis quomodo eos subjugaret.

63*b*. (ix. 18). Promissio facta Regi Arthuro per Reges principes duces comites barones sibi subditos de hominibus ad arma contra Imperatorem. Hic congregat exercitum suum. [*Morte Arthure*, 288-394.]

63*b*. (ix. 19). In exercitu regis Arthuri duo reges. [There are more than two kings in Geoffrey, but in *Morte Arthure*, 288, 320, as here, there are only two.]
Summa hominum armatorum c iiij$^{xx}$ iij millia et cc preter pedites in exercitu Arthuri.

64. (x. 1). Hic Lucius Imperator contra Arthurum Regem exercitum suum parat. Summa exercitus Imperatoris iiij$^{xx}$ millia. [*Morte Arthure*, 625.]

64. In exercitu Imperatoris sunt ix reges duo duces cum ceteris ducibus sibi subjugatis.

64*b*. (x. 2). Hic Rex Arthurus sompnum vidit et de quodam gigante in Monte Michaeli rumores audivit. [*Morte Arthure*, 756-843.]

65. (x. 3). Hic gigas Helenam neptim ducis Hoeli suo fedo coitu peremit. Arthurus ut cum eo congrederetur montem petiit. [*Morte Arthure*, 855.]

65*b*. Hic Rex Arthurus cum gigante magnum habuit congressum et ipsum interfecit. [*Morte Arthure*, 892-1160.]

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66. (x. 4). Hic Rex Arthurus misit Imperatori ut a finibus Gallie recederet ubi coram Imperatore Walganus nepos Arturi Gaium nepotem Imperatoris peremit. [The rubricator here calls 'Gaius Quintilian' simply 'Gaius' (the printed Geoffrey calls him 'Caius Quintilianus'); similarly *Morte Arthure*, 1346-1385, knows him only as 'Syr Gayous.']

66. A peculiar mark is put opposite the sentence in Geoffrey (x. 4) about Gaius Quintilianus, saying that 'Britones magis jactantia atque minis habundare quam audacia et probitate valere.' [*Morte Arthure*, 1348, did not fail to use this passage.]

66*b*. Hic Boso de Vado Boum Gerinus Carnotensis et Walganus nepos Arturi cum Romanis ignorante Arthuro certamen habuere. [*Morte Arthure*, 1378-1531.]

67. De magno conflictu Romanorum et Britonum.

67*b*. Hic Petreius Senator captus est et regi presentatus et victoriam Britones optinuerunt. [The rubricator in naming Geoffrey's 'Petreius Cotta' drops the 'Cotta,' calling him 'Petreius Senator.' Similarly *Morte Arthure*, 1419, 1476, 1519, 1543, calls him only 'the Senatour Peter.']

68. (x. 5). Hic Romanos captivos Parisius Britones miserunt et in itinere magnum conflictum habuerunt et de Romanis victoriam. [*Morte Arthure*, 1617-1879.]

68*b*. (x. 6). De Lucio quomodo Lengriam civitatem cum exercitu suo ingredere disposuit hesitans cum Arthuro prelia committere. [*Morte Arthure*, 1957.]

69. (x. 7). De Arthuro quomodo disposuit se cum exercitu suo Imperatorem precedere ut cum eo conflictum habeat suos consolans et victoriam promisit. [*Morte Arthure*, 1973-2005.]

69. Arthurus rex habens sub se Reges terdenorum regnorum.

69*b*. (x. 8). Hic Lucius Imperator revocata audacia suos confortavit et exercitum suum disposuit contra Regem Arthurum. [*Morte Arthure*, 2020.]

70. Hic conflictum magnum inierunt. [*Morte Arthure*, 2058-2255.]

70*b*. (x. 9). De conflictu Romanorum et Britonum.

71. De ingenti conflictu inter Britones et Romanos.

71*b*. (x. 10). De bello Arthuri inter ipsum et Lucium Imperatorem. [*Morte Arthure*, 2240.]

72. (x. 11). De bello Arthuri inter ipsum et Lucium Imperatorem.

72*b*. (x. 12). Hic Arthurus victoriam potitus est et Lucius Imperator inter turmas peremptus est. [*Morte Arthure*, 2244-2255.]

72*b*. Opposite the sentence telling of the death of Lucius the word 'Amen' is marked in early pencilling.

73. (x. 13). De sepultura mortuorum in conflictu. Hic Arthurus precepit corpus Lucii Imperatoris ad Senatum deferre Romanorum dicens quod aliud tributum de Britannia dari non deberet. [*Morte Arthure*, 2290-2351.]

73*b*. (xi. 1). De bello inter Regem Arthurum et Mordredum nepotem suum proditorem. [*Morte Arthure*, 3713.]

74. (xi. 2). De bello Arthuri et Mordredi proditoris nepotis sui. [*Morte Arthure*, 4175.]

75. Hic corruit ille proditor Mordred cum multis aliis et Arthurus victoria adeptus est et letaliter vulneratus est. [*Morte Arthure*, 4251-4241.]

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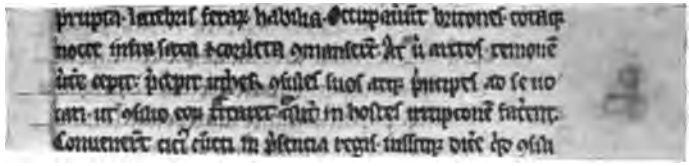
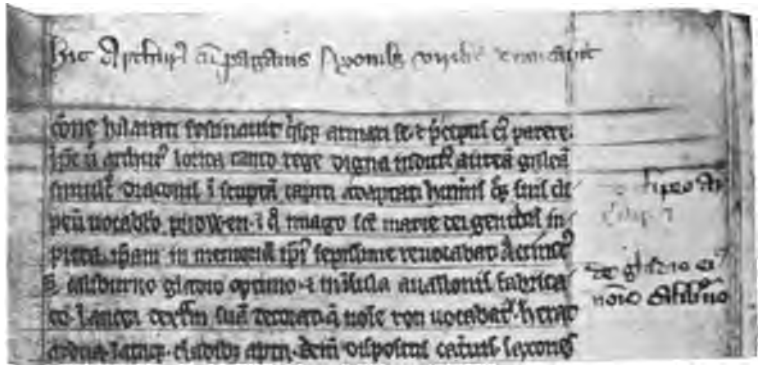
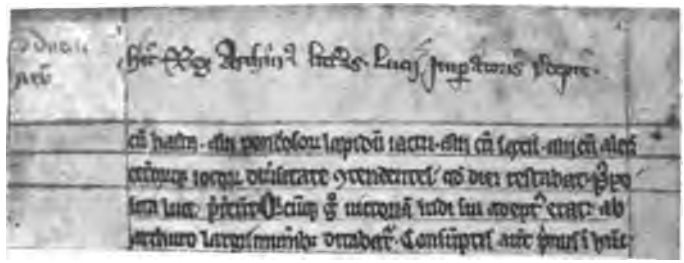
HUNTERIAN MS. U. 7. 25.



COUNCIL OF WAR BY NIGHT, TRIQUETRA MARK, fo. 50.



ARTHUR'S ST. MARY SHIELD AND CALIBURN, fo. 56.



LUCIUS IMPERATOR, fo. 61*b*.

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75. Hic disposuit inclitus Rex Arthurus Regnum Constantino cognato suo filio Candoris ducis Cornubie. [*Morte Arthure*, 4317. The Latin text has Candor, like the rubric. The poet follows the orthodox form Cador.]

75*b*. (xi. 8). De Britannia quomodo per paganos uit totaliter desolata.

76. (xi. 9). De ingenti lamentacione Britonum et divisione regni et quomodo Britones diadema regni amiserunt.

76*b*. (xi. 12). De missione sancti Augustini a beato Gregorio papa in Britannia tota Xianitate iterato carente ad predicandum fidem qui eum audire nolebant.

[*Erkenwald*, 12.]

76*b*. De Augustino.

77. Pagani Britannie et Xiani certamen inierunt ubi multi sancti monachi martirizantur propter fidem.

77*b*. (xii. 1). De pace et concordia inter Caduanum regem et Ethelridum.

78. (xii. 3). De discordia Caduallanum et Edwynum inter quos divisum fuerat Britannie regnum.

78*b*. (xii. 4). De Edwino quomodo Cadvallanum in fugam convertit et de infortunio Cadwallani.

Nota de Pellito qui de volatu avium cursuque stellarum edoctus.

79. Quomodo Brian regis Cadwallani armiger scidisset frustrum proprie carnis et dedit regi ad vescendum. Hic venit rex ad regem Salomonem.

79*b*. (xii. 5). Hic rex Salomon Britannie infortunia lamentavit et regi Cadwallano auxilium promisit.

80. (xii. 6). Hic Brianus transfretavit ut Pellitum de Yspania augurem et magum Edwyni regis perimeret. Hic in portu Hamonis applicuit.

80*b*. (xii. 7). Hic Brianus Pellitum magum regis Edwyni interfecit.

81. (xii. 8). Hic Cadwallo cum exercitu suo applicuit et cum Peando congressus est et Cadwallo subicitur et Edwynum Regem interfecit et sic victoria potitus est.

81. (xii. 9). Hic omne genus Anglorum a finibus Britannie rex Cadwallo expulsit.

81*b*. (xii. 10). Hic sanctus Oswaldus rex Northanhumbrorum a rege Peanda peremptus est.

## 14. 'Erkenwald,' 'Awntyrs of Arthure,' and 'The Pearl.'

### (1) '*Erkenwald*.'

Mention has been made of the tale of the dead judge found, after a thousand years and more, sleeping his last long sleep in the base of the heathen temple which preceded St. Paul's.[1] Now is to be shown the connection of that *Erkenwald* poem with the Hunterian MS., along with its no less

[1] The *Miracula Sancti Erkenwald* MS., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, does not at all account for the detailed and romantically specific story. Miss Mary Bateson most obligingly put herself to the trouble of examining this MS. for me.



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interesting cross-relationship to the *Awntyrs of Arthure* and *The Pearl*. But first let us briefly recall the story of the poem itself. In digging the foundations of the 'mynster' there is unearthed in a stone coffin the body of a man royally crowned, sceptred, and clad, and in marvellous preservation. His face was fresh, and his cheek and lip as rosy as though he merely slept. Great wonderment and speculation arose; they searched all the libraries for a week, but no clue to the buried king could be found. Erkenwald that time was bishop. He had been absent in the rural part of his diocese, and was brought back by the strange news. Guided in his action by heavenly grace, robed in pontificals, with a goodly company of lords and barons and the Mayor of the city, he proceeded with all solemnity to the minster. After celebrating mass he passed to the tomb where the corse lay. There, in the name of Jesus, he addressed the dead, conjuring him to tell who he was and how he came to be buried so. There was a pause, then the body moved, and 'dreary' words came forth, in which the dead man declared that he

> 'Was never kynge ne cayser ne yet no knyght[1] nothyr,'

but had once been a judge in the city under a 'prince of parage.' He continued:

> l. 205 'The lengthe ot my lyving here that is a lewid date
> Hit is to meche to ony mone to make of a noumbre.
> After that Brutus this burghe had buggid one fyrste
> Noght bot fife hundred yere ther aghtene wontyd,
> Before that kynned your Criste by cristene acounte
> 210 A thousand yere and thritty mo and yet threnene aght,
> I was ane heir of anoye in the New Troie,
> In the regne of the riche kynge that rewlit us thene,
> The bolde Bretone ser Belyne, ser Beryng was his brothire,
> Many one was the busmare bodene home bitwene
> 215 For hor wrakeful werre quil hor wrathe lastyd;
> Then was I juge here enjoynyd in gentil lawe.'

*Lewid*, unskilful; *to meche*, too much; *buggid*, built; *threnene*, a form of *thrynne*, three; *oye*, grandson, but here?; *busmare*, insult; *bodene*, offered.

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[1] Compare *Wynnere and Wastoure*, 327: 'Ne es nothir keyser ne kynge ne knyghte that the folowes.'

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But the answer roused the more surprise, and the bishop pressed to know how it was that one who had not been a king should have been buried with crown and sceptre.

l. 221 'Biknowe the cause
Sithene thou was kidde for no kyng quy thou the crown weres?
Quy haldes thou so heghe in honde the septre
And hades no londe of lege men ne life ne lyme aghtes.'

*Biknowe*, declare; *sithene*, since; *kidde*, known; *quy*, why; *ne life ne lyme aghtes*, had not royal power over life and limb of subjects.

It is a question to which we must return—this dilemma of the crown—but the noble answer that came is what concerns us now:

l. 225 '"Dere ser" quath the dede body "devyse the I thenke
Al was hit never my wille that wroght thus hit were.
I was deputate and domesmane under a duke noble
And in my power this place was putte al-to-geder
I justifiet this joly toun one gentil wise,
230 And ever in fourme of gode faithe more thene iourty wynter.
The folke was felouse and fals and frowarde to reule.
I hent harmes ful ofte to holde home to right
Bot for wothe ne wele ne wrathe ne drede
Ne for maystrie ne for mede ne for no monnes aghe,
235 I remewit never fro the right by resone myne awene,
For to dresse a wrange dome no day of my lyve,
Declynet never my consciens for covetise one erthe
In no gynful jugement no japes to make.
Were a renke never so riche for reverens sake,
240 Ne for no monnes manas ne meschefe ne routhe,
None gete me fro the heghe gate[1] to glent out of ryght
Als ferforthe as my faithe confourmyd myn hert.

*Never my will*, this not my doing; *deputate ana domesman*, judge deputy (of the duke); *this place*, the temple; *felouse*, felonious; *hent*, received; *wothe*, read *woch*, a term of old Scots law, see chapter 'De wrang et woch negando' in *Scots Acts Parl.*, i., 742; *aghe*, awe; *remewit*, removed; *dresse dome*, give judgment; *gynful*, deceitful; *japes*, follies; *renke*, man; *routhe*, sympathy; *glent*, to go aside.

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[1] For this curious phrase compare *Morte Arthure*, 450, and *Fleta*, 45 (referred to above, ch. 9 sec. 3). *A recta via non se divertet . . . et tunc interdicatur ei ne viam regiam exeat.*

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Thaghe had bene my fader bone, I bede hym no wranges,
Ne fals favour to my fader thaghe telle hyme be hongyt.
245 And for I was ryghtwis and rekene and redy of the laghe,
Quene I deghed for dul denyed alle Troye.
Alle menyd my dethe the more and the lasse,
And thus to bounty my body thai buriet in golde,
Claddene me for the curtest that courte couthe then holde,
250 In mantel for the mekest and monlokest one benche,
Gurdene me for the governour and graythist of Troie,
Furrid me for the fynest of faithe me withinne,
For the honour of myne honeste of heghest enprise
Thai coronyd me the kidde kyng of kene justises
255 That ever was tronyd in Troye, other trowid ever shulde,
And for I rewardid ever right thai raght me the septre."'

*Bone*, boon (if my father were to be the gainer); *bede*, offered; *rekene*, worthy; *laghe*, law; *deghed*, died; *denyed*, read *dinned; Troye, i.e.* New Troy, London; *menyd*, mourned; *bounty*, shew goodness; *curtest*, most courteous; *monlokest*, manliest; *gurdene*, girded; *tronyd*, enthroned (but perhaps *trowed*, believed, heard of); *raght*, reached.

A further question as to the preservation of his body and the untainted brilliancy of his robes, accompanied by the suggestion that he had been embalmed, elicited from the strange witness the reply:

265 '"Nay bisshop" quoth that body "enbawmed wos I never,
Ne no monnes counselle my clothe has kepyd unwemmyd,
Bot the riche kynge of resone that right ever alowes
And loves al the lawes lely that longene to trouthe,
And more he menskes mene for mynnynge of ryghtes
270 Then for al the meritorie medes that men one molde usene.
And if renkes for right thus me arayed has,
He has lant me to last that loves ryght best."'[1]

*Unwemmyd*, unstained; *kynge of resone*, God; *menskes*, graces; *mynnynge*, minding; *renkes*, men; *lant*, lent, granted it.

Was it only a poet's ideal, this great epitaph of an upright judge? May it not have been for such a conception of the majesty of justice that a certain

[1] Surely it was magnificently said. Bracton the great English lawyer, quoting the *Digest*, wrote (fo. 2*b*, 3): '*Jus dicitur ars boni et aequi cujus merito quis nos sacerdotes appellat; justitiam namque colimus et sacra jura ministramus.*' Our poet is of the kin of Bracton, who, as has been finely expressed, 'feels that he is a priest of the law, a priest forever after the order of Ulpian.' Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* (1st ed.), i., 187.

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Justiciar of Scotland was long after remembered as 'the good Sir Hew'? But to return to the tale, only to glance at its close. The dead judge had been a pagan; he was none of the number bought with the Saviour's blood on the rood; and he was an eternal exile from bliss, whose soul lay in sorrow and darkness. Men wept to hear the words. The tears of Erkenwald dropped on the dead man's face, and the bishop baptised him in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whereupon a further marvel befell. The dead lips opened once more to praise Christ; the baptism had 'slaked all his tene'; he had seen a light flash in heaven; and the unbarred spirit now entered there, where a marshal 'with menske aldergrattest' ushered him in. And then, 'as soon as the soul was seised[1] in bliss,' the fair countenance faded and failed, and the corse shrank into blackened dust. Bishop and people marched forth in procession; there was wonder and mourning and mirth; and all the bells in the burgh 'birred' at once.

Tokens of the most explicit character on the one hand associate this strange, powerful, and beautiful poem with the Hunterian MS. Dealing first with the lines just printed, it will be noted that the MS., fo. 10*b*, has a rubric applicable to line 207. The Belinus and Brennius lines (213-215) scarcely require comment, as they so explicitly render into verse the rubrics in ff. 16 (16*b*) and 17, to which *Wynnere and Wastoure* owes such allegiance. Observable specially is the use of the term of King to Belinus and of king's brother to Brennius equally in the Latin rubric and the alliterative poem.

Unquoted lines no less clearly bear out the connection with the MS., as will be seen by turning to the references in the last chapter:

*l.* 7 For hit hethene had bene in Hengyst dawes
That the Saxones unsaght hadene sende hyder.
[Rubric, fo. 43*b*, 44.]

15 He turnyd temples that tyme that temyd to the develle.
[Rubric, fo. 30*b*.]

25 Now that Londone is nevenyd hatte the New Troie,
The metropol and the mayster-tone hit evermore has bene.
[Rubric, fo. 40*b*.]

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[1] The same legal figure of seisin in heaven occurs in *Pearl*, 417.

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31 The third temple hit was told of Triapolitanes.

36 That was the temple Triapolitane as I tolde ere.
[Rubric, fo. 30*b*, accounts for 'Triapolitane.'][1]

The last example may be taken as a particularly intimate association. The rubricator more than once carefully noted the metropolitan standing of London. The poet dwells on it too. In yet higher degree curious and striking is an arithmetical agreement. The MS. enables us to check the dead judge's computation of his own date—a computation which, not without justification, he reckoned too much for any man to make! Perhaps he was right in respect of irreconcilable MS. chronology, and of some confusion between the reigns of Belinus and his father. The date itself, notwithstanding the judge's caution, is poetically clear—in the light of the Hunterian MS.

Although the printed Geoffrey of Monmouth has no such date, the Hunterian MS. has a date Anno Mundi, 4482, forming part of the text just one chapter before the accession to the throne of the father of Brennius and Belinus. It has another date, 3449. The interval between these is 1033 years. The date given by the dead judge in *Erkenwald* was:

Noght bot fife hundred yere ther aghtene wontyd,
A thousand yere and thritty mo and yet threnene aght.

That is, 482 years, or 500—18, after the building of London; the year 1033 before Christ. Let us check this by the Hunterian MS., which, with its [4]482—3449 = 1033, accounts, by its legendary arithmetic, not only for the 482, but also for the 1033.

In fact, through the marginal notes of the MS. and the text itself, we are enabled to explain some other things which the poem leaves obscure. Dunwallo, so Geoffrey of Monmouth vouches, not only made the Molmutine laws (one of which, *de fugitivis*, concerned sanctuary, a subject on which we know that the author of *Morte Arthure* was learned), but did sound and strenuous justice. When he died, after forty years' rule—the 'forty winters' of the poem—he was buried in London near the temple of concord,

[1] A parallel may be observed: *Alex.* 1458. And bodword to the bischop broght of his come. *Erkenwald*, 105. The bodeworde to the bischop was broght one a quile.

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which, as the dead judge also indicates, had been consecrated by Dunwallo to his laws.[1] The dead judge is therefore a poetic equation of Dunwallo himself. And the judge's crown and burial in gold? Dunwallo, as Geoffrey tells us, made for himself a golden diadem,[2] and when his son and successor Belinus died his ashes were laid in a case or coffin of gold.[3]

### (2) '*Awntyrs of Arthure*' and '*Pearl*.'

M. Amours in editing the *Awntyrs* supplied many admirable elucidations in the introduction and notes. As regards the sources, however, one he missed—the most important. The first part of the poem is beyond doubt an adaptation of the *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii*, a legend, of which an English poetical translation of the fourteenth century has been edited by Dr. Furnivall[4] in 1866, and with a double text by Herr Kaufmann[5] in 1889. The substance of the legend is to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum*,[6] but in form differing materially from the story in the English poem. The English author begins by saying, 'A nobulle story wryte y fynde'—words from which its character as translation is a perhaps uncertain inference. However that may be, the author of the *Awntyrs* knew the *Trentalle* story in the same shape as it has in the English poem. It is not difficult to show the indebtedness.

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[1] MS. U. 7, 25, fo. 15*b*:

*Rubricator's Note.* Hic rex est mortuus cui Bellinus et Brennius succederunt et regnum inter se diviserunt

*Text.* In diebus itaque ejus latronum mucrones cessabant; raptorum sevitie obturabantur; nec erat usquam qui violentiam alicui ingereret. Denique ut inter alia quadraginta annos post sumptum diadema explevisset defunctus est et in urbe Trinovanto prope templum concordie sepultus, quod ipse ad confirmationem legum construxerat.

[2] [Dunwallo] fecit sibi diadema ex auro. Galf., ii. 17.

[3] [*Rubricator's Note.*] Hic Bellinus ex hac vita migravit.

[*Text.*] Postremo cum suprema dies ipsum ex hac vita rapuisset combustum est ejus corpus et pulvis in aureo cado reconditus quem in urbe Trinovanto . . . locaverunt. Galf., iii. 10, MS. U, 7, 25, fo. 19.

[4] *Political Religious and Love Poems*, E.E.T.S., 1866, p. 83.

[5] *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii* herausgegeben von Albert Kaufmann (Erlangen, 1889).

[6] *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., pp. 250, 384, 489, 503.

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| *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii.* | *Awntyrs.* |
| --- | --- |
| A grisly fiend-like creature all aflame appears to Gregory at mass. (ll. 46. 55.) | A howling and 'grisly ghost' all a-glow, with a toad at her neck, appears to Gaynore (Guinevere). (ll. 117-25.) |
| Gregory 'halsed' it through God's might to tell why it disturbed him so. (ll. 63, 68.) | Gawayne conjures it by Christ to say whence it came and why it walks thus. (l. 133.) |
| It answers, 'I am thy modur that the bere' (l. 72). | It asks for Gaynore, and tells her 'I bare thee of my body' (l. 204). |
| 'I lived in lust wickedly.' (l. 89.) | By that to-takenyng thou trow<br>I broke a solemn avow[1]<br>That none wist but I and thou<br>And therefore dule I dree (ll. 205-8). |
| Gregory replies: 'Tell me now, mother, if anything may help,—bedes or masses?' (ll. 95-97.) | Gaynore says, 'Tell me now soothly what may save, and I shall seek the saints for thy sake.' (ll. 209-10.) |
| The ghost answers that it might be well with her:<br>Who so truly would take a 'trentalle<br>Of ten chief feasts of the year<br>To sing for me in this manner. (ll. 104-6.) | The ghost answers:<br>Were thirty 'trentalles' done<br>Betwixt undern and noon<br>My soul were salved full soon<br>And brought into bliss. (ll. 218-21.) |
| Gregory is glad, and promises that the masses shall be sung. He bids his mother reappear 'this time twelvemonth' to report her condition. (ll. 131-8.) | Gaynore promises:<br>Now hear heartily on hand I hest thee to hold<br>With a million of masses (ll. 235-6).<br>[The ghost makes some prophecies not in the *Trentalle*.] |
| Gregory never forgot his masses on the days assigned (ll. 144-5). | Gaynore causes the masses to be read and sung (ll. 703-6). |
| Then an angel carries her off to heaven (l. 186). | The ghost glides away (l. 325). |

Here the parallelism of the *Awntyrs* with the *Trentalle* stops, and the sole remark to be made is to point out how the alliterative poet by the

[1] This merest hint—of the incest which makes the legend of Gregory repulsive—illustrates two things. First, it shows the refining touch of Huchown's hand in respect of his leaving the rest unsaid. Secondly, it proves that Huchown knew more of the legend than appears in the English version of the *Trentalle*. The *Gesta Romanorum* form of the story accounts, by its reference to the tokens, for the allusion to privy knowledge which in the present poem appears meaningless. Besides, the toad, not in the English version, duly occurs in the Latin form of the story. See Herrtage's *Gesta*, p. 503, and Kaufmann's *Trentalle*, p. 26.

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change of a single name deepened the power of the story he found in the legend of Gregory. For Gregory he substituted Guinevere, made her the subject to whom so terrible a lesson of the pains of adultery was delivered, and so with remarkable aptness, although indirectly and with delicacy, added to the moral. For surely to associate such a dread warning as this with the frail queen, who lives in romance history with her radiance so stained, was a touch of art. And we are not yet done with the *Trentalle*. Perhaps the reader has already noticed that whilst Gregory conjured his mother's ghost by God's might to explain itself, and Gawayne conjured the ghost of the mother of Gaynore by Christ to tell why it walked the earth, the good bishop in the *Erkenwald* had likewise bidden the dead judge, in the name of Jesus, say:

> In worlde quhat wegh thou was and quy thou thus ligges (l. 185).

So in the *Trentalle* in obedience to the invocation

> The gost answered with drury chere (l. 71),

while in *Erkenwald* the dead body stirs

> And with a drery dreme dryves owte wordes
> Thurghe sum lant goste (ll. 191-2).

Critics who are able lightly to call such things coincidences, and pass on, will please consider if the following also came by chance. The *Trentalle* story was not at an end where the *Awntyrs* left it; nor was the alliterative poet's borrowing account closed when all the masses for the soul of Guinevere's mother had been sung. He had a use for what of the *Trentalle* yet remained.

*Trentalle.*

Twelve months after the appearance of the ghost, as Gregory stood at mass,

> He sawe a fulle swete syghte
> A comely lady dressed and dyghte
> That alle the worlde was not so bryght
> Comely crowned as a qwene (ll. 152-5).

Nygh for joy he swooned (l. 158).

*Pearl.*

In *The Pearl* the father, visiting the grave of his two-year-old daughter, falls asleep there, and in a dream of heaven sees her 'in hir araye royale' wearing a crown high pinnacled with pearl (ll. 191-207), 'a coroun of grete tresore' (l. 237).

Her hare is as glysnande golde (l. 165).

No man could have been gladder. His 'joy,' he says, was much the more (l. 234).

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| *Trentalle.* | *Pearl.* |
| --- | --- |
| | Though he recognises her he cannot understand why his daughter should be a queen (l. 474), a difficulty to which he returns (l. 486), saying that he could have understood her being made a countess's maid (countes damysel) or a lady of less array (ll. 489-91), |
| | Bot a quene hit is to dere a date! (l. 492) |
| He mistakes her for the Virgin Mary, addressing her as | He had asked her: |
| Lady, qwene of heven | Arte thou the quene of hevenz blwe? (l. 423) |
| Modyr of Ihesu, mayde Marye (ll. 162-3), but she explains 'I am thy mother,' and tells him that she owes her bliss to the virtue of his prayers. | —whom all honour, Marye that grace of grewe That ber a barne of vyrgyn flour? (ll. 425-6.) |
| | The child, after addressing the Virgin as 'Makelez moder and myryest may' (ll. 434-5), explains how the Lamb of God when he took her to himself had crowned her queen (l. 415). She then unfolds the mystery of |
| [The dilemma of the crown and other courtly peculiarities of *Pearl* are dealt with in *Scottish Antiquary*, Oct., 1901.] | The court oı the kyndom of God alyve (l. 445), |
| | wherein each one that arrives becomes either a queen or a king, and the Virgin is the Empress (haldez the empyre) over all, |
| | For ho is quene of cortaysye (l. 447-456). |

That criticism will be purblind indeed which cannot now see several things—the colligation of the proofs of unity; the ties of the legend of the Trentalle with the alliterative *Awntyrs* and *Pearl* and *Erkenwald*; clearest possible relations of plot in these three poems side by side with slender, yet not the less distinct, verbal identities of text in each with the *Trentalle*; and at the same time the poet's quaint deference, even when he has visions of paradise, to the rules of precedence of the Awle Ryale. 'Why do you wear a crown?' was Erkenwald's question to the dead judge. 'Why do you wear a crown?' was the father's question to his

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lost pearl. And the question[1]—which is of the very essence of each poem—comes from the same source as suggested the ghostly interview of Guinevere.

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[1] A few further words may well be devoted to *The Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*, a trio of pieces found in the same MS. with *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. Dr. Richard Morris, editing the trio, advocated the claims of the poet-translator of the *Troy* to their authorship (*Early English Alliterative Poems*, E.E.T.S., pref., ix.), although denying that that poet-translator could have been Huchown. Reference may be made to the excellent reasons assigned in his preface for this association between the *Troy* and the three pieces in question. It is unnecessary to comment at this stage on the other part of his opinion. I endorse and accept Dr. Morris's proofs of unity of authorship, relying on my own manifold fresh arguments as to Huchown's personality. Mr. Gollancz, in his beautiful edition of the *Pearl*, also holds it and *Cleanness* and *Patience* to be from the same hand. His preface, concluding with a guess at the authorship and the inevitable denial of Huchown, interestingly covers a good deal of the general field of alliterative discussion. I append a few stray notes of correspondence between the three poems and the other works now under comparison. In *Cleanness* (ll. 1015-43) the description of the Dead Sea is taken bodily from the *Itinerarium* of Maundeville (ch. ix. of Wright, fo. 266+21 of MS. T. 4, 1), with possibly a line or two due to Hegesippus. In *Cleanness* also Belshazzar's sacrilegious table jewellery is described in terms borrowed from chapter xx. of the *Itinerarium*. Similarly, the allusion to Ararat and its Hebrew name (*Cleanness*, 447-8), comes from Maundeville, ch. xiii., although the spellings in MS. T. 4, 1, fo. 266+32*b*, are 'Ararath' and 'Tain.' On the many points of similarity in phrase in these poems with the other pieces I am content to mention two or three. 'The pure popland hourle' of *Patience*, 319, is matched by 'the pure populand hurle' of *Alexander*, 1154. 'Noah that oft nevened the name' of *Cleanness*, 410, compares with 'Naw hafe I nevened yow the names' of *Parlement*, 580. 'The chef of his chevalrye he chekkes to make' (*Cleanness*, 1238) resembles 'And chefyd hym nott of chevalry chekez oute of nombre' (*Alexander*, 3098). Extremely interesting is a line probably taken from reminiscence of the *Troy*:

> 'Belfagor and Belyal and Belssabub als' (*Cleanness*, 1526).
> 'Sum Beall sum Belus sum Bell the god
> Sum Belphegor and Belsabub as hom best likes' (*Troy*, 4356-7).

A good parallel from *Titus* is:

> *Cleanness*, 1413. 'And ay the nakeryn noyse notes of pipes.'
> *Titus*, 848-9. 'With dynning of pipis
> And the nakerer noyse.'
> *Titus*, 1174-5. '. . . and pypys with nakerers and grete noyce. . . .'

For nakers (Fr. *nacaire*) see *Murimuth*, p. 156, *sonantibus tubis et nachariis*. '"Wassayl," he cryes' (*Cleanness*, 1508), said of Belshazzar, again effects a cross-

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The critic's task will be simplified by a parallel tabulation of lines in these poems shewing consecutive use of *Trentalle* in all three.

| *Subject.* | TRENTALLE. | *Awntyrs.* | *Pearl.* | *Erkenwala.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Darkness, | l. 50 | l. 75-6 | — | — |
| 'Grisly ghost,' | 55-61 | 105-15 | — | — |
| Conjuration, | 63 | 133 | — | 179 |
| Christ, | 66 | 133 | — | 180 |
| 'Why'? | 69 | 136 | — | 185-8 |
| 'Dreary' speech, | 71 | — | — | 191-2 |
| Mother, | 72 | 203 | — | — |
| Confession, | 83-92 | 205-8 | — | — |
| Prayers, | 95-97 | 209-10 | — | — |
| 'Trentals,' | 104 | 218 | — | — |
| Promise, | 131-8 | 235 | — | — |
| Fulfilment, | 144 | 708 | — | — |
| Supposed Queen, | 152-5 | — | 191-229 | [king] 98, 222 |
| Joy, | 158 | — | 234 | — |
| 'Queen of heaven,' | 162 | — | 423 | — |
| Mary 'Mother,' | 163 | — | 425-35 | — |
| Crowning, | 155 | — | 480 | 254 |
| In hell, | 172 | — | — | 292 |
| Released, | 186 | — | — | 335 |

How could an imitator or any imaginable 'school' of poets, as distinguished from an individual, have hit on such a unity of system? It includes absolute indebtedness of ground plan in each poem, along with minor verbal transfers in each, a singular exhaustion of the entire content of *Trentalle's* plot (*Pearl* resuming the thread precisely where the *Awntyrs* dropped it), and finally an observance of the same consecutive order as in the original through all three alliterative adaptations of the *Trentalle*, two of which swell the multiplied coincidences by ending[1] with the opening line.

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connection with the rubrication *sermo de woseil* above noted (ch. 13) on fo. 44b. of the MS. of Geoffrey. Compare also

'Lyfte laddres ful longe and upon lofte wonen' (*Cleanness*, 1777).
'Layn ladders alenght and oloft wonnen' (*Troy*, 4751).

Siege descriptions, shipping, storms, weather, hall and court in all the poems all lend points in the same direction.

[1] *Awyntrs*, ll. 1, 1212. *Pearl*, ll. 1, 715.

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## 15. On System of Verse, Dialect, Characteristics, Date, and Nationality.

### (1) *System of Verse.*

The words of Wyntoun have a particular value in respect that they point to three poems differing in theme, character, and metrical construction. *Morte Arthure*, styled by Wyntoun the *Great Gest of Arthure*, is a historical romance, or rather a romantic history, and is like the *Alexander*, the *Troy*, the *Titus*, the *Parlement*, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, *Erkenwald*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*, a work in unrimed alliteration. One thus appreciates the more the technical propriety of Wyntoun's reference to 'cadens' as a vital element of Huchown's performances, for 'cadence' seems to have been the term applied to alliteration as distinguished from rime. Indeed, the life-story of this old system of verse, once sole possessor of the field of English speech, with its sudden interruption and disuse followed by the fourteenth century revival of it, may all be inferred from the Romance-word 'cadence' found linked with it first in an alliterative prose tractate in imitation of Richard Rolle of Hampole, who, in at least one learned opinion, was a force in its English revival.[1] The word 'Cadence' is there contrasted with 'Ryme,' a contradistinction followed by Chaucer as well as by Gower.[2] When, therefore, Wyntoun excuses Huchown's 'Emperour' because 'Procuratour' would have 'grieved the cadence,' the allusion is specific. 'Cadence' was the only mode used in most of the poems, including *Morte Arthure*. But Wyntoun also alludes to Huchown's 'metre,' a word connoting rime as well as measure, and accordingly certain of the poems exemplify the combination of alliteration

[1] The passage referred to is in 'A talkyng of the love of God' (Horstman's *Rolle of Hampole*, ii., 345): 'Men schal fynden lihtliche this tretys in Cadence after the bigynninge gif it bee riht poynted and Rymed in sum stude.' The piece is accordingly partly alliterative and partly in rime. Rolle of Hampole's *Melum Contemplativorum* is written in alliterative Latin verse and prose. Horstman's *Hamtole*, ii., introd. xviii.-xxii., has many specimen passages. Prof. Horstman has there stated his view as to the influence of Hampole in the words: 'As a writer he took up the old traditions of the north: he revived the alliterative verse.'

[2] See note ch. 1 above.

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and rime. *Gawayne and the Green Knight* is chiefly in unrimed alliteration, but has four half or tag-lines riming *abab* at the end of each of the hundred and one stanzas. *The Awntyrs of Arthure* is likewise alliterative, but rimed throughout in a stanza of nine full lines and four half lines, all riming thus, *abababababcdddc*. In the *Pistill of Susan* the same rime and almost the very same structure obtain, the only difference being that the ninth line is a 'bob' of only two syllables. The *Pearl* stands by itself as less systematically alliterative, and as using octosyllabic iambics in stanzas of twelve lines, riming *abababababcbc*. M. Amours has said[1] that *Morte Arthure* is above all the other poems distinguished by the numerous series of consecutive lines having the same alliterative letter. This is an effective contrast, but that both the consecutive and not-consecutive systems were alike available to the poet is seen from the exordium of the *Alexander* with its 22 lines alliterating on five letters, compared with the rest of the poem in which the consecutive mode is discarded.

Two other poems fall to be mentioned here. One is *St. John the Evangelist*,[2] closely resembling the structure of the *Awntyrs of Arthure* and riming *abababababccdccd*. This poem of 264 lines, which some critics think belongs to Huchown,[3] is certainly from one of Huchown's sources, the *Legenda Aurea*, being a translation of the legend of St. John in that monumental mingling of piety and romance. The second poem is one of haunting sweetness and beauty, the authorship of which will not long remain in doubt after the argument of this essay has received its due. It is the tender and musical *Lay of the Truelove*, styled by Mr. Gollancz the 'Quatrefoil of Love.' It is, as Mr. Gollancz records, written in a northern dialect and in the precise metre and rime, *abababababcdddc*, of the *Pistill of Susan*. Moreover, M. Amours acutely noted, in editing the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, that it was a favourite device of the poet who wrote *Gawayne* and *Pearl* and *Patience* to end the poem with its opening line,

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[1] *Sc. Allit. Poems*, lxvii.

[2] Horstman's *Altenglischen Legenden*, neue folge (Heilbronn, 1881), p. 467.

[3] My friend, Mr. J. T. T. Brown, maintains this view, with which my own coincides. There are many parallels of diction and matter to support it.

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'a peculiarity,' he said, 'which has not been noticed elsewhere.' Accordingly, M. Amours reckoned it noteworthy that in the *Awntyrs* also this peculiarity[1] should be found. To the list falls to be added the *Lay of the Truelove.* A fact so significant of art as this, along with the close consonance of verse structure and rime system, is enough to discredit as the sheerest empiricism the verdict of Mr. Henry Bradley,[2] that the *Pistill* and the *Awntyrs* were originally written in alliterative long lines unrimed, and as we now have them are 'paraphrases or watered-down versions by a northern man who retained the original diction so far as the alteration of metre would permit.' The proposition is grotesque—a reckless philological forlorn hope.

### (2) *Dialect.*

All requisite allowance being made for a considerable percentage of scribal change, the dialect (some would say dialects) of the Huchown poems must constitute a problem on which it is hard to educe any certainty except the one, that the dialect shows a blending of peculiarities. Professor Skeat concluded[3] that the *Alexander* 'was probably written in a pure Northumbrian dialect.' Mr. Donaldson, editing the *Troy*, concluded[4] that that work 'was originally in the Northumbrian dialect,' stating at the same time that *Morte Arthure* 'was certainly of Northern origin.' Dr. Morris did not agree; he held *Morte Arthure* to be in a Northumbrian dialect south of the Tweed, and assigned the *Troy* along with *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience* to the West Midland dialect.[5] M. Amours found[6] that the rimes of the *Awntyrs of Arthure* and of the *Pistill of Susan* 'betoken a Northern origin.' *The Parlement* and *Wynnere and Wastoure* Mr. Gollancz assigns to the west of England. Mr. Henry Bradley is quite positive[7] that *Morte Arthure*, the *Pistill*, and the *Awntyrs* were all originally written in West Midland dialect, but were subsequently northernised by editorial scribes. A very fair statement of the case was perhaps that made long ago by Mr. Donaldson who,

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[1] *Scott. Allit. Poems* (Sc. Text), p. 364.
[2] *Athenæum*, 12th Jan., 1901.
[3] *Alex.*, pref., xxiii.
[4] *Troy*, pref., lxi.,
[5] *Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, pre.., ix.; *Morte Arthure*, ed. Perry, 1865, pref., ix.
[6] *Sc. Allit. Poems*, pref., lxx.
[7] *Athenæum*, 12th Jan., 1901.

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speaking of the *Troy*,[1] declared that the elements of the work were Northern and West Midland, but that their combination was so irregular as to permit the idea that they presented a mixture of dialects. This is not far from the belief of the present essayist. The dialect of these alliterative poems shows, like that of the *Kingis Quair*, a difficult admixture of Northern and Southern forms, and conduces to the inference that the poet's education and his later career must have been such as to reconcile the apparent anomaly. Anglo-French influences, then predominant in court circles, must have tended to make the speech of the aristocracy lean decisively, even as it does to-day, towards the southern model.

### (3) *Dates for the Poems.*

Absolute and relative points of fixity for dates are not many. Maundeville's latin book, written in 1356, is the first. The *Alexander*, quoting Maundeville, could not have been written before 1356. The *Troy* most probably followed the *Alexander*, and was quoted by Barbour in 1376. These two extreme dates comprised between them for Huchown a couple of crowded decades of earnest study and glorious achievement.

*Wynnere and Wastoure*, poetically grouping facts which English annalists record under 1358, certainly belongs to that time. It admits of suggestion that as a Garter poem complimentary to Edward III., and containing a translation of the well-known motto of the Order, it may have been composed for the high festival of the Round Table held in the early summer of 1359, and evidently attended by Sir Hew of Eglintoun.

*Gawayne*, with its beautiful story of temptation resisted, has for its pictorial conclusion the Garter motto in French. The suggestion of Mr. Gollancz that the story has to do with the amorous relations of Edward III. and the Countess of Salisbury may or may not be plausible,[2] but certainly he has good ground for maintaining a connection with the story of the origin of the Garter. Indeed the relationship with the chivalric Orders is more intimate than has yet been pointed out. Gawayne, setting oft to keep tryst and fulfil his adventure with

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[1] *Troy*, pref., lx.

[2] *Pearl*, intro. xli.

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the Green Knight, wears a 'cote' (l. 2027) which is 'furred' (2029). He 'doubles' about his thigh the love-lace 'drurye,' or 'gordel of the grene silke' (2033-5) with 'pendauntez' (2038) which his fair temptress gave. At the end of his adventure when he parts with the Green Knight he wears this crosswise on his left arm—

> A-belef[1] as a bauderyk bounden bi his syde
> Loken under his lyfte arme the lace with a knot (ll. 2486-7).

These are the very technicalities of fact. When Henry IV., just before his coronation in 1399, made knights, they wore green 'cottes'—so Froissart[2] tells—which were 'fourrees,' and each knight 'sur la senestre espaule' wore 'un double cordeau de soye blanche a blanches houpells pendans.' And from other sources we know that this kind of 'lacs,' or 'druerie' as it was styled in France, was in England one of the fixed *stigmata* of knighthood and bore the name of 'las.'[3] Only the tinctures here differ from Froissart's. The 'gordel' (O. Fr. cordel) is the bend of green,

> A bende, a-belef hym aboute, of a bryght grene,

which became the badge of the Round Table in *Gawayne* (l. 2517). It is of special note as the point of focus for the plot of that poem. We must remember it likewise as present in *Wynnere and Wastoure*. Over against the papal standard with its bibles and *bullae*

> Another banere is upbrayde with a bende of grene
> With thre hedis whiteherede with howes on lofte (ll. 149-50).

The hint perfectly consorts with history: Edward III., represented by the Round Table badge, is on the side of the three excommunicated judges whom, in 1358, he protected from the pope and his bulls against the judges and others. The banner symbolises the union of royal and judicial authority which the pope defied. The one poem is thus the decisive explanation of the other, and probably they are not far apart in time. *Gawayne* has been assigned to 1360, a date with which there

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[1] *A-belef*, slantwise, across.

[2] Cf. *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux*. (Hist. So.), p. 225; *Titles of Honor*, ed. 1631, p. 820. Cf. as to garter *Galf. le Baker*, 203.

[3] See Laborde's *Glossaire Français du Moyen Age*, words 'druerie' and 'lacs' (laz, laqs): Upton, *De Re Militari*, cap 3, quoted by Ducange *voce* 'stigma.'



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is no great need to quarrel, although I incline to place it earlier, perhaps before the production of *Wynnere and Wastoure*. This would put it on the calendar of 1358 or 1359. In early 1358 there were great Round Table functions, and either then or very shortly afterwards Sir Hew was in London. But a noteworthy feature of the poem is its recurrent allusion to New Year's Day,[1] a vital part of the story, which gives rise to the belief that it may have been written for a New Year festival.

These poems seem to be the earliest of the series on the chronology of which the facts yield clues. Of *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*, Mr. Gollancz's estimate[2] of 1360 is probably not far wrong, although these pieces, like the *Alexander*, shew use of Maundeville, only written in 1356. *Erkenwald* and the *Awntyrs of Arthure* are inseparable from *Pearl* when sources are considered, and there is no external evidence of the order of production. A glance at their relations with the *Trentalle* inclines one to suppose that the *Awntyrs* may have preceded *Pearl*. Let us, in the absence of other data, suppose that the *Alexander*, certainly *post* 1356, was written *circa* 1361; and the *Troy* a year later.

The *Titus and Vespasian*, like the *Alexander*, utilised *Maundeville*, and by its mention of the Foul Death suggested 1363 as a possible date. Its vows are hints of the influence of the *Voeux du Paon*. *Morte Arthure*, utilising *Maundeville* also, and developing the *Voeux du Paon*, has yielded very many and intimate historical evidences converging towards a date at the close of 1364 or beginning of 1365. Again we have here a Round Table poem honouring loftily Edward III., and again we have Sir Hew in London in May, 1365, a time that suits.

The date *circa* 1350, which has been editorially suggested for the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, is out of the question. Obviously it is yet later than *Morte Arthure*, in that while reminiscent of Maundeville and the *Voeux du Paon* it quotes *Gawayne*, *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*, and is itself a dream, springing from a dream-episode in the *Troy*.

Between 1365 and 1376 there was ample time, but perhaps the extra

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[1] *Gawayne*, ll. 60, 105, 284, 454, 1054, 1669.

[2] *Pearl* intro., xlii.

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number of the reminiscent lines of community with *Morte Arthure* hints rather 1365-70 than 1370-76.

### (4) *Characteristics and Nationality.*

Our poet's general characteristics have been incidentally touched at frequent points already—his courtly and ceremonial leanings and observance of etiquette, his love of ship-scenes and the chase, his lapidary interest in jewels, his purity and loftiness of soul, his piety and religiosity of spirit. His themes, it may be observed, while ranging widely over history and romance, never make love a centre.

When we turn to the question of indications of nationality in the treatment of his material, the difficulty at once arises that a poet has no call to declare his nationality, and that in consequence, where dialect is doubtful, we have many puzzles of early literature to solve. Language is often the only test, and philology has assuredly not yet perfected its critical apparatus.[1] In the present case inferences from dialect are sharply complicated by the contradiction of history. On Huchown's language definite stress cannot be laid to prove his origin, and his themes not being directly historico-patriotic in the sense of, say, Barbour's *Bruce*[2] or Minot's poems, the data are particularly few and slender.

Externally, the record of Huchown is wholly Scottish; this is by far the master-key of his mystery. The *Troy* appears to be quoted by John Barbour in 1376. The *Morte Arthure* is discussed by Wyntoun in 1420, while other pieces of Huchown's are mentioned in the same passage. No early author in England, on the other hand, has ever named Huchown or recognised his poetical industry, notwithstanding that English scribes have copied the poems and Malory incorporated in his prose much of Huchown's Arthurian matter.

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[1] It is just possible, however unlikely, that in the words 'and Scharshull it wiste' (and Scharshill knew it—said relative to a disturbance of the peace) in *Wynnere and Wastoure*, 317, there may be a clue to the youthful career of Sir Hew of Eglintoun. Scharshill was in Scotland attending to matters in Edward Balliol's parliament in 1332 (Bain's *Calendar*, iii., 1065). At that time many Scottish families were retiring into England because of the civil war in Scotland (Bain's *Cal.*, iii., 1065-84).

[2] Note, however, that even in Barbour's *Legends of the Saints* the express indications of nationality otherwise than from language are very few.

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Huchown's great romance-history, *Morte Arthure*, might well have been written by an Englishman, whether regard is had to its language or its tone; but here and there are touches, subtle and penetrating, that suggest an author with a keen interest in Scotland and sympathy for peace and alliance between north and south. Chief is that already pressed—the veiled reference to the heir-apparent. But the general political scheme, if it may be so called, of *Morte Arthure* puts the Scottish leanings of its author in the clearest light. In Geoffrey of Monmouth, King Anguselus, as an ally of Arthur, is postponed to Hoel of Armorica; there is no separate king of Wales, and there are some six kings of island realms. Hoel furnishes 10,000 men-at-arms; Anguselus only 2,000. Arthur himself made up the total of armoured horse to 60,000. The six island kings furnished six times 20,000 foot. Turning now to the rubrication (by Huchown) of this place in the *Brut*, we find noted *In exercitu regis Arthuri duo reges*—an inaccurate memorandum, for there were eight kings, not two. But *Morte Arthure*, like the rubric, has only two. The King of Armorica, or, as Huchown preferred to style it, Little Britain or Britain the Less, sinks in *Morte Arthure* to 'baron of Britain the little,'[1] though he brings 30,000 knights to Arthur's banner. And precedence before him is taken by the King of Scotland with 50,000 men, while the gallant King of the Welsh brings 2,000. Could a Scottish poet contributing, let us say, a Round Table poem for the festival of the Order of the Garter, at which his own king was an honoured guest, well have done better?

In the direction hinted tends also the curious allusion in *Morte Arthure* to the heir-apparent,

> 'Thou art apparent to be heir, or one of thy childer,'

a line which betrays a knowledge of the intrigue between the Kings of England and Scotland in 1363-64, constituting part of a reconciliation in the earlier stages of which, at any rate, Sir Hew of Eglintoun had definitely a helping hand. Besides, there are localities mentioned in *Morte Arthure*, and still more in the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, which reveal some intimacy with Scotland. On the later poem, M. Amours,[2] examining the topographical allusions, finds

[1] *Barones de Britannia* was a term of state in this period. See instance in truce of 1343, *Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 142.

[2] *Scot. Allit. Poems*, introd., lxxiij.

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it an 'obvious inference that the poet knew his ground in Scotland and on the Border, and drew on his imagination for localities further south.'

In the *Alexander* poem, the exclusion of Scotland from the conquests of the Macedonian may be an accident, but may be a straw which indicates the current.

If it be asked who Huchown's chief hero was, the answer is ready—it was Gawayne 'off the west marches,' as he calls him once, although we know that more than once he really denotes the Black Prince.[1] Gawayne, it is scarcely necessary to urge, was well known in romance history as the lord of Galloway. So early and sober an author as William of Malmesbury[2] tells of the discovery of the sepulchre of 'Walwen,' who had reigned in 'Walweitha.' Huchown's provinces of Cunningham and Kyle, in which his own lands and the Steward's territory lay, were of old within the limits of the Province of Galloway. However his interest in Gawayne arose, Huchown went beyond his predecessors in the many-sidedness of his praise for valour and purity, for grace and courtesy.

Then, what of Belinus and Brennius as indications of nationality? Are we to take it as of no note that this pair of brothers, kings of North Britain and South, are not only mentioned in *Morte Arthure* and *Erkenwald*, but supply the plot of *Wynnere and Wastoure*? Rather must we not remember their reconciliation as a type to the poet of the peace he sought between two lands?

And Thomas of Erceldoun? Must we respect it as a natural presumption that anybody but a Scot would in that age have been found quoting these weird prophecies—prophecies which again had to do with the very theme of Belinus and Brennius, the feud of South and North?

Last of all, let us look at a singular parallel. Sir Hew of Eglintoun had, immediately upon the accession of Robert II. to the Scottish throne, become a privy councillor of his royal brother-in-law. Shortly afterwards he appears as an auditor in exchequer, an important financial post. A colleague is the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, known of all men in our day as John Barbour, the poet of *The Bruce*. If these men sat together in the Scottish *Aula Regis*, and if the poetic Huchown was the auditorial Sir

[1] *Morte Arthure*, 2954.

[2] *Gesta Regum* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), 466.

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Hew, the question may well ensue—What are the proofs, if any, of literary contact? The first item of the answer is constituted by the alliterative quotations made by Barbour from the *Troy*, and the traces, somewhat indefinite, it is true, of borrowings from *Morte Arthure*.[1] The second item is, that historically Huchown's name stands for ever linked with the 'Awle Ryale' of Barbour's period by virtue of the epithet Wyntoun appended. The third is the singular coincidence of sources—especially of *The Bruce*—employed by Barbour with those of Huchown. Huchown was, presumably, the older man; he certainly was of much higher social dignity than Barbour; he was a man of large means. It is much more natural to suppose that Huchown influenced Barbour than the converse. However it was, here are facts oddly connecting the modes of work and the *Quellen*.

| *Huchown* | *Barbour* |
|---|---|
| Translates Guido's *Troja*, and frequently refers to the story. | Partly translates the *Troja* in the *Troy fragments*. Also quotes a passage from it in the *Bruce*, i., 521-528. [See my *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, pp. 4, etc.] |
| Epitomises the *Fuerre de Gadres*. | Epitomises the *Fuerre de Gadres* in *Bruce*. Also abridges and translates the *Fuerre*. |
| Makes large use of the *Voeux du Paon*. Epitomises the *Voeux*. | Makes large use of the *Voeux du Paon*. Translates (*me judice*) the *Voeux* in full. |
| Repeatedly sings the praises of the Nine Worthies. | Celebrates the Nine in *Bruce* and in the *Buik of Alexander*. Is suspected of writing the 'Ballad of the Nine Nobles.' |
| Epitomises the romance of *Ferumbras* in a shape resembling the *Sowdan of Babylon*. | Makes Robert the Bruce epitomise *Ferumbras* in apparently the same version. |
| Uses the *Legenda Aurea* in *Titus* for 'The Sege of Jerusalem' and for 'St. John the Evangelist.' | Translates from the *Legenda Aurea* the account of the siege, and the life of St. John. |
| Bases his greatest poem, *Morte Arthure*, on the *Brut*. | Bases his important poem, the *Stewartis Origynale*, on the *Brut*. |
| Cites and quotes the *Romaunt of the Rose*. | Also cites and quotes it, *Legends of the Saints*, prologue, l. 5. |

[1] The *Troy fragments* show few alliterative phrases; *Bruce* has many, so has the *Buik of Alexander*; the *Legends of the Saints*, again, has very few. The inference may be hazarded that Huchown's influence, 1372-1377, is the explanation.

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| *Huchown* | *Barbour* |
|---|---|
| Quotes the] prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoun, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, 5, 13-15. | Cites and quotes 'Thomas of Hersildoune,' *Bruce*, ii., 86. |
| Uses the Scriptures as a source, *Pistill*, *Pearl*, etc. | Does the same. |
| Refers (like Chaucer) to St. Julian, *Gawayne*, 774. | Refers to St. Julian, *Legends of the Saints*, xxv., 15. |

Some of these are commonplaces; the majority quite other than so. The comparison suggests the improbability of two men, not brought into contact, displaying any such parallelism in their authorities. The one in alliteration, the other in rime; the one by far the loftier, profounder, more powerful, and more original genius, the other perhaps the luckier in that he chose Robert the Bruce for his theme—these are the twin spirits of Scottish fourteenth century literature from the Exchequer table of the Awle Ryale. Always we must return to Wyntoun's testimony; and that is what Wyntoun and the Exchequer records tell.

## 16. Diagram of the Argument.

### (1) *As regards the Works.*

The evidences which have now been submitted are, it must be repeated, for the most part wholly new. They include the following propositions, set forward and proved for the first time:

1. Relationship of *Alexander* and *Troy* through Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1, indicating a very possible community of origin from the same manuscript source, on which, however, no vital part of this argument is dependent.
2. Direct borrowing in *Titus* of a complete scene and a siege picture from the *Troy*.
3. Direct borrowing in *Morte Arthure* from *Titus* over and above its known connection with and borrowing of many lines from *Troy*.
4. Adaptations in *Morte Arthure* from the *Voeux de Paon*.
5. Consistent indebtedness throughout of the *Parlement* to *Gawayne*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*.
6. The plot of the *Parlement* drawn from *Troy*.
7. Maundeville's *Itinerarium* (of which a copy is in MS. T. 4, 1)

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used as a minor source in *Alexander*, *Morte Arthure*, *Parlement*, *Pearl*, and *Cleanness*.

8. Extraordinary consequence of the Hunterian copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth, MS. U. 7, 25, especially of its rubrications.
9. Plot of *Wynnere and Wastoure* thus revealed in Geoffrey, along with important clues to other poems, especially *Morte Arthure*, *Titus*, and *Erkenwald*.
10. Brennius and Belinus as poetic factors in Huchown's work.
11. The historical setting of *Wynnere and Wastoure* explained, and the significance in evidence of the 'bend of green.'
12. *Erkenwald* considered in itself as a legal monument and in its relation to other poems and to the MS. of Geoffrey.
13. *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii* a common source of the first half of *Awntyrs of Arthure*, of *Erkenwald*, and of the *Pearl*.
14. Considerations from military, political, and geographical elements on the date of *Morte Arthure*.
15. An autobiographic suggestion from the MS. of Geoffrey on the series of poems and on the nationality of the poet.

So varied, although so convergent, are the processes of reasoning which point to a single author that they can only be briefly summarised by a diagram here. The direction of the argument had to be determined somewhat by the chance of earlier impressions tending at first as the knowledge originally available dictated, but altering and extending its line in consequence of subsequent information. Perhaps this diagrammatic chart will be explanatory not so much of the course which has been steered by the argument as of the cross-connections established by cables laid down in the poet's own works.

Poems that draw from the same sources draw from one another.

Poems connected with the special rubrics of the same unique MS. draw from one another.

The author of the last poem on the diagram, if not Huchown, must have had extraordinary zeal as disciple or industry as plagiarist if he wove into his short text so much of other men's labours that his poem is linked from end to end with practically the entire cycle of the Huchown poems.

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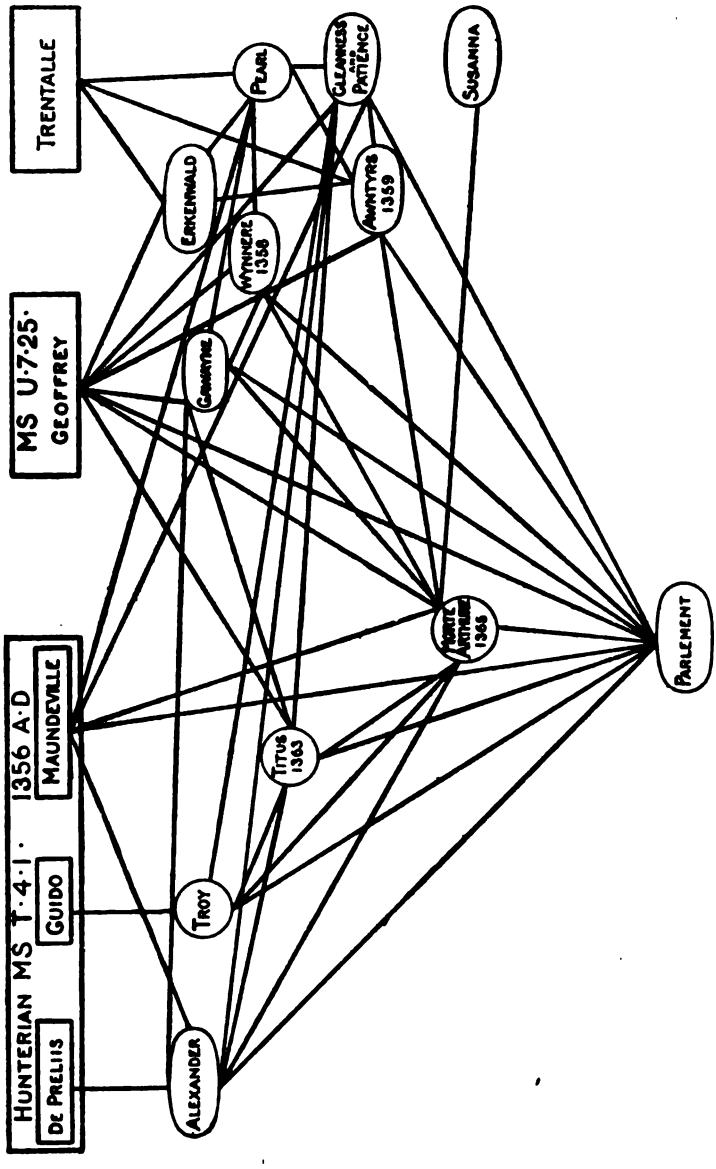


CONNECTION OF THE POEMS: shewing (1) some sources and occasionally the order of descent, (2) the existence of identical or closely similar lines common to the connected poems, and (3) some approximate dates.

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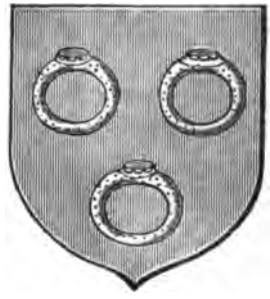
Put the same point another way. Take *Morte Arthure*. What rational basis other than common authorship will explain its ties with *Troy*, *Titus*, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, and the *Awntyrs of Arthure?*

Or consider the lines which radiate in the diagram from the MS. of Geoffrey and which in so many different poems meet the lines travelling from the *Parlement* or the *Gawayne*.

(2) *As regards the Poet.*



ARMS OF SIR HEW OF EGLINTOUN.[1]

That the poet was familiar with courtly usages; had special legal knowledge and sympathy; had the highest conception of the grandeur of justice, especially 'in gentil wise'; was versed in ships and in the chase; had access to current information of state; had pondered deeply the case of Brennius and Belinus; loved the peace and union of North and South and deplored 'busmar'; gave Scotland precedence of dignity in *Morte Arthure*; kept Scotland out of subjection in the *Alexander*; made the Scot Sir Gawayne his constant hero; had special interests in the Round Table and its celebrations; knew London, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, the West Marches and the land 'fro Humbyre to Hawyke'; used several of the special authorities employed by John Barbour; in especial knew the prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoun; was much alive to

[1] One of the many notes Mr. Gollancz has not got on the *Pearl* is that Sir Hew of Eglintoun's armorial bearing was 'three annulets stoned' (three rings of gold each set with a single jewel). Bain's *Calendar*, iv., 1111; Woodward and Burnett's *Heraldry*, 1892, plate xix. Nisbet's *Heraldry*, i., 225, describes the arms as gules, three annulets or, stoned azure. See *Gawayne*, 1817.

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matters lapidary; understood the Watling Street way from the north to Canterbury; likewise knew the itinerary to Rome; was acquainted with the sword-point formulary of assythment for manslaughter; knew about 'fermes' and 'audytours,' chancellors and chamberlains, as well as 'justices of landes,' whose duty was to 'justify wele';[1] somehow knew also that it was proper for royalty that 'its kydde castells be clenlyche arrayede';[2] had breathed the air of camps and chivalry, and mingled with nobles, and statesmen, and ambassadors, and kings—all these and fifty other such characteristics of the poet directly and indirectly fit the known story of 'the gude Sir Hew of Eglintoun.'

### 17. Galleroun and Golagros—A Decisive Personal Clue.[3]

*The Awntyrs of Arthure* is generally conceded to Huchown. *Golagros and Gawayne* was reckoned his by Sir Frederick Madden as it contains so many elements of similitude. M. Amours, re-editing the poem in his *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, acknowledges that the vocabulary is of the 14th century, although assigning the piece from its existing form to a later date. Briefly, it seems clear to me that Sir Frederick Madden was right and that some modernization of the language is due to the Scottish printers through whom the sole known version of the poem has been preserved. No commentator on the *Awntyrs* and *Golagros* has noticed these four points in connection with them (1) their complete parallelism of allegory, (2) the close, if *quasi*, historical character of both, (3) the distinct evidence of date in the *Awntyrs*, and (4) the appositeness amounting to necessity of that date also for *Golagros*.

The *Awntyrs*, as we have seen, draws the plot of its first half from the *Trentalle*. The greater part of *Golagros* comes from the French romance of *Perceval le Gallois* (ll. 16331-624, 18209-19446), which, as has long been known, was utilised in the shaping of *Gawayne and the Green Knight*. But it is the supplementing of these sources by very lightly shrouded con

[1] *Morte Arthure*, 425, 660-664.

[2] *Morte Arthure*, 654. Sir Hew was one of a commission of four knights appointed in 1368 *ad quatuor castra regis visitanda*. *Acts Parl. Scot.*, i., 504.

[3] This chapter is an insertion made after all the previous part was in paged proof. The discovery it contains was made at the eleventh hour.

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temporary allusions which is the vital fact for due criticism. These occur mainly in the second half of the *Awntyrs*, and are perhaps more pervasive of *Golagros* throughout. In the *Golagros* poem the fact in substance is that Golagros represents King John of France, Arthur is Edward III., Gawayne is the Black Prince, and the duel is the battle of Poitiers, while the white horse is that ridden by the French king on that ill-fortuned day. The *Awntyrs* contains a reference, of a significance until now unobserved, to *the Erlis sone of Kent*, which pins down the production to a date not earlier than 1358 and not later than 1360. The poem has allusion to events of the summer of 1358. Here again Arthur is Edward III. and Gawayne is the Black Prince, while Galleroun is a historical and allegorical representative of Scotland. Neither poetical nor political allegories are designed to be free of occasional mistiness of treatment, but these inferences on Golagros and Galleroun are inevitable and beyond critical doubt. Nor is this all. A rare and happy chance of record has made possible the decisive interpretation of an allusion in the *Awntyrs* (italicised below) as autobiographical of the poet himself, confirming the sense deduced from the poem, fixing its date, and settling the personal identity of the immortal Huchown. First, let us look at Golagros, remembering that King John, although a prisoner, was fêted and feasted in 1358 and 1359.

*Contemporary History.*

Edward III., at war with King John of France, commissions Black Prince to take homage of Aquitaine (*Rymer*, 4th Aug., 1355). Landing at Bordeaux, a walled city with castle, the Prince is welcomed by its famous Captal de Buch, John de Grailly (Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir*, ll. 524, 616, 678), and other barons of Gascony, who march with the Prince in his expedition across mountainous territory to Carcassonne, a castled city with many towers (now fifty-four) on a rock, double walled (*Galf. le Baker*, 235), on the river Aude, near the Mediterranean. The Captal's local knowledge was helpful in the selection of the route (Moisant's *Prince Noir*, 28). Carcassonne is considered through the middle ages to be

*Golagros and Gawayne.*

King Arthur sends Gawayne as his messenger to a fortified city beyond sea (42) with towers and battled walls and castle (44).

Gawayne is welcomed by its lord Spynagros, who offers him 30,000 men (197). The army, marching over the mountains (230-5), reaches a castle with thirty-three towers, on a rock, double dyked, on a river side near the sea (233-50). Spynagros, who knew the land well (344), guides and counsels Gawayne (261, 341, etc.). The castle has a circular keep—'the round hald' (371).

Golagros, lord of the castle, refuses homage (452).

Heavy fighting, after an interval, ensues (600-880).

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| *Contemporary History.* | *Golagros and Gawayne.* |
|---|---|
| impregnable. It has its chief stronghold in a great circular tower built in the thirteenth century—*la grosse barbacane.* Viollet le Duc's *La Cité de Carcassonne*, pp. 20, 70, figs. 11, 15. The city will not submit (*Galf. le Baker*, 236, 3-6 Nov., 1355), adhering to its lord, King John. | |
| After various battles King John—at Poitiers in 1356—royally armed meets the Prince. At the battle John rides a white horse. *Estoit li roys de Franche montés sour ung blancq courssier* (Amiens MS. of Froissart quoted in Polain's *Jehan le Bel*, ii., 302). He fights heroically, but is overcome. | After sundry combats Golagros, armed in gold and rubies (886), mounted on a white horse (895), encounters Gawayne and fights heroically, but is overcome (1024). |
| He is summoned to surrender, and does so after some trouble about taking him to the Prince. | Summoned to surrender (1032) and come to the King (1070), he refuses till conditions are adjusted, under which he agrees to be a prisoner while seeming to be captor (1102). |
| Taken to the Prince's tent he is entertained to supper where the Prince seats him at table, refuses to sit himself, and personally waits upon his prisoner. | Gawayne goes off apparently captive to the castle of Golagros (1125), where at supper Golagros waits in person at table upon his seeming prisoner.[1] |
| | 'He gart schir Gawyne upga' (1150-1160). |
| Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 3260-3432. | Golagros then does fealty (1216, 1324). |
| | Fortune's wheel is uncertain (1225), as Hector, Alexander, Caesar, David, Joshua, Judas, Samson, and Solomon knew (1235). |
| Lionel was not made duke of Clarence until 1362. | 'Schir Lyonel' (1248) and Gawayne conduct Golagros to Arthur who is gladder than of the rents as far as Roncesvalles (1313). |
| No such homage was done. Cf. *Awntyrs*, 642. | Golagros does homage (1323) and promises fealty if due (1325). |
| Cf. *Morte Arthure*, 424. The Prince had in 1355 been within fifty miles of the Rhone. | There was a week's feasting on the river Rhone (1345). |
| Not historical. Cf. *Awntyrs*, 675. | Arthur releases Golagros from allegiance (1358). |

The light of passing events, reflected in a degree comparatively vague in Golagros, shines with brilliant distinctness on Galleroun and reveals at last what we have waited for so long.

| *Contemporary History.* | *Awntyrs of Arthure.* |
|---|---|
| Edward III., on 9th May, 1358, grants | To Arthur in his hall rides up to the dais |

[1] Neither the white horse nor the table incident occurs in *Perceval.*

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*Contemporary History.*

safe conduct to his sister, 'the lady Johanna' [Queen of Scotland] to visit him. On same day he grants safe conduct also to Sir Robert of Erskine (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 822). The object in view is to procure respite in payment of the ransom of David II., to which all estates in Scotland were stringently obliged by treaty of Berwick in 1357.

The well known Erskine coat of arms is Argent a pale sable (Woodward's *Heraldry*, 346) and a well known Erskine crest is the boar head (Burke's *Odinary*). Sir Robert's own crest in 1357 and 1359 appearing on his seal was a boar's head[1] (Laing's *Supplemental Catalogue of Seals*).

The ancient crest of the surname of Erskine was a hand holding a dagger. Douglas, *Peerage*, ii., 206, plate 12.

SEAL OF SIR ROBERT OF ERSKINE USED IN 1357 AND 1359.

*Awntyrs of Arthure.*

a lady (l. 345) wearing a crown (371) and leading a knight (344) for whom she bespeaks reason and right (350).

The knight's shield armorial is Argent, boar heads sable.

His shelde on his shulder of silver so shene
With bere [other MS. bare] hedes of blake
browed ful bolde [other MS. burely and baulde][2] (ll. 384-5).

The knight's name is Galleroun and his horse carries on its chamfrein a dagger—

An anlas of stele (l. 390).

ERSKINE CREST.

Immediately following the knight, whose name is Galleroun, comes a most interesting personage, occupying a unique place in the

[1] I am informed by the authorities of the Record Office that my friend, Mr. Joseph Bain, in his invaluable *Calendar*, iii., 1660, and iv., 27, erred in stating that the crest was a bear's head. My official informant assures me that there is 'no doubt that the crest is a boar's head.' A cut from a cast of the seal is here presented.

[2] There can be no doubt that *bare* here, as in *Morte Arthure* (l. 3123), is for boar, not bear. Galleroun's coat is derived from Erskine's by adopting the colours argent and sable, and setting the Erskine crest as a charge into the field in place of the pale.

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| *Contemporary History.* | *Awntyrs of Arthure.* |
|---|---|
| Immediately after the safe-conducts of the Queen and Sir Robert there is granted another to SIR HEW OF EGLINTOUN, dated 11th May, 1358. | poem. The passage quoted is all there is about him. |
| Presumably Sir Hew travelled with the royal party to London. | *A FREKE ONE A FRESONE him folowed in fay.* |
| It is Sir Hew's first safe-conduct and may have been his first visit to the Court of England (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 823). | *The fresone was afered for dred of that fare,* |
| Mural decorations (with *tablettes*, etc.) of new work at Windsor are a glory of the time (Walsingham, anno 1344, Leland's *Collectanea*, tome ii., 377. Cf. *Gawayne*, 763-803). | *For he was seldene wonte to se* |
| | *The tablet ſturé,* |
| | *Siche gamen ne gle* |
| | *Sagh he never are* (398-403). |
| | These lines bear the stamp usual to an author's indirect reference to himself. A 'freke' is a common term for a man. |
| Erskine belongs to the west of Scotland, his patrimony being in Renfrewshire, but owned lands in Cunningham, in Kyle, near Loch Lomond, in the Lennox, in Lenzie, and in Lothian (*Rotuli Magni Sigilli*, 1306-1424, pp. 31, 84, 108-9; Douglas, *Peerage*, ii. 207). | The Knight has come from the west of Scotland (420) to claim back lands there which Arthur has wrongfully won in war (421). They consist of west country lands in Carrick, Cunningham, Kyle, Lomond, Lennox, and Lenzie, but extend also to Lothian. |
| Galloway had only been so far recovered in 1356 (*Wyntoun*, viii., 6597). Edward III. had charter of it (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 788) from Edward Balliol. | Galleroun demands duel, which Gawayne undertakes, and the lists are prepared (477). |
| Thomas of Holland assumed the title of Earl of Kent in 1358[1]; he died in December, 1360. His son was Thomas, who became earl in 1360 (Coxe's notes to Chandos Herald's *Prince Noir*, ll. 141, 1588; Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gibson, 213). | The King commanded krudely [other MS. kindeli] the erlis sone of Kent<br>Curtaysly in this case take kepe to the knight (482-3). |
| The Black Prince had griffons among his badges (*Royal Wills*, 73; cf. *Morte*, 3869, 3946). The Queen, Philippa of Hainault, was the French King's niece. | Gawayne's arms are griffons and he is lord of Wales (509, 666-7). Queen Guinevere was 'born in Burgundy' (30). |
| Scotland had fought keenly but been overcome at Durham, when David II. was captured. | There is a fierce duel, and Galleroun is vanquished and he surrenders (640). |
| Scotland has pledged itself in 1357 for 100,000 marks for the ransom of the King. For this the youthful heirs of the best blood in Scotland are held as hostages. Erskine's son is one of them (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 812). | He submits and gives up his 'renttis and reches' (646). |

[1] The *Nat. Dict. Biog.* gives this as 1359.

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| *Contemporary History.* | *Awntyrs of Arthure.* |
| --- | --- |
| Edward III., on 12th February, 1359, expressly states that to the earnest and oft repeated request[1] of his sister Johanna was due his agreeing to respite stern action[2] for the Scottish failure to meet the ransom. | Galleroun is oppressed by his adversary, and the lady implores (619) Guinevere, who implores Arthur[3] to make concord (625). |
| Erskine and Sir Hew attest in London on 21st Feb., 1359, David II.'s acknowledgment of Edward's concession of respite (Bain's *Cal.*, iv., 27). | Arthur does so, and procures the release of Galleroun's lands (672-6). |
| David II.'s release, under treaty of Berwick in 1357, had very stringent conditions for his return if the instalments of ransom were not duly paid. David often repaired to the Round Table; so did Erskine himself, who seems to have been accomplished in tilting (Nicolas, *Orders of Knighthood*, i., 14; Bain, iv., 93; *Rot. Scot.*, i., 892). Erskine's very significant visits to England about St. George's Day are noted below. | He is released (675) with a reservation about his lingering a while to make repair to the Round Table (684) of which he is made a knight (701). |

Thus there are marrow bones of true history in *Golagros* and the *Awntyrs*. Superb and dramatic as are the annals of literary research, it may be questioned if they contain any revelation more marvellous and pictorial than this of the Knight of Eglintoun, then young in his poetical career, riding on his startled Frisian steed, with Queen and Chamberlain, as they approach the court of Edward III.

The boar's head marshals the way to a complete understanding of the place of the Round Table poems. In the *Awntyrs* it associates with them in the most pointed manner that powerful Scottish baron, justiciar, chamberlain, officer of state, and soldier, Sir Robert of Erskine. Its occurrence about the same time also at the Christmas feast in *Gawayne* (ll. 1616-54), is not casual, but carries a touch of heraldic allegory. When

[1] Nous a la grande et diligente requeste et instance de nostre tres chere soere Dame Johane, compaigne du dit Sire David, que nous ad sur ce meinte foiz supplie, de nostre grace especiale grauntons [etc.] (*Rotuli Scot.*, i., 835, 12th February, 1359).

[2] Forfeiture would have made matters very risky and unhappy for the hostages under the treaty. The hostage rubrics of Geoffrey (ch. 13 above) are notes of Scottish anxiety.

[3] The intervention of 'Waynour' (l. 625) may have come from that of 'Venna' between Belinus and Brennius.

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again it confronts us on a banner in *Wynnere and Wastoure* (l. 175), and on a shield in *Golagros* (l. 605), the inference deepens that the whole Round Table set is connected with Sir Robert as well as with Sir Hew, whose entire career ran alongside Erskine's. Year after year from 1358 onward—in 1362, 1363, 1365, 1368, 1369, 1370, and 1373—Erskine procures safe-conduct to travel into England (sometimes Sir Hew does so at the same time) a week or two before St. George's festival[1]—countenancing most circumstantially the statement that the prototype of Galleroun was either admitted a Knight of the Garter or was otherwise closely concerned with that proudest brotherhood of chivalry. His personal accomplishment in knightly arms may be inferred from his once[2] carrying north with him a 'ketil-hat,' his appearing once as a commander of a troop, and his position as castellan of David II's. fortresses. He stood in high favour with Edward III. as we know from the gift made to him of a rich gold cup[3] in 1363. Year after year, too, we find his safe-conducts timed so as to let him spend Christmas in England—for instance[4] in 1361, 1363, and 1367—again a fact probably indicative of the good graces towards him of the English king.

Between the two, the celebrations of the Round Table and the Christmas festivities, it is easy to find natural room for the poems of Erskine's friend and colleague Sir Hew, some of them romances of the Table Round, appropriate to the honour of the king of chivalry, Edward III., and the Black Prince, not forgetting now and then that of the knight (concerning whom one of them was written) whose crest was a boar's head.[5] Thus at last history vindicates itself, and the mystery of Huchown and his alliterative poems remains a mystery no more.

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[1] *Rotuli Scotiae*, 862, 872, 890, 917, 928, 937, 955.

[2] *Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 892. [3] Bain's *Cal.*, iv., 93.

[4] *Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 859, 877-8, 916-7. At the last reference Erskine's son's arms and armour make a striking analogy to those in *Gawayne*, 574-83.

[5] The heraldic discovery on which this chapter is based has led to others which explain the unidentified Friars' banners in *Wynnere and Wastoure*. The first banner has six galleys of sable, each with a brace (or bend) and two buckles. The galleys sable indicate John of the Isles (Woodward's *Heraldry*, ed. 1892, p. 367), and the bend and two buckles his wife, Margaret de Vaus (*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, 1306-1424, p. 48), whose



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## 18. Conclusions.

To the fifteen leading propositions formerly tabulated, the preceding chapter now adds:

16. An allegorically historical sense in *Golagros and Gawayne* strangely parallel to that of the second half of the *Awntyrs of Arthure:*
17. The demonstration of the inner yet obvious meaning of both poems:
18. A beautiful and decisive personal revelation by the poet himself.

To review and assemble (although in the baldest, crudest, and most disorderly fashion) the detached sections of this long involved and ill-stated argument, chiefly in the shape of successive series of parallelisms, has been a task of the greatest magnitude, inasmuch as, for the first time, the general features of a supreme poet fall to be set on the canvas. It is not to be disguised that the countenance which begins to show itself with growing definiteness through the curtain of the fourteenth century is of no common

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grandfather bore a bend with two 'cinquefoils (?),' which perhaps were buckles (Bain's *Calendar*, ii., p. 545). There were, by legend, six kings of the Isles (*Gall. Monumnt.* ix., 19), and the Scottish lordship of Man was held by service of six galleys (Earl of Haddington's MS. *Adv. Lib.*, 34. 2. 1 [pagination series at end] pp. 34$^{b}$-5$^{b}$). The second banner is yet more interesting. With both 'brerdes' (or bordures) of black and a balk (or void) like the sun in the middle, it plainly denotes the Balliol orle with field of silver (*Roll of Carlaverock*, ed. Wright, 25). The third banner has three boar heads, and is that either of Sir Robert Erskine or of Sir John Gordon, a distinguished Scottish soldier (*Wyntoun*, x., ch. 2), whose arms were three boar heads (Woodward's *Heraldry*, 227), who was taken prisoner at Poitiers, and who was in England in 1357 and 1358 (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 808, 824). The fourth banner, argent with a belt buckled, gives us Norman Lesley's argent a bend with three buckles (Woodward, plate, p. 376). John of the Isles and Edward Balliol were both included in the Berwick treaty of 1357 (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 812-814). The peace thus negotiated embraced 'le yle de Manne.' The Queen and Erskine have their safe-conducts to London on 9th May, 1358, Sir Hew and Lesley on the 11th (*Rot. Scot.*, i., 822, 823). The arms are not exact and the tinctures are altered, but probably no herald will dispute the likelihood of these identifications. Thus *Wynnere and Wastoure* conveys hints of a surprising variety of strifes and concords in fields both sacred and secular, Scottish and English. The two allies of Edward III., John of the Isles and Edward Balliol, are thus slily presented along with two of his Scottish adversaries, Gordon (or Erskine) and Lesley. The last named was taken prisoner by the English in France in 1359 (*Scalacronica*, 190), and distinguished himself under the King of Cyprus in the descent on Alexandria in 1365 (Bower, ii., 488).

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type; it is the countenance of an immortal who ranks among the great formative forces in the literature of the English tongue, who, while Chaucer was still (to public intents) silent, had ransacked the storehouses of Latin, French, and English, in the quest of material for romantic narrative, and who no less than Chaucer set his seal forever on the literary art of his own generation and of the generations to follow. The hand which seeks to unroll a little further Wyntoun's brief scroll of Huchown's achievement may well tremble as it deals with a task so weighty, for either these pages are a vain and credulous figment, or Huchown's range and grasp in romance place him as a unique and lofty spirit, comparable in respect of his greatness only with Walter Scott. But great and sweet as is the personality and interesting as is the evolution of Scott, and superior far as he was to Huchown in original romance, the time at which Huchown lived invests him with a historical note which our wizard story-teller may not claim. In Huchown we have a superb craftsman of letters in the fourteenth century, albeit the latest *Dictionary of National Biography* knows him not.

Away in that remote time, what was his achievement? He found, so far as we can conceive, little in the way of native Scottish literature. Whatever his motives—and we can well enough surmise that his poetic leanings were quickened by Court applause—he applied himself to a lofty and mighty task. His equipment must have been excellent, as the standard of the time went. Certainly he was, as he himself said of the pious Æneas, 'Of literature and language learned enow,' an easy master of Latin and French, and recondite in the English tongue, with a tendency not uncommon among poets towards archaism. It seems fairly reasonable to hold that his earlier pieces include, along with the *Wars of Alexander*, a number of pieces on Scriptural themes. The *Pistill of Susan* is the story of Susanna and the Elders, paraphrased from the Vulgate in an amplified manner. *Cleanness* is a Scriptural poem, which singularly chooses for its illustration a marine subject, the story of Noah, powerfully told. *Patience* likewise is somewhat incongruously illuminated by another marine story, that of Jonah, his stormy voyage, and the whale. The *Destruction of Troy* was not a task likely to have been undertaken by a mere tyro of poesy, but required an experienced and ready versifier, as its facility of execution fully attests.

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But it is in the works which follow the *Troy* that the evolution of this poetic genius may best be traced—traced with a measure of certainty which would have been impossible but for the license of the fourteenth century poets to use, not once but once and again, the same figures, phrases, and lines. Huchown, like many, perhaps like most, early writers, English, Scots, or French, when he had a thing to say a second time had no shame in saying it in identical terms with the first. The same threads, now bright and now of sober grey, reappear in more than one of his many-coloured patterns. The thing was inevitable in the work of a poet of large production. Yet in Huchown, as editors long ago noted, his distinction is his endless minor variation, even in the repeated phrases. To the fact that he did so repeat we owe our chief means of identifying his work. These repetitions are carried over from the sheer translations, like the *Alexander* and the *Troy*, to the more independent products. *Titus and Vespasian* is amongst the latter, in large degree an original performance, combining and adapting various incidents and descriptions not belonging to the story as he found it. The plainsong of Huchown's note came, like Chaucer's, from traditional themes, though each made the composition his own by nobly distinctive chords. It was the privilege of the trouvère often to be content to echo what he found, but the masters were ever wont to mend and combine as well as to find. Much more rarely did they 'make.' The methods of composition, by mingled translation, adaptation, and creation, are all present in *Morte Arthure*, and the amplifications count for far more than the original narrative. Some of the additions are inventions of the poet's own, but for the most part he did not invent—he adapted. *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* belongs, as it seems to me, to the close of his career, and forms, as it were, his testament, for does it not sum up his past course through all his themes—through *Alexander*, *Troy*, *Titus*, and *Morte Arthure*? Besides, does it not, for a second time, utilise, as had been done in *Morte Arthure*, its chief authorities, the *Brut* and the *Voeux du Paon*?

And *Gawayne and the Green Knight* also was remembered when the *Parlement* was put together by a man who by 1376 was probably old—*Gawayne*, which Wyntoun attributed to Huchown, and which also has so many identical passages or lines of close resemblance to *Alexander*,

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*Troy*, *Titus*, *Morte Arthure*, and the *Parlement*, especially the *Parlement*. Nor may it be forgotten, as Sir Frederick Madden and others have not failed to notice, that the unique MS. of *Gawayne* has the incomplete superscription,

HUGO DE

on its opening page.[1]

Now let us note the distinguishing feature of *Gawayne*, that beautiful poem in praise first of chivalric purity, and second—and only second—of knightly valour and courtly grace. On the other hand, it handles with delicate dexterity a trying theme of temptation, from which the chastity of its hero emerges without a stain. There is not room here to discuss the multiplied evidences of the connection of this poem with the *Honi soit qui mal y pense* motto of the Garter. It is such as to make the poem a derivative of the incident of English court history which gave rise to the most illustrious Order of the age of chivalry. As a poem it is full of the life and practice of courtly circles, as strong in its ceremonial and state as in woodcraft and love of the chase and of arms. Deeply and finely religious in tone, *Gawayne* removes all difficulty of understanding how a poet could take themes so diverse as Arthur, and Erkenwald, and Susanna, and could so linger over the hunt in the *Parlement* and the hawking scene in *Wynnere and Wastoure*. Through all, whether translation, paraphrase, or original piece—without one ignoble or questionable line, such as the wit of Chaucer, Dunbar, and Burns made them impotent to resist—there shines a soul of translucent purity. Posterity, which does not hit upon its epithets by chance, has fitly remembered the knight of Eglintoun as 'the gude Sir Hew.' Perhaps future generations will recognize him as the supreme exponent of British chivalry in its triple ideals of earnest purity, of courtesy, and of valour.

Law in its relation to literature fills a rôle of no small distinction. Finer testimony to legal aptness for literary study need not be sought than Chaucer's making his Man of Law, alone of the goodly company in

[1] This is presented in *facsimile* in Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, introd. li., and discussed by him on p. 302.

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the *Canterbury Tales*, have authoritative knowledge[1] and a shrewd, critical opinion of the whole series of Chaucer's poems. This was indeed a pleasant compliment to the accidental accomplishments of a member of the profession. It was not what we have in *Erkenwald*, a tribute to the nobility of justice, the kingliness of the function of the upright and gentle judge. That such a tribute, eloquent with a certain high and solemn emotion, should have come from a poet earlier than Chaucer, from a Man of Law before the Canterbury pilgrimage, enhances the import of this well-told medieval tale. Medieval of course it is, but it is Medievalism *in excelsis*. The poem, too, links with the *Pearl* on the one hand and the *Awntyrs of Arthure* on the other in a manner to reveal the power and grace of the mind which could from the somewhat gross *Trentalle* of St. Gregory pluck such fruit.

What shall we of this generation accept as Huchown's signal merit and contribution to our literary or our national history? Even were he not Hew of Eglintoun he is the unanswerable proof of the culture of the period, revealing the breadth and depth of its romance learning and the variety of one man's resources, ranging from such Latin works as the *De Preliis* and *Hegesippus*, and such medieval literature as Guido's *De Excidio Trojae*, Maundeville's *Itinerary*, and the historical story-book of the *Brut*, to whole cycles of French romance on Alexander and Arthur and Charlemagne, and the galaxy of heroes and heroines whom each of these led in his ever-growing train. Considered merely as a poetic unity, and without his personal name, he is a noble link between the literature of the Continent and that of our island, imitating yet no slave, learned yet no pedant, borrowing freely yet transfusing what he borrowed in the fire of what he gave—an international student who learnt much from French literary art, but who out of his Latin and French materials drew English poems of which the power is all his own. And being (alike according to the apparent voice of early chronicle and the result of recent research) a Scottish lawyer and courtier, Sir Hew of Eglintoun, a mighty singer of Cunningham unheard of by the bard of Kyle, he remains for the literature

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Introduction to the Man of Law's prologue.

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of English speech all these things, and at the same time is immeasurably more, completing and antedating by his own magnificent example the evidence of Barbour and Wyntoun to the culture of the Scottish court under the Bruces and the Stewarts, and lending stately promise to that national literature which, with independent destiny, was to be at once a thing apart and an integral portion of the common glory of English literature. Looked at whole, he is a personality whose magnitude challenges the highest, while the obscurity of his personal life, almost completely hidden (had it not been for his manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth and his own priceless miniature of himself in the *Awntyrs of Arthure*) behind a few brief intimations of his public functions as courtier and judge, heightens by its contrast the splendour of a mighty spirit and the marvel of a unique career. Who could have dreamed that portrait so meagre and accidental as that of the companion of Galleroun would, after five centuries, admit of recognition? Who could have hoped that after such an interval records would be found to overcome the reticence of a poet about himself? Mountain and moor have darkened round his name and memory; he sleeps in a forgotten grave; but the west winds have long been whispering that we should yet find him wearing a kingly diadem and buried in gold.

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No. XVII.

# THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF THE GLASGOW DISTRICT.

BY

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 16th November*, 1900).

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE work of preparing the present paper has been so greatly facilitated by the use of the magnificent monograph on the *Sculptured Stones at Govan* recently issued at Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's sole expense, that I should be neglecting an obvious duty were I not to take advantage of this opportunity of giving public expression to the deep feeling of gratitude we all owe to him for the signal service he has rendered to Scottish archæology.

Let me try and make my meaning somewhat plainer.

When I first visited Govan in July, 1881, the churchyard was so overgrown with grass that it was only possible to catch a glimpse here and there of a stray bit of interlaced work on some of the half-hidden tombstones, and of course any minute study of the monuments as a whole was quite out of the question. Perhaps this state of things may account for the fact that Dr. John Stuart has only illustrated a small proportion of the early grave-slabs there in his *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, published by the Spalding Club in 1854.

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On the occasion of my next visit to Govan in July, 1891, I found that great changes had taken place during the ten years' interval. The church had been rebuilt, and the churchyard so completely divested of every scrap of vegetation that it looked as drearily desolate then as it had been before luxuriantly green and pleasing to the eye. Although an artist might regret the transformation, the disappearance of the long grass was an unmixed blessing to an antiquary like myself, who could now see all the tombstones without the slightest difficulty. However, it took me the greater part of a day to make rubbings of a selection of the pre-Norman slabs, and even then I was only able to take away with me but a very imperfect record of the whole series.

Now, thanks to Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, *nous avons changé tout cela*, and the antiquary sitting comfortably in an armchair can learn more about the Govan stones in a few hours than he could previously have done in as many weeks, if not months, of hard work sketching out of doors. Furthermore, the process by which the illustrations of the monuments have been prepared—namely by reproducing photographs of plaster casts—brings out many details of the sculpture that are almost invisible, even to a trained eye, on the stones themselves. And the reasons for this are not far to seek. If a photograph is taken direct from an ancient sculptured stone any patch of lichen or discoloration of the surface has a tendency to obscure the designs which are upon it; whereas a cast, being of one uniform tone, has not this disadvantage, and also it can be easily turned about until the light falls exactly in the right direction to give the best results. Then again in the process of reduction the effects of light and shade are intensified. My object in calling attention to these points here is because I hope that the success which has attended Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's work will induce some equally liberal patron of the fine arts to adopt a similar method for illustrating monuments in other parts of Scotland.

Before proceeding further, I should like to say that it will be my earnest endeavour to avoid entering into any controversy with previous writers on the subject or to trespass on the preserves of other workers in the same field of research. I believe that the chief reason why your

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Council did me the honour to invite me to read a paper before you to-night was because I have had exceptional opportunities of becoming acquainted with the art of the sculptured stones of the pre-Norman period in different parts of the country whilst engaged during the last ten years in the preparation of the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. I do not profess to know as much of the antiquities of the Glasgow district as many of the members I see present this evening, and therefore my task will not be to describe in minute detail monuments with which you are already more familiar than I am, but rather to compare them with specimens of the same class in other parts of Scotland, with which perhaps I may be better acquainted than you are.

And here let me enter a protest against the Little Englander—or shall I say Little Scotlander—archæologist, who confines his attention exclusively to the antiquarian remains of his own parish, county, or country, and ignores everything outside it. In studying the antiquities of a particular district the first thing to be done is to compare the structures, monuments, or objects in it with each other in order to classify them; but beyond this nothing further is possible within the limit of the district, and no advance in knowledge can be made until it can be shown in what relation the structures, etc., of the smaller area stand to those of the larger area outside it. For there is no such thing as spontaneous generation in art motives or art forms any more than there is in the physical world, every form or ornamental pattern being a modification of something which has gone before, or having been borrowed from some foreign source. Neither has any community ever been so completely isolated that it has evolved an entirely original style of art which owes nothing to designs inherited from remote ancestors, or imported by commercial intercourse with its neighbours, thence the futility of endeavouring to arrive at any definite conclusions as to the origin of the works of man within a restricted area, unless there is some means of comparing them with what lies outside that area.

Having made these preliminary remarks, I will proceed to the main object of our investigation.

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## THE NUMBER OF THE MONUMENTS AND THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

The Glasgow district, as defined for the purpose of the present paper, comprises the three counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Lanark. Within this area there are 14 localities where monuments of the pre-Norman period are known to exist, as shown in the following list:

*Dumbartonshire.*—Mountblow House (now in the Kelvingrove Museum at Glasgow); Old Kilpatrick; Roseneath.

*Renfrewshire.*—Arthurlie; Barrochan; Inchinnan; Jordanhill (from Govan); Lochwinnoch; Newton Woods; Stanlie.

*Lanarkshire.*—Cambusnethan; Govan; Hamilton; Lesmahagow.

The number of stones in each locality does not exceed one, except in the case of Govan, where there are at least 40; Inchinnan, where there are 3; and Lesmahagow, where there are 2.

The numbers of stones and localities in each county are shown on the table below:

| | No. of Localities. | No. of Stones. |
|---|---|---|
| Dumbartonshire, - - - - | 3 | 3 |
| Renfrewshire, - - - - - | 7 | 9 |
| Lanarkshire, - - - - - | 4 | 44 |
| | — | — |
| Total, - - - | 14 | 56 |

## THE FORMS OF THE MONUMENTS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION.

The early Christian monuments of the Glasgow district may be divided into the following classes with regard to their form and position, whether vertical or horizontal:

(1) Erect Cross-Slabs.
(2) Erect Free-Standing Crosses.
(3) Cross-Heads.
(4) Cross-Shafts.

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(5) Cross-Bases.
(6) Recumbent Cross-Slabs—(*a*) Approximately Rectangular; (*b*) with Rounded Ends; (*c*) with Angle Knobs.
(7) Recumbent Hog-Backed Stones.
(8) Sarcophagi.

The number of monuments belonging to each class is shown below:

*Erect Cross-Slabs.*—Roseneath; Govan, Nos. 8 and 9.
*Erect Free-Standing Crosses.*—Barrochan; Hamilton.
*Cross-Heads.*—Lesmahagow.
*Cross-Shafts.* — Mountblow; Old Kilpatrick; Arthurlee; Inchinnan; Jordanhill; Lochwinnoch; Newton Woods; Stanlie; Cambusnethan; Govan, No. 10.
*Cross-Bases.*—Lesmahagow.
*Recumbent Cross-Slabs—Approximately Rectangular.*—Inchinnan; Govan, Nos. 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 40, 43, 44.
*Recumbent Cross-Slabs with Rounded Ends.*—Govan, Nos. 11, 16, and 24.
*Recumbent Cross-Slabs with Angle Knobs.*—Inchinnan; Govan, Nos. 12, 17, 18, 23, 25, and 35.
*Recumbent Hog-Backed Stones.*—Govan, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.
*Sarcophagi.*—Govan, No. 1.

## THE DECORATIVE FEATURES OF THE MONUMENTS.

Five different kinds of ornament are used in decoration of the early Christian monuments of the Glasgow district, namely: (1) Interlaced work; (2) Key-Patterns; (3) Spirals; (4) Zoömorphs; (5) Figure Subjects. The whole of these art-motives do not occur in combination in any instance, although on the Sarcophagus at Govan as many as four are to be seen together, viz. interlaced work, key-patterns, zoömorphs, and figure subjects. Next to this for profusion of ornament comes the cross-shaft at Jordanhill, which has interlaced work, key-patterns, and a figure subject sculptured upon it. On cross-slab No. 15 at Govan both interlaced work and key-

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Cross-Shaft at Jordanhill.
(From Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's *Sculptured Stones in the Kirkyard of Govan*, Pl. 7, No. 7.)

Recumbent Monument with angle-knobs, at Inchinnan.

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Recumbent Cross-Slab at Inchinnan.

Cross-Shaft at Inchinnan

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patterns enter into the design, but it is most usual to find interlaced work employed by itself.

Of the five art-motives previously specified interlaced work is by far the commonest, and spirals only occur in two cases, at Roseneath and Hamilton. Key-patterns are comparatively rare, and there are numerous examples of zoömorphs and figure subjects.

The decorative designs on the monuments are generally arranged in panels, each containing a piece of ornament complete in itself. Occasionally, as at Jordanhill, two or even three separate pieces of ornament are fitted into one panel, the division being marked only by a variation in the pattern.

The decoration of the recumbent cross-slabs is treated in two or three different ways, the most effective being where a plain cross is placed in the middle of the slab with a background of interlaced work, as on the stones at Inchinnan and Govan, Nos. 17 and 19. The position of the cross in relation to the margin of the slab varies. Sometimes all the four arms extend to the margin, thus dividing the background into four panels (as at Govan, No. 15); in other cases only the top and two side arms reach the margin (as at Inchinnan); or lastly, only the two side arms reach the margin.

In one instance at Govan (No. 26) the cross has a base, and in three others at Govan (Nos. 22, 24, and 27) there is a piece of interlaced work filling a square divided into four triangles by diagonals.

## THE OBJECTS FOR WHICH THE MONUMENTS WERE ERECTED.

There can be little doubt that all the recumbent monuments were sepulchral and lay upon the grave of the deceased. Although none of them are inscribed, their position in churchyards and similarity of form to monuments elsewhere, which are known to be tombstones, clearly shows the purpose they were intended to serve. Some of the smaller erect crosses and cross-slabs may also have been used to mark places of burial, but in the absence of any direct evidence this can only be conjectural.

The larger free-standing crosses, like those at Barrochan and Hamilton

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may have been erected to mark the limits of sanctuary,[1] or to commemorate the patron saint who founded the church.

Jocelin's *Life of St. Kentigern*,[2] written in the 12th century, contains a chapter which may throw some light on the question, as the following passages show:

"The venerable father and bishop Kentigern had a custom, in the places in which at any time by preaching he had won the people to the dominion of Christ, or had imbued them with the faith of the cross of Christ, or had dwelt for any length of time, there to erect the triumphant standard of the cross, that all men might learn that he was in no ways ashamed of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he carried on his forehead. . . . Therefore, among many crosses which he erected in several places where the word of the Lord was preached, he erected two which to the present day work miracles. One in his own city of Glasgow he caused to be cut by quarriers from a block of stone of wondrous size, which by the united exertions of many men, and by the application of machinery, he ordered to be erected in the cemetery of the Church of the Holy Trinity, in which his episcopal chair was placed. . . . He constructed another cross wonderful to be described, unless it could be tested by sight and touch, of simple sea sand, in Lothwerverd,[3] whilst he meditated righteously and religiously of the Resurrection."

It must be remembered that this was written some hundred of years after the time of St. Kentigern, and also that many of the statements made by the mediæval compilers of the lives of the early Celtic saints have to be taken *cum grano salis*. However, even if Jocelyn's story of the erection of the crosses at Glasgow and Borthwick is partly or altogether fictitious, it shows what was thought about the origin of such monuments in the 12th century, and gives, what has every appearance of being a true account, of the use of the crosses for the miraculous cure of lunacy at the same period.

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[1] As at Ripon, Yorkshire (see J. R. Walbran's *Guide to Ripon*, p. 30).

[2] A. P. Forbes' *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, ch. 41, p. 109.

[3] Identified by Forbes with Locherwort or Borthwick.

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The Barrochan Cross.
Front.

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**The Barrochan Cross.**
**Back.**

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## THE AGE OF THE MONUMENTS.

Taking the early Christian monuments of the Glasgow district as an isolated group, we have no means of assigning even an approximate date to any of them, and it is only by comparing them with monuments in other parts of Great Britain that their age can be ascertained. The great difficulty of giving an opinion as to the exact period to which a monument exhibiting certain peculiarities belongs, is that we possess no series of accurately dated specimens arranged in chronological order. A very limited number of the crosses with Celtic ornament in England, Wales, and Ireland have been dated by means of inscriptions upon them mentioning the names of historical personages, or by a reference to the monument in some ancient document, or by the monument being connected with an ecclesiastical foundation of known age. With the exception, perhaps, of the sculptured stones at St. Andrews and Abercorn, there are no monuments in Scotland that can be dated in any of the ways mentioned. In the absence of direct evidence, therefore, as to the monuments of the Glasgow district, we are compelled to fall back upon such indirect proofs of antiquity as are afforded by comparing them with the pre-Norman sculptured stones elsewhere in Great Britain and with the Hiberno-Saxon illuminated MSS. containing Celtic decoration.

Nothwithstanding the difficulties in the way of giving exact dates to particular examples of Celtic sculpture it can be shown that there are certain well-ascertained limits as regards time between which all the possible dates must lie.

It is now, I think, generally admitted that the Celtic style of art was first developed in the Hiberno-Saxon illuminated MSS., and was afterwards applied to the decoration of the sculptured crosses and other monuments of the pre-Norman period. Now the earliest illuminated MS., with a reliable date which contains Celtic ornament, is the Lindisfarne Book in the British Museum. This splendid specimen of caligraphy and illumination was produced in Northumbria between A.D. 700 and 720, thus fixing the extreme backward limit of time for the possible dates of the erection of any of the crosses decorated in the same style as the beginning of

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the eighth century. The extreme forward limit as regards time is fixed by the Norman Conquest in A.D. 1066, when the Celtic style was extinguished by the introduction of a later and entirely different style of Romanesque art from the north of France. Thus there is a period of about 350 years during which monuments with Celtic ornament were erected. The variation in style was so slight during these three and a half centuries that, in the present state of our knowledge, the most we can venture to do is to divide them up into an earlier, a middle, and a later group.

The earlier group has affinities with Celtic works of art in metal and enamel of the Pagan period, especially in the use of the divergent spiral. The middle group exhibits peculiarities resulting from the Scandinavian influence, which made itself felt after the Viking conquests of the ninth and tenth centuries; whilst the later group shows evidences of decadence and contact with the Norman style.

The greater part of the monuments in the Glasgow district (certainly all those at Govan and Inchinnan) belong to the later group, and in support of this view I cannot do better than quote so high an authority as Dr. Joseph Anderson, who says in his Rhind Lectures on *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd Series (p. 73):

"In these groups (of recumbent stones) at Meigle and Govan, we have, therefore, a series of monuments of transition character, which link themselves by part of their characteristics to the monuments which are of twelfth century type, and by part of their characteristics to the purely Celtic type of monument, to which no such precise date is assignable."

The comparative method may perhaps justify us in fixing a 10th century date for the Barrochan cross on account of the similarity of the key-patterns upon it to those on the cross at Copplestone, near Crediton in Devonshire, which is mentioned as a boundary mark in a grant of land by King Edgar to his thegn Ælfhere dated A.D. 974.

## EVOLUTION OF THE RECUMBENT HOG-BACKED TYPE OF MONUMENT.

Amongst the most interesting of the sculptured stones in the Glasgow district are the hog-backed recumbent monuments of which there are four

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**Hog-backed Recumbent Monument in Govan Churchyard.**
(From Sir John Stirling-Maxwell's *Sculptured Stones in the Kirkyard of Govan*, Pl. 2, No. 2.)

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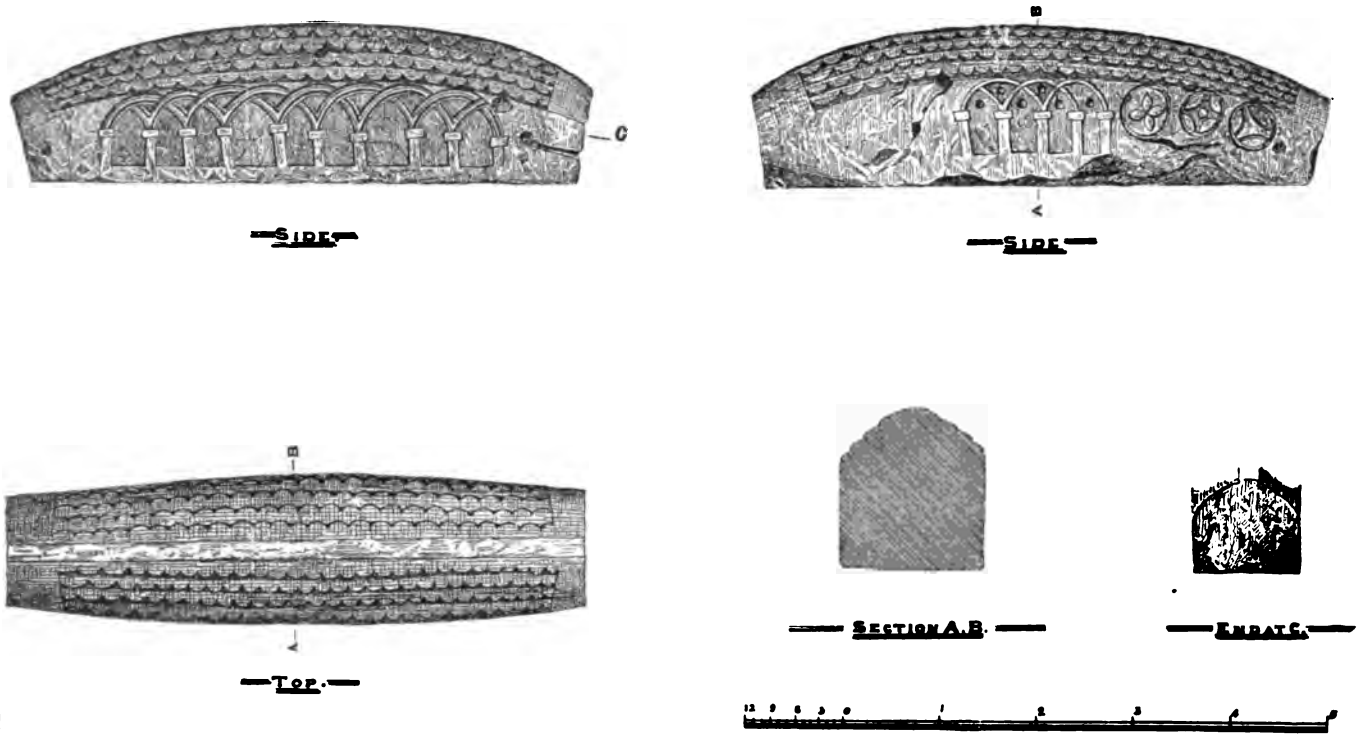


Recumbent Monument with hog-backed top and arcaded sides at Luss on Loch Lomond
Drawn by the late Mr. J. Russell Walker.
(Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.)

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specimens at Govan and one at Luss on Loch Lomond. Hog-backed stones of this kind are not uncommon in England and Scotland, and there are two in Wales, but none have as yet been recorded as existing in Ireland.

Hog-backed stones must be studied in connection with two other classes of monuments, namely, coped stones and shrine-shaped stones, as all three have certain features in common. Hog-backed stones are usually nearly triangular in cross-section, having two sloping sides like the roof of a house and ornamented with scales, imitation of roofing-tiles. They have a central ridge which is higher in the middle than at the two ends, whence the name "hog-back." The ends are decorated with a pair of beasts facing each other and grasping the sides of the stone with their paws.

Coped stones (as here defined) differ from hog-backed stones in having the central ridge level throughout and in having vertical as well as sloping sides. The ends are hipped and the zoömorphic features are absent.

Shrine-shaped stones resemble coped stones, but they are shorter and taller, being evidently made in imitation of the metal reliquaries of the 11th century which in their turn were copied from a house.

Let us now try and trace the evolution of the hog-backed type of recumbent monument, and in doing so we shall have to account for three peculiarities, namely, (1) the architectural features, (2) the hog-backed central ridge, and (3) the zoömorphic ends.

The first of these—the architectural features—takes us back to the early Christian sculptured sarcophagi of the 3rd and 4th centuries in Italy, which were copied from those of Pagan Rome. In the first instance they were devoid of any architectural features whatever, and the decoration consisted of groups of Scriptural figure subjects covering the whole surface. Sometimes the bust of the deceased within an ornamental shell, or a memorial inscription on a panel, was placed in the middle of the figure subjects.

Architectural features in the shape of colonnades begin to make their appearance on Christian sculptured sarcophagi of about the 3rd century in Italy and subsequently the covers of the sarcophagi were made semi-



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circular on the top and treated as tiled roofs, thus giving the whole the appearance of a complete building. The sarcophagus of the Emperor Honorius at Ravenna is a good instance of this method of treatment.

A further stage in the development of the architectural idea is seen on a Merovingian sarcophagus of the early Christian period from the Dordogne in France, which has a roof with a central ridge, sloping sides, and hipped ends, instead of the semicircular top.

The colonnade and the roof, with its conventional-tiled covering, survived until the Norman period, as is shown by the hog-backed stone at Luss and the coped stone from Fordwich, now in Canterbury Cathedral.

The hog-backed ridge seems to have been copied from the roofs of buildings actually so constructed in the 11th century. At all events, the Castle of Dinan, in Normandy, and the palace of King Harold at Bosham are represented on Bayeux tapestry with an arched top, as is also the relic shrine (made in imitation of a house) on which Harold swore allegiance to Duke William, afterwards William the Conqueror. The scene, which is believed to have taken place at Bayeux, is that described in Fowke's *Bayeux Tapestry*: "When Harold placed his hand upon it the hand trembled and the flesh quivered; but he swore and promised upon his oath to take Ele to wife, to give his sister in marriage to a Norman noble, and to deliver up England to the Duke; thereunto doing all in his power, according to his might and wit, after the death of Edward, if he should live, so help him God and the holy relics there."

The zoömorphic features of the hog-backed stones are not so easily accounted for as are the architectural ones. I can only suggest that they may have been borrowed from the Scandinavian art of the period, as the nearest thing I can find to the beast grasping the sides of the hog-backed stone with its paws is the sort of sprawling animal which occurs on some of the Gotlandic brooches of the Iron Age.

One of the hog-backed stones at Govan affords a curious instance of the beast-motive attacking and swallowing up all the other art-motives which enter into the design. The roofing tiles become, either through misapprehension of their real significance or by wilful perversion, the scales of a monster, the backbone takes the place of the ridge of the roof, and the

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Harold swearing allegiance to William as represented on the Bayeux Tapestry. The Reliquary which Harold is touching with his right hand has a hog-backed top like the Govan Monuments.

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whole monument, which was in the first instance copied from a house, is transformed into a beast.

The stones at Hickling, in Nottinghamshire, and at Lanivet, in Cornwall, supply interesting examples of the survival of the beast-motive, but occupy a very subordinate position.

The sepulchral monuments made in imitation of metal shrines form a class deserving of notice. The best specimens are at St. Andrews, in Scotland; Gosforth, in Cumberland; and Peterborough Cathedral. They may be fittingly compared with the Irish shrine found in Lough Erne, the reliquary at Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire, and the conventional representation of the Temple at Jerusalem in the scene of the Temptation of Christ in the Book of Kells. It may be observed also that the capstones of several of the Irish crosses are made in the shape of a reliquary. In all these instances the art-motive is that of a little house similar to the one which the Venerable Bede tells us was placed over the grave of St. Chad.

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## No. XVIII.

# THE CHÂTEAU OF ST. FARGEAU.

BY

JAMES DALRYMPLE DUNCAN, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., F.R.S. Edin.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 21st December*, 1899.]

AMONG the innumerable castles with which France is studded from north to south and from east to west the *château* of St. Fargeau is but little known to the traveller, and yet it is interesting both architecturally and from the fact that during almost its entire history it has been its fortune to be the property of notable historical personages. In the latter respect indeed few buildings in France can rival it.

The town of St. Fargeau (which only contains some 2,600 inhabitants) lies in the Puisaye, a district of forest-clad upland partly in the department of the Yonne, partly in that of the Niévre. Situated on the Loing, a picturesque stream which in the lower reaches of its course in the neighbourhood of Nemours and Moret is a happy hunting-ground of artists, it contains several features of architectural interest. The church (which ranks as a *monument historique*) dates principally from the 15th century. Externally it is a plain brick building with stone buttresses and a square central tower surmounted by an octagonal belfry, which again is crowned by a sharp slated spire. The western *façade* has a fine triple portal, above which is a rose

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THE CHÂTEAU OF ST. FARGEAU.

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window. The nave has neither triforium nor clerestory, and is lit from the ends and from the aisles. The latter are separated from it by arcades of pointed arches which on the north side rise from massive piers, while on the south they are supported by circular pillars. The sanctuary, standing on a raised platform, is divided from the choir aisles by solid side walls carried up to the roof, and has a square eastern termination, behind which runs an ambulatory. The stalls which date from the 15th century are elaborately carved, and above them are some quaint pictures of the sufferings of Christ, in which Pilate and his soldiers, the Jewish priests, and all the other personages, are represented in mediaeval costumes.

Near the church is a fine old brick gateway with stone facings, having at one of its angles a graceful *tourelle* rising from a corbel. But the main feature of St. Fargeau is the *château*, a gloomy brick building of immense size standing within a broad moat. The present buildings mainly date from the 15th and 17th centuries. The principal entrance is a fortified gateway between two towers approached from the town by a stone bridge which now takes the place of the formerly existing drawbridge. In shape the *château* is an irregular pentagon guarded by four towers in addition to those at the entrance.[1] The interior forms a large central court surrounded on all sides by buildings divided into five blocks or *corps-de-logis*. The *façades* of three of these have sculptured pediments and are adorned with rich renaissance ornament;[2] the other two have plain fronts. The principal doorway is approached by a semicircular *perron* or flight of steps and protected by a triple portico. Round the greater portion of the court runs an arcaded passage. The tall slate roof has a balustrade at its base, and from it at intervals rise small towers with conical tops.

On the opposite side of the *château* from the town is a *parc* (a French

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[1] The principal tower or donjon is 90 feet in diameter. The mediaeval aspect of the *château* has been entirely destroyed by the vandalism of one of its proprietors who cut down the height of the towers, crowning them with ugly belvideres, while he in addition removed the crenelated battlements and *machicoulis* and inserted large and utterly inappropriate windows.

[2] Between the windows of the second story of these portions of the edifice is sculptured the monogram of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, A. M. L. C., alternately with the escutcheon of Bourbon.

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phrase equivalent to our Scots word "policies") of considerable size, containing a small lake and a number of fine trees.[1] The estate is of great extent, a drive through one of the forests being nearly six miles in length.

A fortress has existed on the present site since the end of the 10th century, when Heribert, Bishop of Auxerre, an illegitimate brother of Hugues Capet, laid the foundation of the first *château* of St. Fargeau. At this time the lands of St. Fargeau and Seigneurie of Puisaye formed part of the barony of Toucy.

Shortly after, the Bishop seems either to have disposed of the castle and estate, or to have been deprived of them by the king, and they became the property of Ithier, the first of a race of valiant soldiers who greatly distinguished themselves in the wars of the 12th and 13th centuries. Ithier III. in 1147 accompanied Louis VII. in the second crusade to the Holy Land. Ithier V., who had been created Viscount of Auxerre, fell at the siege of Damietta in 1248, while John the 11th Seigneur was one of the companions of St. Louis in the abortive crusade of 1270 which terminated in the saintly king's death at Tunis. John died in 1260, and as he left no son St. Fargeau and the Puisaye passed to his daughter Jeanne, who married Thibault, Comte de Bar, the head of the historic race who in later years became Dukes of Lorraine and Kings of Provence. They were not inferior in bravery to their predecessors, and Guillaume de Bar, 19th Seigneur of St. Fargeau, who fell at Poitiers in 1356, distinguished himself in the battle by the dauntless courage with which he withstood the victorious English. Robert, his brother, succeeded, and marrying a daughter of the unfortunate John, King of France, who had been taken prisoner at Poitiers, considerably improved the position of his family by obtaining the erection of Bar into a *duché-pairie*. St. Fargeau continued in the ownership of the House of Bar, but being only a comparatively unimportant part of the possessions of the family, is seldom mentioned in the history of the period. It is, however, recorded that it stood a siege in 1411, and that it eventually passed into the hands of Louis, Cardinal de Bar, Bishop of Verdun, who at his death bequeathed it to his nephew, Jean Jacques, Marquis de Montferrat. On 15th February, 1450,

[1] A gateway leads into it from the *cour*.

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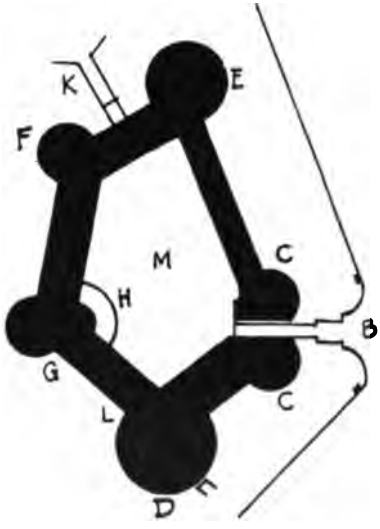


## Plan of the Château.

B. Bridge.

C.C. Gateway Towers.

D. Donjon, known as Tower of Jacques Coeur.

E. Tour de L'Horloge.

F. Tour du Roi.

G. Tour de la Chapelle.

H. Perron.

K. Bridge Leading to Parc.

L. Gallery.

M. Central Courtyard.

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John, William, and Boniface de Montferrat, sons of the Marquis, sold the lands and *châtellenies* of St. Fargeau, Larrau, Perreuse, and Toucy to Jacques Coeur, Counsellor and *Argentier* to the king, one of the most notable historical figures of the 15th century. A native of the town of Bourges, it does not appear to be quite clear how he laid the first foundations of his vast fortune. In 1432 he is heard of in Syria organising great commercial enterprises in the Levant, but he seems not long after this to have returned to France, and, settling in his native city, to have begun the erection there of the splendid mansion which has happily come down to us as perhaps the finest example of the town residence of a mediaeval merchant-prince.

He does not appear to have taken any part in the National Council which Charles VII. in 1438 summoned at Bourges, from the deliberations of which resulted the Pragmatic Sanction, asserting the claims of the Gallican Church to be independent of the control of the Papal See on several points of importance; but very soon after this the Constable de Richemont and he stand out conspicuous as the foremost men in the patriotic band who resolved, as a first step towards the liberation of the wide districts which still remained under the dominion of the English Crown, to suppress the *routiers* or mercenary troops of adventurers who roamed over France plundering and ravaging the country, and who were always the willing tools of the disaffected and turbulent *noblesse*.

De Richemont was the actual leader of the party, but Jacques Coeur, as he was often to do in the future, furnished the funds which were necessary for a successful organisation of the struggle. The king was too shrewd not to see that it was the interest of the Crown to support de Richemont, all the more that the latter had already obtained a victory over his opponents by the capture of Meaux. Accordingly, by the royal command an Assembly of the States-General was convoked at Orleans in 1439, at which severely repressive measures were recommended against the *écorcheurs*, as the marauders were styled, and the establishment of a standing military force under the orders of the king resolved on. A royal ordinance followed giving effect to the recommendation of the States-General, and the nobles at once saw that the rights and privileges which they had turned to such evil account were in danger. The rebellion known as the Praguerie was the result. It was

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headed by the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., then as in the later years of his father's reign always glad to ally himself with disaffected factions, but the struggle was of short duration. The king and his loyal followers took the field, and as the insurgents received little support, they were compelled to surrender. This initial success was followed by steps being taken to free the country of the plundering companies of *condottieri*. They were broken up in all directions, and while the best of them were selected to form part of the newly established royal forces, the rest were sternly told to return whence they had come and lead honest lives for the future. When, a few years later, the final stages of the long struggle with England began which terminated with the defeat of Talbot's army at Castillon in 1451, no small part of the brunt of the contest was borne by the very men who had so recently been the bane and terror of the land, but who had now turned against the common foe the swords they had been using for rapine and for the oppression of their fellow-countrymen.

The struggle had been a long and costly one. Before it began the king had been so poor that, according to a well-known story, he had been absolutely unable to settle an account due to his shoemaker for a pair of shoes which had been supplied to him, and when the exacting tradesman found the monarch had on the very wares for which he could not pay, he sternly compelled their immediate re-delivery, leaving the unfortunate Charles barefoot. With the royal finances in so impoverished a condition, it is evident that the maintaining in the field of the large armies which Dunois and Richemont led against the English, first in Normandy and then in Guienne, must have involved an expenditure which was only partially provided for by the taxes wrung from the suffering French people. A large portion of the necessary funds was supplied by the patriotic generosity of Jacques Coeur, whose colossal wealth enabled him to render this service. "Rich as Jacques Coeur" was a proverb of the day. Not only the king, but many of the greatest personages of the realm—princes, marshals, bishops, and important court officials—were his debtors for large sums. He had houses in Paris, Bourges, Lyon, Montpelier, Marseille, Beziers, and in other towns. His ships traded between every port in the Mediterranean. Besides St. Fargeau he had extensive estates in many parts of France—indeed, his

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large purchases of land in some degree assisted in bringing about his downfall, as the nobles did not relish the spectacle of a simple trader outvieing them in the extent of his domains. But the main cause of his ruin was the determination of the king to relieve himself of the heavy burden of indebtedness with which he found himself saddled at the termination of the war. Charles VII. has been called the "Well-Served," and certainly no king was ever more fortunate in finding loyal and faithful subjects ready to come to his help in the numerous crises of his stormy reign, no king was ever more ungrateful. Jeanne Darc regained for him half of his kingdom, and he never stirred a finger to save the heroic Maid from a cruel and ignominious death. Jacques Coeur provided the sinews of the struggle by which he recovered the other half, and Charles repaid him by robbing him of his property and driving him into exile. But I am anticipating.

The first indication of the gathering storm was a groundless charge made against him by Jeanne de Vendôme and her husband, François de Montberon, of poisoning Agnes Sorel, the mistress of the king, but the accusation was so ridiculous that, prejudiced against Jacques Coeur as the Court was, the proceedings hopelessly broke down. Jeanne de Vendôme (who was heavily in Jacques Coeur's debt, and had probably hoped by bringing about his ruin to secure the extinction of her obligation) was made to apologise to her victim, and ordered not to approach within ten leagues of any place where the king and queen were residing. But despite the abandonment of the charge, the doom of the great banker had been predetermined. Other accusations were made against him. It was said he had sent arms and munitions of war to the Saracens, thus assisting them to gain victories over their Christian opponents. He was charged with debasing the coin, with sending quantities of bullion outwith the realm, with malversation in regard to the affairs of the province of Languedoc, with counterfeiting the king's signet, and with alienating the affections of the people from their lawful sovereign. All of these were made with the connivance of the ungrateful king, who, as soon as Jacques Coeur was safely lodged in prison, began the game of plunder and spoliation by helping himself from the coffers of his benefactor to 100,000 gold crowns—£50,000 of our money—to assist in defraying the cost of the war in Guienne. Coeur was only

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allowed six weeks to prepare his defence. In vain he made representations that this was quite inadequate, as to answer some of the accusations he would have to communicate with distant parts of France. He was not allowed to employ counsel to assist him, and his judges were selected on account of their known hostility to him. The President of the Commission was Antoine de Chabannes, of whom we shall hear later as his successor in the ownership of the castle and lands of St. Fergeau. The chief organiser of the prosecution was Otto Castellani, a supple Italian, for whom Jacques Coeur had procured the Treasurership of Toulouse, and who later was rewarded for his share in the plot by being appointed *argentier*, the office held by his benefactor. Castellani was a cousin of the Medicis, and Michelet will have it that the conspiracy against Jacques Coeur was not merely entered into by the king and nobles, but also by the Italian bankers and financiers, who found the energetic Berrichon a formidable rival.

The proceedings dragged, mainly on account of an attempt which was made by the Bishop of Poitiers to get the trial removed into the ecclesiastical courts on the ground that the accused man was a tonsured *clerc*, which would point to the fact that Coeur had possibly originally been a notary, then an ecclesiastical office, and had taken minor orders. He had married in the interim, and had a family, but his wife had died before the sentence was pronounced, and the contention of the bishop was that his ecclesiastical status had revived. Much of the evidence on the point turned on the existence of the tonsure. Barbers gave evidence that it could still be seen, and the bishop offered to produce *lettres de tonsure*. But Chabannes and his colleagues would not listen to the contention, and eventually, after vain appeals had been entered, and after Coeur had endured an imprisonment of 22 months in the fortresses of Taillebourg, Lusignan, Maillé, Tours, and Poitiers, the Commission decided that he was guilty of the various crimes with which he had been charged. Ordered to confess that he was guilty, he refused, but being threatened with torture and worn out by his long incarceration, the poor broken man professed himself ready to admit the truth of the accusations against him. The sentence, which was pronounced at Lusignan on 29th May, 1453, by

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Jouvenal des Ursins, the king's Chancellor, set forth with a false appearance of moderation that on account of Coeur's past services to the throne he was spared the punishment of death, but he was ordained to make confession of his supposed crimes bare-headed, holding in his hands a torch; he was fined 400,000 crowns, and ordered to be imprisoned till the fine was paid; his goods were confiscated, and he was banished the kingdom. Well might there be a mitigation of his punishment on account of services rendered to the king, for it has been ascertained that amongst other benefactions he had lent Charles 200,000 crowns of gold—equal at the present day to £100,000—for the prosecution of the war in Normandy.

The confiscated estates, despite the protests of Jacques Coeur's children, were brought with indecent haste to sale on 1st June, 1453, when the lands of St. Fargeau were adjudged to Antoine de Chabannes, while another of the Commission of Judges obtained the estates of Motte and Boissé.

After his sentence Jacques Coeur was carried as a prisoner to the strong castle of Beaucaire on the Rhone. From it, through the kindness of friends, he was enabled to escape, and making his way to Rome, received a warm welcome from the Pope, for he seems ever to have been a devoted son of the Church. He was still a rich man, for much of his wealth lay outside France and beyond the reach of the rapacious hands of King Charles and his satellites.

How he spent the later years of his life does not seem to be known, but in 1456, possibly with the view of wiping out the baseless stigma which had been put upon him of rendering assistance to the Saracens, he, at the instigation of the Pope, undertook the command of an expedition which was in that year sent to the Levant against the Turks, and in the course of the campaign he died in the Island of Scio.

By his will he recommended his children to the protection of the king, and it is said Charles was so far touched with remorse at the recollection of his treatment of his old benefactor that he issued a decree restoring to the heirs of Jacques Coeur such portions of their father's estates as had not been sold. Probably, however, this tardy reparation did not greatly benefit them.

During the short period of his proprietorship of St. Fargeau, Jacques

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Coeur had not been able to execute any considerable building operations, but the great tower at the south-east angle is supposed to have been erected by him, and also part of the *enceinte* connecting the tower with the main entrance, as one of the doorways is highly ornamented in a style similar to that which prevails in the house at Bourges.

Antoine de Chabannes, the new owner of St. Fargeau, at once entered into occupancy of the property, remaining in undisturbed possession for the next seven years, but the death of Charless VII. and the succession of Louis XI. altered for a time the complexion of his fortunes. On one of the numerous occasions when the wily Dauphin had risen against his father, Chabannes had commanded the royal forces, and compelled Louis to seek safety in an ignominious flight. The latter was the last person in the world to forget an injury, and one of his first acts on coming to the throne was to throw his old opponent into the Bastille and confiscate his estates. Geoffrey Coeur, the son of Jacques, who on the late king's death had at once entered an appeal against his father's sentence, saw his opportunity, and, cherishing a special animosity against Chabannes, took the law into his own hands by seizing the castle of St. Fargeau. The appeal came up for hearing on 21st May, 1462, but the judges declined to entertain it, despite the fact that the king indicated very clearly that he wished them to come to an opposite decision. To mark his disapproval of the judgment he issued in August, 1463, letters-patent by which Geoffrey Coeur, in consideration of his father's great services, was reinstated in St. Fargeau and his other lands in Puisaye.

But another turn of fortune's wheel now took place. In 1465 the revolt against the royal authority, which came to be known as the War of the Public Weal, broke out, and Chabannes escaping from the Bastille joined the rebels. His first step was to revenge his private wrongs, and at the head of a body of troops he marched on St. Fargeau, took possession of it, and made Geoffrey Coeur a prisoner. In the end the king was only too glad to come to terms with the revolutionary leaders, and the Treaty of Conflans was arranged, one effect of which was the reinstatement of Chabannes in all his dignities and possessions, including St. Fargeau. According to his own account, he found the castle and domain

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very much dilapidated by Geoffrey Coeur's occupancy of them, and forthwith instituted proceedings against the latter, claiming repetition of the rents which had been collected, with an indemnity of 200,000 livres for damage done to the estate, and 50,000 livres for injury to the furniture and fittings of the *château*. Whether he recovered any portion of his claims is doubtful, but he managed to retain possession of the lands, for by this time the king had come to see the merits of the rough soldier, and had taken him into favour. He proved a loyal and faithful servant, and on more than one occasion rendered invaluable assistance to his royal master. When Louis was taken prisoner by Charles the Bold of Burgundy he was compelled to send an order to Chabannes to disband the army of which the latter was in command. He took upon himself to disobey the king's mandate, and when the latter was released he cordially thanked the veteran for his action, and on the institution of the Order of St. Michael created him one of the first knights. He did not hesitate to speak his mind to Louis, and on one occasion when the monarch twitted him with having been a captain of *écorcheurs*, he replied that he had never flayed anyone but the king's enemies, and mighty little profit their skins had brought him.

On the death of Louis he retained the favour and confidence of Charles VIII., and dying in December, 1488, full of years and honours, was buried in the church of St. Fargeau, where an equestrian statue was erected in his memory. The last twelve years of his life were principally passed at the *château*, and when in 1485 he was appointed to the high office of Governor of Paris and the Ile de France, he quitted his rural retirement in the Puisaye with extreme regret and reluctance. He made extensive additions and alterations at St. Fargeau, raising the height of the existing towers and building two others, thus completing the present *enceinte*.

Throughout the life of Antoine de Chabannes Geoffrey Coeur persisted in pressing his claim for the restoration of the *château* and lands, but dying in the same year with his rival, an arrangement was come to under the sanction of parliament in August, 1489. Chabannes had left an only son, Jean de Chabannes, while Geoffrey Coeur was survived by a widow and four children. By the arrangement Chabannes was allowed to retain possession of St. Fargeau on agreeing to pay the widow of Geoffrey Coeur an annuity of

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400 livres tournois, a most unfair and inadequate settlement, but of a piece with the treatment which had been meted out to her father-in-law. Thus ended the long dispute.

Jean de Chabannes died in 1504 without male issue, and by an Act of Division St. Fargeau passed to one of his daughters, Antoinette, who had married René d'Anjou, Comte de Meziéres. Their son Nicholas succeeded, and in 1541 obtained from Francis I. letters erecting the lands and *château* into a *comté*. Nicholas had an only daughter, Renée, who married in 1566 Francis de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, and in their favour Henry III. in 1575 constituted St. Fargeau a *Duché-pairie*. Francis de Bourbon and Renée d'Anjou had only one child, Marie, Duchesse de Montpensier, who married Gaston, Duc d'Orleans, brother of Louis XIII. They, again, had an only child, Anne Marie de Montpensier (born May, 1627), best known as "La Grande Mademoiselle," the heroine of the Fronde and authoress of the interesting *Mémoires* which throw so much light on the events of the time in which she lived.

In many respects the most notable of the long list of owners of St. Fargeau, Anne de Montpensier was proprietor of such a number of estates that, important as her domains in the Puisaye were, they were the merest item in the catalogue of her vast possessions. At her majority her revenues were said to have amounted to the sum of 500,000 livres, an enormous figure for those days. In addition to St. Fargeau there belonged to her the principality of Dombes, to which were attached sovereign rights, the Duchies of Châtellerault and Montpensier, the Comté of Eu and the Barony of Thiers, comprising amongst them a huge stretch of French territory. The greatest heiress of Europe in her time, her hand was sought in marriage by eight or nine reigning princes. Our own Charles II., when an exile in France, was one of her most persistent suitors, and in her memoirs there are amusing notices of the efforts Queen Henrietta Maria made to secure the richly dowered girl for her impecunious son.[1] Mademoiselle de Montpensier was not, however, greatly attracted by the Stewart prince, though his conversation amused her and he excited her warmest sympathy by his account of the life

[1] *Mémoires de Mlle. de Montpensier*, i., 324.

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he had led in Scotland, where even playing on the violin was considered a sin.[1] She might have looked with more favour on proposals which were made to her on behalf of the Emperor Ferdinand III. of Germany, but these after a time were dropped. The man she would most readily have married was Condé, but unfortunately he had a wife already, and although the feeble state of the latter's health repeatedly gave hope that the obstacle would be removed, the hope invariably resulted in disappointment. In all probability Mademoiselle would have become Queen of France as the consort of Louis XIV. if her restless ambition and her wish to please her father, the Duke of Orleans, had not led her to join the Frondeurs in their campaign against Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin.

The civil war known as the Fronde divides itself into two periods. The first revolt against the wily Italian who was ruling France through his influence over the queen was an attempt by the Parliament of Paris to imitate the successful resistance of the English Parliament to the policy of Charles I. The two bodies were, however, very differently constituted, for the French assembly was a mere association of lawyers, many of them men of great ability, but without any influence among the people. With the Parliament, however, was associated the Coadjutor Archbishop of Paris, Paul de Gondi, afterwards Cardinal de Retz, an able and not specially scrupulous man, who saw his opportunity of heading a great popular movement. The name "Frondeurs," signifying "slingers," which the party adopted, took its origin from a contemptuous remark of a member of the Parliament, Bachaumont, who compared his colleagues to schoolboys using their slings and running away whenever they saw the eyes of the authorities upon them. De Retz chose to consider the designation either a complimentary or a convenient one, and hat-strings in the form of slings became the badge of the revolutionary party. Mazarin took the injudicious step of having Broussel, the leader of the Parliament, arrested. The Parisians at once rose, the safety of the city was imperilled, and it was only by the intervention of de Retz, who procured Broussel's release, that the outbreak was for the time quieted.

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[1] *Mémoires*, i., 321.

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The Queen and Mazarin fled to Ruel and promised concessions, on the faith of which they were allowed to return to Paris. But with the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia Mazarin thought he saw a chance of coercing the turbulent citizens, and having secured the co-operation of the Great Condé, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, and others of the *noblesse*, withdrew to St. Germain, where he assembled an army.

The entire Parisian populace rose in revolt, and as Mazarin was by no means popular with a large section of the nobility, his aristocratic enemies, seeing an opportunity of injuring him, flocked to the support of the cause of the Fronde. The Duke of Beaufort, the darling of the market women, Condé's sister, the Duchesse de Longueville, her brother, the Prince de Conti, and the Duc de La Rochefoucault were the most notable of this brilliant accession to the ranks of the rebels. But the contest was of short duration. The military skill of Condé, who took command of the royal army, soon scattered to the winds the undisciplined forces of the Frondeurs, and the Parliament was glad to sue for peace. However, Turenne was reported to be marching to the help of the citizens, and though by the machinations of Mazarin his efforts were rendered abortive, it was thought desirable to come to terms, and the Treaty of Ruel was arranged and signed, thus ending the first period of the struggle.

Condé is the great figure of the later period of the war of the Fronde. Always proud and overbearing, the knowledge of the valuable services he had rendered to the Court party made him so arrogant that he disdained to recognise the authority of an adventurer like Mazarin. The queen decided on his arrest, and he and his brother and sister were thrown as prisoners into the Donjon of Vincennes. The Duchesse of Longueville, however, succeeded in escaping from her *duresse*, and, making her way across the frontier, persuaded Turenne to take the field against the royal forces and march on Paris. At first he was successful, but later met with a severe defeat which paralyzed the Frondeurs. They, however, resolved on a fresh effort. The Parisians besieged Anne of Austria and Mazarin in the Palais Royal, and the latter was forced to fly to Havre, whence he subsequently retired to Germany, having, however, first liberated Condé and Conti. Things now looked very black for the Court party. Turenne was marching

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on Paris, and Condé on his arrival in the city met with an enthusiastic reception from the populace.

It was at this juncture that Anne de Montpensier threw in her lot with the party of revolt. Her sympathies had for some time lain in that direction, and the suspicions of the queen as to her loyalty had been expressed on more than one occasion. Mademoiselle had formerly entertained a strong aversion to Condé, who had apparently returned the compliment, for when a reconciliation between them was effected, the unchivalrous soldier admitted that when he heard his fair enemy had been seized with small-pox he had been very hopeful that she would be badly marked, while she replied that nothing had ever given her greater satisfaction than the news of his being thrown into prison. The king's majority had been declared by Parliament on 7th September, 1651, but Condé had previously retired to Chantilly. Ten days afterwards the Court removed to Bourges.

Mazarin returned to France about the end of the year, despite the efforts of Gaston of Orléans, who withdrew his troops which were serving with the royal forces, and sent them to hold the passages of the rivers so as to prevent the Cardinal from crossing. The latter, however, managed to force a passage, and rejoined the Court at Poitiers on 30th January, 1652. Gaston now definitely associated himself with the Frondeurs, and assisted the army of the Duc de Nemours to cross the Seine at Mantes.

Angers, however, surrendered to the royal forces, which proceeded to Blois on their way to Paris, whence a message was sent to Orléans enquiring whether the citizens would receive the king and the cardinal. The Orléannais in their dilemma forwarded a communication to their feudal lord, the Duke of Orléans, asking what they were to do. Doubts being entertained that de Sourdis, the Governor of the city, was well disposed to the Court party, Gaston was pressed to go to Orléans, but as it was thought undesirable that he should leave Paris, he decided to send his daughter as his representative. The high-spirited girl was delighted to undertake the commission, and at once set out. When she arrived at Toury she was received by Nemours and other officers, who expressed themselves as better pleased to see her than her father, and placed themselves under her orders. On approaching Orléans, however, she was informed that there was no chance of her



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obtaining access to the town, and when she arrived at the Banniére gate the news was confirmed, as she was formally refused admission. Undismayed, she proceeded to another gate, which she commanded the captain in charge to open, but he replied that he was not in possession of the keys. She now asked some boatmen to convey her to the Porte de la Faux, but they informed her it would be easier to burst open a gate situated on the quay, which was nearer. To encourage them, she took up a position on a small knoll, though she had to make her way to it through thorns and brambles, and her lady-in-waiting was thrown into hysterics by the danger which they were running. Eventually, by means of two boats and a broken ladder, she succeeded in making her way across the moat, and the gate having been forced, she was passed through the hole which had been made. Placed in a chair, she was borne triumphantly through the city, meeting everywhere with a cordial reception, except from the abashed governor, whom, however, she greeted in the most friendly fashion.[1]

She now took the command of Orléans, and one of her earliest duties was to preside over a council of war in the Hôtel de Ville, when for the first time she spoke in public. In her *Mémoires* she mentions how great a trial this was.

The task before her was no light one. The Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, who were nominally under her orders, were so jealous that each opposed whatever the other suggested, and on one occasion they actually came to blows in her presence. She was, however, able by her tact and diplomacy to direct satisfactorily the jarring elements under her control, and her father repeatedly expressed to her his gratitude for the valuable services she had rendered in holding Orléans and compelling the royal army to make a long detour to pass the Loire at Gien. She was, however, anxious to get back to Paris, and, having obtained her father's permission to do so, set out on the 2nd of May on her return journey. On arriving at Étampes, where the army of the Frondeurs was stationed, she and her dames of honour, Madame de Fiésque and Madame de Frontenac, who had been dignified with the title of *maréchales de camp*, were received

[1] *Mémoires*, i., 363.

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with military honours, and she took a leading part in a council of war in which it was decided, very much on her recommendation, to avoid coming to an engagement with the royal forces. Condé met her at Bourg-la-Reine and accompanied her to Paris, where an enthusiastic crowd of the citizens lined the streets in her honour. On arriving at her father's palace she received a warm welcome from him, but a somewhat frigid reception from her stepmother, who took the opportunity of showing her dislike to Condé by professing that she could not bear the odour of the Russian leather boots which he was wearing, in consequence of which the great soldier was compelled to retire ignominiously from the room.[1]

Now began the brightest epoch in the chequered life of Mademoiselle de Montpensier. The heroine of the hour, she was flattered and courted by all. The war between the contending factions proceeded with varying results. On the 11th of May Condé attacked and took possession of St. Denis, but it was immediately retaken by the royal forces after a severe struggle, in the course of which upwards of 500 burgesses of Paris were cut to pieces.

Turenne, who in the interval had been persuaded to detach himself from the Frondeurs, besieged Étampes with, however, a somewhat inadequate force. To encourage the besiegers, Mazarin brought the young king to the scene of action, and warned the garrison not to continue the defence. No attention was paid to the request, and eventually, on the approach of the Duc de Lorraine with an army largely composed of Spaniards and other mercenaries, Turenne was compelled to raise the siege. Mademoiselle had ridden out to Choisy to see the army of Lorraine cross the Seine. She admired his cavalry, but thought very little of the infantry, especially of an Irish regiment, of whom she remarks that they had nothing to recommend them but their bagpipes (*musettes*).[2]

Condé now took command of the combined forces of the Frondeurs at St. Cloud, but eventually attempted to withdraw to Charenton, crossing the Seine below Paris. At dawn on the morning of the 2nd of July he was attacked between Montmartre and La Chapelle and driven back to the

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 55. [2] *Mémoires*, ii., 79.

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Porte St. Denis, at which, when he tried to enter, he was refused admission. Sending his cavalry to keep off the enemy, he made his way to the Faubourg St. Antoine, where a fierce engagement took place. Condé had only 5000 men, whereas Turenne, who had command of the royalist side, had more than 12,000. Hopelessly outnumbered, the Frondeurs were surrounded on all sides, and though their leader performed prodigies of valour, his position became one of extreme peril. The news reached Paris, where Gaston of Orléans, with characteristic selfishness, was not at first disposed to do anything to assist his comrade in arms. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, however, with her usual spirit, came to the rescue, and, getting a letter of permission from her father, made her way to the Hôtel de Ville, where with some difficulty she persuaded the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, the Governor of Paris, and Le Fevre, the Provost of the Merchants, to allow Condé and his exhausted troops to enter the city.[1] Had this not been done every one of them would probably have perished. As they retired they were hard pressed by the forces of Turenne, but by the orders of Mademoiselle the cannon of the Bastile were fired on the latter, who then abandoned the attack. It was said at the time that Mademoiselle had fired one of the guns with her own hands, and Mazarin, when he heard this, is reported to have remarked, "*Voilà un coup de canon qui vient de tuer le mari de Mademoiselle!*" meaning that her action had put an end to all chance of her becoming the wife of Louis XIV.

An unfortunate tragedy occurred next day, as in the disturbed state of the city a riotous mob seized the opportunity of attacking the Hôtel de Ville, setting it on fire, and putting to death a large number of the most prominent and respectable of the citizens. To their shame, neither Gaston nor Condé took the trouble to interfere, but the indomitable Mademoiselle, despite the disturbed condition of the streets, made her way to the Hôtel de Ville, where she saved the life of Le Clerc, the Provost of the Merchants, and was mainly instrumental in bringing the riot to an end. The defence of Paris was maintained for a few months longer, largely through her efforts, for her hold on the affections of the people was great,

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 96.

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while she rendered invaluable service by her mediation in the constant quarrels and disputes among the jealous nobles. But the day of the Fronde was over. The citizens became tired of the long-continued strife, and their thoughts turned with affection to the little king. Condé and Lorraine thought it prudent to leave Paris, communications with the court were at once opened, and on 21st October, 1652, Louis XIV. made his formal entry into his capital.

It was only natural that the court party should look with little favour on Mademoseille de Montpensier, and regard her recent behaviour with resentment. This was shown even before the king entered Paris by an intimation being sent to her that within twenty-four hours she was to leave the Tuileries, which had been her home since she was eight days old. Her grief at the severance of the old associations was intensified by the fact that she hardly knew where to turn for a place of abode. Her father, who was living at the Luxembourg, made no offer to receive her, and she eventually found a refuge in the house of Madame de Fiésque. Gaston had himself been ordered to quit Paris, but declined to take her with him; and when in her distress she asked him what she ought to do, declined to advise her, sneeringly telling her that she could console herself with the thought of what a heroine she had been, and with the recollection of all the flattery she had received. A suggestion that she should retire to her *château* of Bois-le-Vicomte could not be entertained, as she had permitted its use as an hospital, and it was certain to be unhealthy. In the end she decided to go to St. Fargeau, as, while not too far from Paris, it was in a part of the country difficult of access, and was, moreover, within four days' ride of Stenay, where her father was to pass the winter.[1] On the king's permission being asked, he was graciously pleased to approve of St. Fargeau as a place of residence, and Mademoiselle accordingly set out for her new abode. On the way she heard of a number of soldiers moving as if to intercept her, but it turned out a false alarm, and, after a long and fatiguing journey of twenty leagues, arrived, as she thought, at her destination. Here, however, a most unpleasant surprise awaited her. St.

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 223.

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Fargeau for a lengthened period had been very little visited by its owners, and Mademoiselle was evidently altogether unprepared for the condition of extreme dilapidation in which she found everything. The drawbridge was broken, there was scarcely a door or window in the building, the grass was growing knee-deep in the courtyard, and the garden was a wilderness. One room was fortunately found habitable, this being due to the fact that, by permission of the Duc d'Orléans, an old nobleman, the Duc de Bellegarde, had been allowed for a term to live in the *château*. Here supper was served, but as it was apparent that till some improvements were effected St. Fargeau was impossible as a residence, Mademoiselle and her exhausted retinue made their way to the small moated *château* of Dannery, two leagues off, where at last they found a resting-place. She remained three days at Dannery, after which she returned to St. Fargeau, where part of the building had now been made fit for occupation. Her own apartments were, however, in a deplorable condition, and while the necessary repairs on them were in progress she was compelled to use a small room in the upper story, which she describes as a garret. Misfortunes never come singly, and it was found that by an unfortunate mistake her bed had been left behind, and it did not arrive for ten days. By good luck, however, her *bailli*, or land agent, had been recently married, and had purchased a bed, of which he was glad to give his mistress the use. How her retinue, and how the *bailli* and his wife fared in the matter of beds, is not disclosed!

Shortly after her arrival at St. Fargeau Mademoiselle received a visit from the Duchesse de Sully and Madame de Laval, but she was still so short of furniture that she was unable to accommodate them in the *château*, and they were billeted on the unfortunate *bailli*, who would again doubtless have to surrender his invaluable bed.

A supply of furniture was now, however, procured from Bois-le-Vicomte, and as Mademoiselle saw that her stay at St. Fargeau might be prolonged for a very considerable period she resolved to make extensive alterations on the *château*. With this view she sent to Paris for Le Vau, the most celebrated architect of the day, who had built for Fouquet the fine *château* of Vaux, and at once set out about her improvements. These consisted mainly in the erection of the Renaissance *façades* in the interior

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court, which still remain to us. Between them and the old walls she constructed galleries and ranges of apartments, while she also turned the towers to use by forming rooms in them. In one of the galleries she arranged a large collection of family portraits, giving the principal place to that of her grandfather, the Duc de Montpensier, as from him had come the bulk of her possessions. In this gallery she also placed a billiard table, for she was fond of all games and amusements, and was a thorough sportswoman. All through her *Mémoires* we read of the numerous distractions by means of which she endeavoured to make the period of her exile pass pleasantly. She brought over a pack of hounds from England, and with them sometimes hunted three times a week.[1] She played pall-mall with her dame of honour Madame de Frontenac, and tells us that while the latter had the greater strength, she (Mademoiselle) uniformly exhibited more skill and address. On another occasion we hear of her playing battledore and shuttlecock four hours a day. She constructed a theatre, and from time to time had *troupes* of comedians to give performances for her amusement, and there is incidental mention of dances, sylvan concerts, and other festivities. But apart from these methods of "fleeting the time gaily," she had plenty to occupy her attention. She directly superintended her building alterations, and when these were completed, was (as she tells us herself) as delighted with them as her grandmother, Marie de Medicis, had been with the completion of the Luxembourg. She made personal enquiries into the household accounts, the result of which was that she found she was being robbed on all hands, but having ascertained the fact, she forgave the culprits on their promising that the depredations should cease for the future. She also occupied part of her time in writing a life of Madame de Fouquerolles, and when it was completed had a printer from Auxerre smuggled into the *château* for the purpose of secretly setting it up in type. At a later period she began the composition of her extremely interesting *Mémoires*, which were copied out by her faithful friend and adviser, Préfontaine. What, however, most engrossed her were her own unfortunate disputes with her father, whom

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 247.

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she had been compelled to call to account for his intromissions with her revenues during the period of her minority. There can be no question that the unscrupulous Gaston had sedulously plundered his daughter and ward, but the relationship between the parties and the high rank of the defaulting guardian rendered it very difficult to bring him to book. Mademoiselle exhibited eminent capacity and shrewdness in her management of the troublesome and delicate negotiations which were necessary, and in the end a very inadequate settlement was obtained.

The nature of her exile seems merely to have amounted to banishment from the Court—in itself a severe sentence in the 17th century—and she was by no means compelled to reside altogether at St. Fargeau. She went several times to see her father at Orléans and Blois, generally meeting with a very cold reception, and paid a number of visits to friends in different parts of the country. On several occasions she went to Pont-sur-Seine for river baths, on others we find her drinking the waters at Forges, in the Bray district of Normandy. Her description of the latter place gives an insight to the life of a 17th century watering-place. The rule was to rise at six and go to the spring, the waters of which were not unpleasant. Then the visitors of rank were allowed to walk in the gardens of a Capuchin monastery previous to going to mass, after which dinner was served at twelve o'clock. In the afternoon receptions were held. Supper was served at six, and bedtime came at nine.

In returning from one of her journeys to Forges she visited the eccentric Queen of Sweden, who having abdicated her throne was living at Essonne. Mademoiselle had fortunately been prepared beforehand for her extraordinary appearance and mode of dress, otherwise it would have been impossible for her to have retained her gravity.[1]

In course of her journeys through France she mentions many interesting places which she visited and in which she was received as a guest, among these being the *châteaux* of Valençay, Villandry, and Saumur, the abbeys of Fontevrault and Jouarre, and the Bishop's Palace at Meaux. Not the least interesting of them was Port-Royal, the former home of

[1] *Mémoires*, ii., 457.

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Pascal and the other distinguished recluses to whom the world is indebted for the quickening of the spiritual life of the latter part of the 17th century. The Mère Angelique was dead, and the persecution to which the nuns had been subjected by the Archbishop of Paris had only recently terminated. Imbued with the orthodox ideas of the time, Mademoiselle de Montpensier had apparently expected to find the Port-Royalists little better than heathens, and naïvely admitted this to d'Andilly, who showed her over the convent, informing him that she was quite surprised to see holy images and relics, and to find that the sisters told their beads.[1]

She admits in her *Mémoires* she would have liked to have been present at the coronation of Louis XIV., which took place at Reims in the summer of 1654, but she knew that if she went she would not be recognised or received with the distinction due to her rank, so she preferred to stay away. A curious fact is mentioned in connection with the coronation which shows the corruption which then existed in the Church, and the extent to which all the lucrative ecclesiastical positions had been seized by laymen. Not one of the dignitaries known as the six spiritual peers of France, the Archbishop of Reims, and the Bishops of Beauvais, Noyon, Laon, Chalons, and Langres, was at the time in orders, and the important functions they had to discharge at the ceremony were performed by suffragans!

Her exile to St. Fargeau lasted four and a half years, from the autumn of 1652 till the spring of 1657. In the end she became very tired of her banishment, all the more that her father to annoy her secured the removal of her faithful adviser Préfontaine and her secretary Nau, and she was compelled to manage her affairs and carry on her large correspondence without any help. In describing her plight she laughingly says that she little expected ever to be so familiar with the price of materials and labour as to be able to check the accounts of contractors and tradesmen for more than a year. But unaided as she was, and despite the large expenditure, she was able by her natural shrewdness and capability to avoid incurring a single penny of debt.

The worry and anxiety, however, told on her, and she became so anxious to be allowed to return to court that she thought of retiring temporarily to a

[1] *Mémoires*, iii., 72.

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convent in the hope of disarming the suspicion and dislike of her enemies. At length through the intervention of Mazarin she was recalled, on condition that she ceased all correspondence with Condé. Her father had been forgiven and reinstated a year previously.

In 1661 she again visited St. Fargeau accompanied by her sister, Mademoiselle d'Orléans, who was on her way to Italy as the wife of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The young bride only stayed two days and then set out dissolved in tears for the new and strange land of her adoption. Mademoiselle de Montpensier remained at the *château* for a month.

She was, however, destined to pay it a longer visit in the end of the following year, when she had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of her royal cousin and master by her refusal to marry the King of Portugal.[1] Mademoiselle was 35 by this time, while His Portuguese Majesty was an uncouth and unmannerly boy of 19, reported to be fond of wine, tobacco, and low company. The prospect was not an alluring one, and Mademoiselle had considerable excuse for her declinature; but Louis had for reasons of state set his heart on the match, and was furious with his kinswoman for not acceding to his wishes. She was accordingly again banished to St. Fargeau, where she remained till Easter, 1663, when, by making a representation to the king that her life was in danger from the unhealthy condition of her abode, she was allowed to remove to the *château* of Eu in Normandy, and a little later permitted to return to court.

She does not appear to have ever again lived at St. Fargeau, of which indeed she must have had many most unpleasant recollections, and we next hear of her in connection with the place when, on 29th October, 1681, in her almost crazed affection for Lauzun, she made over to him the *château* and the estate, valued at 22,000 livres of annual rent, along with the town and barony of Thiers, and the *gabelle* or salt tax of the Province of Languedoc, the ungrateful recipient being far from satisfied that enough had been given him.

The infatuation of Mademoiselle de Montpensier for Lauzun is one of those extraordinary instances of the perversity of the female character which it is very difficult for the male mind to comprehend. When she first saw him

[1] *Mémoires*, iii., 545.

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she was a woman of forty, while he was six years her junior. She was the greatest heiress of her time with the bluest blood of France flowing in her veins, and had, as I have mentioned, refused half the crowned heads of Europe. He was a penniless younger son of a Gascon family of very moderate rank, the name under which he originally arrived at court being Péguilin, and he only assumed the more euphonious designation by which he is known in 1681. Like many another Gascon of his day his chief possessions were his handsome face and his sword, and he soon showed that he could use the latter to some purpose by the distinguished gallantry he displayed at the sieges of Courtrai and Lille. To do him justice, the advances came mostly from the side of the lady, and Lauzun does not seem to have responded to them with any special degree of ardour, though he could not fail to have felt some measure of pride at the importance of his conquest. The news of Mademoiselle's attachment excited extreme surprise, and Madame de Sevigné, in writing to announce it to Coulanges, asks him to prepare to hear "the most astounding and amazing thing." As was to be expected, the lovers found their path strewn with difficulties. The king at first does not seem to have been very bitterly opposed to the marriage, and when his kinswoman asked him for his consent he did not absolutely refuse it, though he remonstrated with her and asked her to consider carefully the risks she was running. The queen, however, and the king's younger brother, Philip, who had thoughts of marrying Mademoiselle himself, did their very utmost to prevent the execution of the project. Trusting to Louis' tacit acquiescence the prospective bride made a number of arrangements, and had actually taken steps to settle the principality of Dombes and the duchy of Montpensier upon her future husband, but the latter did not exhibit any alacrity in pressing on the celebration of the wedding, and eventually the king changed his mind and distinctly forbade it altogether.[1] Matters remained in this position till the end of the following year (November, 1671), when Lauzun, with incredible folly, committed the unpardonable offence of concealing himself in Mademoiselle de Montespan's bedroom, and was sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Pignerol, where he remained for the next ten years. His love-lorn mistress made constant efforts

[1] *Mémoires*, iv., 234.

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to procure his liberation, but only eventually succeeded in obtaining it through the intervention of Mademoiselle de Montespan, by the gift to the latter's son, the Duc de Maine, of both Dombes and Montpensier, the very estates which had been intended to become the property of Lauzun.[1] It was now that the conveyance to the latter of St. Fargeau and Thiers took place, and his benefactress also succeeded in obtaining for him repayment of all the arrears of his pay which had accrued during the period of his imprisonment, amounting to 980,000 francs. The long and weary years he had spent in Pignerol had, however, changed Lauzun greatly for the worse, not only in regard to his personal appearance, but what was more important, his character and disposition. He had never had a great affection for Mademoiselle at any time, and as he now came to think that his disgrace and ruin were largely due to her intervention in his affairs, his feelings towards her seem to have changed to positive hatred. Whether a marriage between them took place at this time is not known with absolute certainty. It is maintained by some authorities that there was a marriage, while by others this is denied. It is, however, certain that their relations to each other soon became strained to breaking point. Tired of his neglect and ill-treatment, Anne de Montpensier resolved eventually on a final separation, and they parted, never to meet again. Broken in spirit and left through her own folly with a mere remnant of her vast possessions, she lived on to 1693, devoting her last years to good works.

Lauzun, after the final parting, went to England, and at the Revolution of 1688 accompanied Mary of Modena and her son (afterwards the Old Pretender) in their flight to France. He subsequently served with distinction in the army of James II. during the campaign in Ireland. Two years after the death of Mademoiselle de Montpensier he married a daughter of the Maréchal de Lorges.

He does not appear ever to have lived at St. Fargeau, and in February, 1714, sold the estate to Antoine de Crozat for 500,000 francs. The latter was one of the most distinguished financiers of the reign of Louis XIV., and took a prominent part in the establishment of the colony of Louisiana. He only, however, retained possession of St. Fargeau for

[1] *Mémoires*, iv., 426.

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some eighteen months, it being purchased from him for the price he had paid for it by Michel-Robert Lepeletier des Forts. The new owner, himself an eminent lawyer, came of a distinguished legal family, and held during his life a number of important posts, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, Master of Requests, Intendant of the Finances, and Member of the Council of the Regency. He procured the erection of St. Fargeau into a *Comté* in favour of himself and his descendants, and added the territorial designation to his surname. The wing of the *château* on the north-west side of the courtyard was added by him, but it reflects little credit on his taste, being from its want of style and dignity altogether incongruous and at variance with the other portions of the structure.

Dying in 1740, he was succeeded by his grandson, Michel-Etienne Lepeletier de St. Fargeau, who, after being Advocate-General in the Parliament of Paris, was appointed in 1764 to the high judicial position of *President à mortiér* in the Supreme Court. One of the duties of that position was to order an inquiry into the constitution of the Society of Jesus, and it was very much through the influence of his judgment that the society was subsequently suppressed. Known and respected as a man of the highest probity and the most unbending rectitude, his firmness and resolution were a source of strength to his colleagues, and enabled them on several occasions to combine in resisting the dictation of the king. So clearly was this recognised that on one occasion, when the judges had refused to sanction an illegal exercise of the royal perogative, the Chancellor Maupeou said to Louis XV., "*Sire, il faut couper la tête au President de St. Fargeau et je reponds du reste.*" This was a stronger step than the king cared to authorise, but the upright judge was deprived of his office and exiled to Felletin.

During his proprietorship of St. Fargeau a great fire took place in the *château*, by which a large part of the edifice was absolutely gutted, and he was put to heavy expense in re-roofing and restoring the buildings.

The President married Louise-Suzanne Lepeletier de Beaupré, a kinswoman of his own, and their son, Louis-Michel Lepeletier de St. Fargeau, was born at Paris on 29th May, 1760. One of the most interesting figures which raise themselves against the lurid background of the French revolutionary

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epoch, the boy at a very early age showed the qualities and tendencies which afterwards distinguished him, and it is recorded that at the tender age of eight he composed a life of Epaminondas. When he was eighteen he had the misfortune to lose his father by an attack of smallpox, thus, however, succeeding to a splendid and rich inheritance, including, besides St. Fargeau, the fine estate of Montjeu, near Autun, and extensive lands in other districts of the country. When, during the Revolution, seigneurial rights were abolished, those belonging to Lepeletier were of the yearly value of 80,000 livres, and at his death his landed estates were found to be worth 300,000 livres per annum.

Admitted to the Paris bar, his family influence soon procured him lucrative posts, and he was first appointed *Avocat du Roi* at the *Châtelet*, and subsequently *Procureur-Général* to the Parliament of Paris. The favour which he enjoyed at court was not, however, allowed to interfere with his devotion to the cause of liberty, and he associated himself from the first with the movement for the reform of the constitution, which eventually forced the king to call together the States-General in May, 1789. Of that Assembly he became a member as Deputy from the Banlieu of Paris, and took a warm interest in the deliberations. With all the fervour of youth he threw himself into the ranks of the most advanced section of the popular party, and deeming unjust the extravagant powers and rights of the *seigneurs*, he at once took steps to divest himself of his own privileges. In August, 1789, he ordered the removal from the Church of St Fargeau of his coat-of-arms and his *banc seigneurial*, renouncing at the same time his rights of incense and *eau bénite* as a humiliating distinction contrary to the spirit of Christianity. He also gave up all his other *seigneurial* privileges, amongst them his right of holding courts, his *droit de colombier*, under which the seigneurs kept huge quantities of pigeons, who fed themselves on the grain of the unhappy tillers of the neighbouring fields; his *droit de banalité des moulins et des fours*, the former of which was equivalent to our Scots servitude of thirlage and bound the vassal to have his corn ground at the *seigneurial* mill, while by the latter he was forced to send his loaves to be baked in the *seigneurial* oven, only in many cases after payment of the heavy dues which were exacted, to receive back his flour and bread in a

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condition which rendered any use of them impossible. He abandoned his rights of chase and warren, dismissing his keepers and ordering them to join the local militia. Moreover, he charged himself with payment of the *taille* and *corvée* of the poorer inhabitants, exactions which bore heavily upon them, and undertook to pay one-fifth of the cost of a military force to protect St. Fargeau from the lawless spoilers who were taking advantage of the disturbed state of the country to pillage in all directions, while he received and lodged in the *château* 100 of the *fédérés* of the Department of the Yonne for three weeks.

His principles led him into Quixotic extremes, for we find him in the following year moving in the Convention for the abolition of hereditary titles and laying his own marquisate and countship on the altar of the fatherland, also pointing out that "*l'arbre de l'aristocratie a encore une branche que vous avez oublié à couper*," and proposing that it should be forbidden to use any territorial designation. This did not meet the approval of Mirabeau and the other aristocratic revolutionists, and the latter part of Lepeletier's suggestion was rejected.

He took the principal part in framing and presenting to the Convention the penal code, which was considered and adopted. Up to that time the punishments for crime had been of the most cruel description, but under the new regulations drawn out by Lepeletier and his colleagues these penalties were greatly modified. Capital punishment, the infliction of torture, and perpetual incarceration were abolished, and in lieu thereof terms of imprisonment of varying grades of severity under carefully prepared rules were substituted. It is ludicrous to think of the short period this mild code was allowed to hold sway in France!

Lepeletier also proposed the introduction of a great national system of education by which all children up to the age of twelve should be trained and taught at the expense of the state. To do away with all distinctions of rank and station, they were to live in common, eating the same food and wearing the same clothes. Only part of the day, however, was to be spent in actual tuition, the rest of the time being occupied in useful work, from the results of which the children were to be made to contribute to the cost of their maintenance. The scheme on being presented to the

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Assembly was deemed to be of too Utopian a description, and to the great disappointment of its author received no favour at the hands of his colleagues.

Despite the unpractical side of his character, which led him occasionally into extravagances, Lepeletier proved himself a useful member of the Assembly, and if he had lived would probably have taken a prominent position in the government of his country. But his career was destined to be cut short.

After the king's abortive attempt to escape from France and his arrest at Varennes, the strained relations between him and the Assembly finally resulted in the decision that he should be placed on trial for his alleged offences against the national weal. The result was predetermined, and by a majority of 53 Louis was condemned to death, while by a majority of 70 it was resolved that there should be no delay and that the sentence should be executed within twenty-four hours. Among those who voted in the majority was Lepeletier (it is said very much through the influence of *Égalité* Orléans and his own brother), and the step excited the most bitter animosity of the royalists against him. They could not believe he would forget all the loyal traditions of his family in the past, and the numerous benefits which had been conferred on his ancestors by previous occupants of the throne. Moreover, he had always professed to be opposed to capital punishment, and his excuse that an exception fell to be made in the case of the head of a state who had been found guilty of crimes against his subjects was deemed paltry and contemptible. In view, however, of the pusillanimity which was generally displayed by the royalists, it is doubtful if any step would have been taken to punish him for his backsliding if it had not been for the determination and courage of one man. We know that 500 sympathisers with the fallen monarch entered into an engagement to carry him off on his way to the place of execution, but at the appointed rendezvous only 25 of them appeared, and the scheme was abandoned as hopeless. There were, however, other members of the party of a different calibre, and to the savage courage of one of them Lepeletier was to fall a victim. This was an ex-guardsman of the king named Paris, who, enraged and disgusted at the cowardice of his friends, resolved single-handed to avenge his royal

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master by the death of one of the Revolutionary leaders. It is said he had selected *Égalité* Orléans as his victim, and stationed himself in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal in the hope of encountering that degenerate prince on his return from the Assembly. Fortunately for *Égalité*, he was elsewhere, and Paris, abandoning his quest for the time, went to get some food in a neighbouring eating-house kept by one Février.[1] Lepeletier had dined there (it is said with the view of finding out what were the opinions which were being expressed in public with regard to the king's sentence), and having finished his meal, went forward to the counter to pay. Paris does not appear to have known him even by sight, but hearing some people in his vicinity mention Lepeletier's name, appears to have suddenly made up his mind to fix on the *ci-devant* Seigneur de St. Fargeau in the absence of a more important prey. He accordingly went forward to the Deputy and asked him whether he was Lepeletier. Being answered in the affirmative, Paris said, "But you have the appearance of a well-disposed man (*homme de bien*), you surely have not voted for "Death." Lepeletier replied that he had done so in accordance with the dictates of his conscience,[2] whereupon Paris, exclaiming "*Scélérat, voilà ta récompense*," stabbed the unfortunate man, the knife entering his left side between the two lowest ribs. The wound was at once seen to be mortal, but Lepeletier lingered on till early in the following morning, when he died surrounded by weeping friends, and bearing himself with the utmost fortitude.[3]

In the confusion which took place after Lepeletier was stabbed, no one

[1] Lepeletier's taking his meals at a restaurant of an inferior type like Février's has been said by his opponents to have been due to his wish to divert attention from his large fortune and curry favour with the populace. Madame Roland was of opinion that he only joined the popular party from fear, and Comte Allenville-Beaulieu in his Memoirs quotes a saying of Lepeletier's, "My friend, when one has sat in the Parliament of Paris and has a large fortune, there is choice only of two courses, one must be either at Coblenz or at the top of the Mountain."

[2] "*Je l'ai trouvé coupable en mon âme et conscience, je l'ai jugé aussi.*" Biography of Lepeletier by his brother Felix prefixed to edition of his works, p. 61, Brussels, 1826.

[3] Lepeletier was only 33 when he was assassinated. One of the most remarkable features of the French Revolution is the comparative youth of all the principal personages who took part in it. Danton and Robespierre were respectively only 30 and 31 at the fall of the Bastille, Camille Desmoulins 27, while Mirabeau was 40 and Marat 45.



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attempted to arrest the assassin, and Paris walked quietly away. The determined character of the man is shown by the fact that despite the imminent and deadly peril in which he stood, his first thought was not of escape, but of the punishment of *Égalité*, and making his way to the Palais Royal he again hung about for some considerable time in the hope of encountering Orléans, but failing to find him he seems to have been persuaded by friends to seek refuge in flight, and they must have provided him with a disguise. Every effort was made to effect his apprehension, and notices giving a description of him were posted far and near. In these he was described as five feet five inches in height, dark of complexion, with a bluish-black beard, and his beautiful teeth are mentioned as a noticeable feature. His attire was described as a *houppelande grise*. The pursuit was, however, vain, and Paris, disguised as a National Guard, with his hair cut *en iacobin*, made his way safely by Gisors and Gournay to Forges, the little watering-place which had been a favourite residence of Mademoiselle de Montpensier. He probably hoped to reach Dieppe, where he would have tried to cross to England. He reached Forges on the 28th of January, 1793, but here the good fortune which had hitherto attended his progress deserted him. Whether he was actually suspected of being the murderer of Lepeletier is not known, but the arrival of a stranger in the little town excited talk, and possibly something he had said or done drew the notice of the local authorities to him. Three gendarmes were sent to arrest him, who found he had supped and gone to bed. Word was sent to him of the visitors who were in waiting, and realising that the game was up he without an instant's hesitation blew his brains out with a pistol. He seems to have had very little hope of escaping, as there was found on him a paper on which he had written the following verse, not altogether without merit:

> "*Peuple dont les forfaits jettent partout l'effroi,*
> *Avec calme et plaisir j'abandonne la vie,*
> *Ce n'est que par la mort qu'on peut fuir l'infamie*
> *Qu'imprime sur nos fronts le sang de notre roi.*
> *De Paris l'aîné, garde du Roi, assassiné par les Français.*"[1]

[1] Another paper was also discovered in the following terms: "*Qu'on n'inquiète personne. Personne n'a été mon complice dans la mort heureuse de scélérat St. Fargeau. Si je ne l'eusse pas rencontré sous ma main je faisais une plus belle action, je purgeais la France du*

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His body, treated with every indignity, was thrown into a hole in the forest, and thus perished ignobly one of the boldest and most courageous of spirits. One cannot help thinking that if there had been among the royalist leaders a few men of the type of Paris the guardsman there would have been no French Revolution, and the course of the world's history might have been materially altered.

The popular party exhibited the utmost fury against the dead man, a curious instance of the detestation in which his memory was held being found in the *Moniteur* of 5th February, 1793, in which it is noticed that an application came before the Conseil-General of the Seine from a citizen called Paris, who asked for authority to change his name to Fabricius on account of "*la conformité du sien avec le scélérat Paris.*" The permission was doubless readily accorded, and in the heat of popular animosity one almost expects to hear that the *Ville-Lumiere* itself had possibly thoughts of calling itself Utica or Arpinum for the same reason![1]

To return, however, to Lepeletier. The news of his assassination caused intense excitement. He was held to be a martyr, and his death was treated as a national calamity. If it had been thought for a moment that the event

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*patricide, du regicide, du parricide, d'Orléans. Qu'on n'inquiète personne. Tous les Français sont des lâches!" Rapport du Ministère de la Justice à la Convention Nationale*, 21st January, 1793.

[1] Numerous poems were written, expressing, generally in execrable doggerel, the national sorrow, and a tragedy in three acts, entitled, *La Mort de Michel Lepeletier*, was also published. I may quote two verses of one of these ditties:

"*Ah! pour nous quel coup de foudre!*
*Le Pelletier St. Fargeau*
*Vient de descendre au tombeau,*
*Paris seul l'a su dissoudre*
*Comme étant son assassin*
*Il a peri par sa main.*

*Va, Paris! tu n'est qu'un traitre,*
*Lâche valet du tiran,*
*Si l'on t'arrête, brigand,*
*La loi te fera connaitre*
*Que c'est sur un échafaud*
*Que l'on venge St. Fargeau.*

*Soutiens de la Republique!*
*Plaignons son sort à jamais*
*Dans le Panthéon Français*
*Plaçons cet homme heroique*
*St. Fargeau n'existe plus,*
*Il est mort plein des vertus.*"

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would have the effect of causing the Revolutionary party to falter in carrying out the execution of the king the expectation proved a vain one. When the news was brought to the Assembly Jacobins, Dantonists, and Girondins alike showed a united and determined front, and on the motion of Thuriot it was agreed that the sitting should be continued *en permanence* all through the night. The posts were doubled, and the forty-eight sections were warned to be on their guard. On Monday the 21st Louis XVI. went to his death with no less composure than had been exhibited by Lepeletier, no farther manifestation in his favour being attempted.

Three days afterwards Lepeletier's funeral took place. No effort was spared to make it a memorable and impressive spectacle. The blood-stained corpse was exposed in the Place Vendôme (the name of which had been changed to Place des Piques), on the pedestal from which a statue of Louis XIV. had been recently thrown down, and the President of the Convention placed on the head a wreath of oak leaves and flowers. The last words which he was related to have uttered—"I am about to shed my blood for my country. I trust that it may serve to consolidate liberty and equality, and bring our enemies to light"—were inscribed on the pedestal.[1] As a matter of fact his last words were, "I am very cold."

An immense procession accompanied the remains to the place of burial in the Panthéon (then called the *Temple des Grand Hommes*). Behind the coffin came as chief mourner the young daughter of the dead man. She had been formally adopted by a vote of the Convention as the child of the Republic, and with the curious sentimentality of the French she was given as companions in her sorrowful progress a number of children of her own age, that she might feel she had not only been provided with a parent, but also furnished with brothers and sisters.[2] Arrived before the Panthéon addresses were delivered by Barrère, Vergniaud, and the brother of Lepeletier. The members of the Convention ranged round the coffin swore to maintain the

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[1] *Moniteur*, 27th January, 1793.

[2] Various halts were made by the procession at the Jacobin Club in the Rue St. Honoré, the Palais Royal, the Oratoire, the Pont Neuf (where a salvo of artillery was fired), the Hall of the Cordeliers, etc.

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safety of the country, and all divisions of party were cast aside in the common sorrow.[1]

Lepeletier was made a national hero. His bust was placed in all the sections of Paris, and in every commune throughout the country. The picture by David, of his dead body lying in state in the Place des Piques, was set up in the hall in which the Convention held its sittings, and engravings of it made at the public expense were distributed far and wide. Regiments called themselves after him, and a section of Paris and two streets took his name.

Alas for the fickleness of popular favour! Ten years later the martyred hero had been practically forgotten, and his body was expelled from the Panthéon as unworthy of a place in the national Valhalla. It now rests in the chapel of the *château* at St. Fargeau.

His daughter, who succeeded him and married her cousin, M. Lepeletier de Mortefontaine, was of the most pronounced royalist sympathies, and spent her life in atoning as far as possible for what she deemed the errors of her misguided father. She purchased, at great cost, from the son of David, the famous picture which had formerly stood in the Hall of the Convention, and I was informed at St. Fargeau that it now stands in the *château* with its face to the wall. Madame de Mortefontaine left two daughters, and Madame de Boisgelin, the elder of them, succeeded to St. Fargeau. It is now held by the latter's son, and when I visited the place I found that through the extravagance of the present proprietor the *château* was for sale. Whoever may have the good fortune to become its possessor, it is hardly likely in the future to be associated with more notable historical figures than the long line of eminent personages with whom it has been connected in the past.

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[1] Loud protestations had been made by the revolutionary leaders that all animosities and differences should be buried in Lepeletier's grave, but the very evening of the funeral in the contest between Danton and Rabaut de Saint-Étienne for the Presidentship of the Convention, scenes of indescribable excitement and violence took place. Danton was unsuccessful, his opponent being elected.

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No. XIX.

# THE ANTONINE LINES AS A DEFENSIVE DESIGN: A COMPARISON IN ANCIENT AND MODERN PRINCIPLES OF FORTIFICATION.

BY

MAJOR RUCK, R.E., F.S.A.Scot.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Society on 17th January, 1901.*)

Having had the honour in 1893 to take some small part in the making of the record of the plan and sections of the Antonine Wall, as it then existed, and at about the same time being engaged in the large scale Ordnance map of the city of York, where a great deal of excavation was going on, in connection with a new drainage scheme, and where Roman remains, such as brooches, stone coffins, and coins, ancient walls, roads, and bridges were continually appearing in evidence, it was quite impossible for me not to become deeply interested in all Roman military archæological work, especially as at the same time we were engaged in making the new survey of the counties of Edinburghshire, Haddingtonshire, and Fifeshire, bristling in places with British hill forts, some of which had been previously and wrongly recorded as Roman works on the old map, and it became very important to rectify these errors and designate the same by their correct titles. This, with the kind assistance of Dr. Joseph

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Anderson of Edinburgh and Dr. D. Christison of the same place, it is thought has been accomplished on the new Ordnance maps. It was, therefore, with great pleasure that I received an invitation from Mr. Black and Mr. George Neilson to contribute a paper of impressions on the report of the Committee on the Antonine, which of course I at once set to work upon and have now the honour to submit.

I have attempted—as a person who has been absent from his country for five years, and who has not consequently moved in the society of any of our Roman wall students or enjoyed the privilege of hearing their arguments—to work out my own salvation, and to find a way out of the maze of conundrums which have seemed to beset me on every side, and have endeavoured to establish a basis of such a nature as would enable me to obtain some means of comparison in regard to the magnitude of the work of the Antonine Wall. How many men would it require to garrison and to construct it, and in what time different portions of the work could be constructed, and which portions would take up most time; whether the generally accepted principles of fortification were carried out, when compared with modern methods, or rather with those methods which have obtained in the Peninsular war, especially as regards continuous lines,—that is, during a time when we had varied experience of this method of defence, and when the long range of firearms, including guns or cannons, was not such as greatly to change the fundamental principles from those which now hold good? The basis once established, having found that the Roman principles of military engineering differed in no way from those in vogue at the present day (the difference due to new weapons being excluded), by a few arithmetical computations we obtain some solid data as to the number of men, the amount of material, and time required to construct this great work; and then we get a fair idea of what the magnitude of the work was as a whole, and we can distribute the available forces for construction work, guard duties, and field army duties. This conception of the work will help us to gain an insight as to what was the order of construction of the different parts, and may lead us on to calculate the magnitude of that enormous replica in masonry further back in the country, known as the Hadrian Wall, and to see what the sequence of

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construction was likely to have been from the time of the first tracing out by the Roman engineers of the Sod Vallum of the Antonine Lines until the time that the Hadrian Wall, with its front-facing southern agger, its military road, its front-facing masonry rampart, its intermediate front-facing northern agger became a self-contained, combined structure as well as a vast longitudinal, closed-in, practically impregnable work against all comers from whatsoever side they came.

Before going into our arithmetical calculations, I must, at the risk of wearying my hearers, go over the good old and somewhat pedantic-sounding groundwork of first principles upon which our accumulated knowledge of fortification work is based, with a view to forming for ourselves a series of stepping-stones to help us on our way later on in unravelling some of the secrets of the Antonine Wall.

So beginning, fortification may be defined as the careful preparation of ground in such a manner that the defenders may use their weapons with the greatest possible effect, and with the least interruption from the enemy. The general principles of fortification may be, and should be, studied as a branch of strategy and tactics. In the earliest days with which we are fairly well acquainted, namely, in the times of the Greeks and Romans, and in the early days of firearms, when the range of weapons of offence and defence was much less than it is now, the ground was always prepared for the most advantageous use of the existing weapons over as large a part of the area of the terrain of attack as possible. In the case of the Romans, by the accessory of the fosse exterior to the ramparts, and in mediæval to later days, by bastion and ravelin, horn works and lunettes, glacis and covered way. The effective range of the javelin, bow, and onager, in ancient times, as well as that of the musket and smooth-bore cannon in later days, limited the depth of the line of defence, not only in the continuous lines of the Romans, but also in the old bastion systems of our ancestors in Europe and in this country. The old system of outworks covering only a minute portion of the terrain played no longer a leading part when rifled weapons were introduced, so they by degrees became diminished and eventually obliterated in modern fortifications to meet the altered condition of affairs. The necessity for delaying

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an enemy by a material obstacle, in order to keep him under the destructive zone as long as possible, such as by a fosse, in the case of the Romans, or by a ditch and escarp, ravelin, horn works, etc., afterwards, no longer exists to the same extent; consequently, ditches and escarp are now lessened in importance. We see, therefore, that before deciding on the proper mode of constructing fortifications, it is necessary to have a knowledge of the weapons and modes of attack in use, and of their possible development.

As we are now dealing with the subject of the Antonine Wall constructed by Roman engineers, who were no mean exponents of the art, we will for the sake of realism place ourselves in imagination in their places, and consider what our methods of procedure would have been, when negotiating the task which confronted them, on arriving in the locality situated between the Firths of Clyde and Forth, with an irritating and troublesome horde of barbarians to be kept within bounds to the north of them. Evidently the protected area must be defined by a barrier of some sort, which could not be passed without an expenditure of time and labour by the enemy. This might be a natural barrier, such as a precipice or river, or an artificial one, such as a ditch or wall, and, according to our principles, should be of a depth sufficient to keep the enemy at such a distance that he could not use his weapons effectively without coming into the destructive zone of our own weapons. Keeping him at a distance would force him to expend an excessive quantity of his ammunition, in the shape of spears, arrows, and stones, with an uncertain result, and would protect the nucleus of our own work, consisting of the main fortification lines and their communications. He must not be able to get round our flanks—that is, we must have the '*command of the sea*.' The question at once arises,—how should the ground best be occupied by our own works so as to effectually oppose the enemy's modes of attack in use? A continuous line of parapet and fosse is a formidable barrier, but is usually too strong in some parts and too weak in others, besides requiring supporting points so that if an enemy passes through it at one point it should not involve the loss of the whole, and how should we hold this long line? Not by a continuous line of men, but by most concentration of force on all

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the points from which they can best deliver that force, or concentration on those parts of the long line on which it is easiest for the enemy to attack. Here, therefore, the keys of the position should be strengthened by additional works or camps, and positions found for the heaviest weapons, from which they can act with most effect, and the ground in front arranged so that the weapons of defence can also act most effectively. All this has to be reproduced in a permanent form in an important work, and with the added strength that can be given to a permanent structure.

Applying these principles to the Antonine Wall, and looking at the long line to be defended with the eye of the chief Roman engineer or general in command, which are the keys of the position? Where are stone quarries to be found in the most economical localities? Where shall I put my strongest works? Where shall I put my heaviest weapons? From that hill the ground in front can be well commanded; the enemy will not attempt to attack up this slope, where he would rapidly become exhausted, and liable to be rushed down again. That gap need not be filled with a strong work, for there is a swamp behind it, and it leads to nothing. If the enemy got there he would find no position to hold, and would be compelled to go back again, and so on. Some points may have to be held to the very last, others are not likely to be subjected to close attacks at all. All these considerations would have to be carefully weighed in designing the works. Moreover, the numbers and quality of the garrison must be taken into account. If the defenders are *few* in number, the flanking and short distance zones must be developed and secured, so as to aid in strengthening the intervals between the works or camps; and there are usually points in advance of the main line of defence which, if held for a time, would much retard the enemy's operations; but this can only be done with a strong garrison or by an able commander who can make up for other deficiencies by his own skill. With a *numerous* garrison the flanking fire of the works is of lessened importance; that is, the troops which act in the intervals between the camps or forts would be well able to protect themselves with the assistance of some temporary or supplementary works. With a garrison of *indifferent* quality, the works, forts, or camps require to be numerous and close together, so as to give more

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mutual support than is required with first-class troops, and obstructions may be multiplied, so that less work will then be thrown on the field force. With a *small* field army each fort or camp should be strong in itself, well provided with flanking defence, not dependent on external aid, and more numerous than theory would demand, considering the power of the weapons only. How far apart should these forts or camps be placed depends on the conformation of the ground and the position of the stone quarries and approaches. The minimum number of forts required in any given case is determined by the consideration that they should be sufficient, in conjunction with the field army, without any intermediate temporary works, to prevent the enemy from getting inside the lines without having to silence one of them at least. A multiplication of the forts is to be avoided, for a small fort generally means a weak fort. The forts should occupy positions which are tactically important, and whose retention is vital to the defence, and should see as much of the lines as possible.

The question naturally arises, Were these principles borne in mind by the Roman engineers in laying out the lines of the Antonine defences? I humbly submit that they were. In large modern fortresses including strong forts at intervals, intermediate batteries of a temporary nature are often disposed in the intervals between the forts. They are usually armed with guns of a siege type, transportable or on railway trucks, which move to the intermediate batteries from the main forts. These intermediate batteries distract the enemy, causing him increased transport requirements, and add to his ignorance of their positions, which of course change according to the dispositions of the defenders. The disposition of the armaments in our larger fortresses have been arranged in accordance with these principles; *i.e.* the flank guns will all be mounted, and also some of the guns on the faces, as a *ready armament*, to meet any attempt at assault and to hinder the operations of the investment. The remainder of the guns and all the rifled howitzers will be kept in the fortress, with their siege carriages and platforms of various patterns, ready to be moved out to the intermediate batteries when the place is prepared for the siege. In a fortress occupying a position of strategical importance, where the power of *moving out* should as far as possible be maintained, as in our Antonine

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Wall, the intermediate works or supplementary batteries should be placed so that they may command the country a long way in advance. There should be free communication about the interior of the fortress and to the front, and it should be so arranged that the movements of the troops defending should not be seen from the outside. Permanent works are much more secure against a *surprise* and *open assault* than are field works, whose ditches are seldom of much use as obstacles, and which have usually open parapets. It is also of importance to the defence to cause the assault to be commenced at as long a way distant from the lines of defence as possible. This form of attack, namely, surprise and open assault, is thought to be that which the Romans would have most likely been subjected to, and it appears that they took every precaution known to their generals to guard against it.

As a rule, in attacking a chain of detached forts, in a modern fortress without continuous lines, it will be necessary to take two of them, and to silence as well the two forts which flank them, in order to make a gap sufficiently large for penetrating to the attack of any interior works, but with forts at large intervals on continuous lines it would be only necessary to take one. In an attack of a modern fortress, on arriving at the counterscarp it will be necessary to deal with the flanking defences of the ditch. The design of a good key fort should secure it from open assault, provide for all the weapons it possesses being used both to the front and to the flanks at short ranges, and contain secure accommodation for its garrison, ammunition, and stores. Taking an attack by surprise or open assault, as that to which the Romans would have been chiefly liable to provide against, what was wanted was watchfulness, a material obstacle, and the power of resistance by a small garrison, together with the power of developing a heavy fire over the near ground, and if the enemy threatened any particular point, capability of passing men and heavy weapons to intermediate positions between the forts or camps. The power of heavy fire over the near ground necessitates getting rid of all 'dead' ground in the ditch, as well as under the parapet. This can be done when required by prolonging the superior slope of $\frac{1}{6}$ to the front in the form of a glacis until it reaches a depth of 10 feet below the natural surface of the ground, and by placing in the

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ditch so formed a palisade, leaving the counterscarp at the natural slope of the ground, and constructing a small glacis to increase the cover for the palisade,—the command of the whole work being reduced to a *minimum* to render it inconspicuous from the enemy's side. This form of construction seems to have been pursued in some degree in the case of some of the ramparts at Ardoch and Rough Castle, where the exterior slope is extended to the base of the ditch without any intermediate berm. Many variations in the organisation of the rampart would be made by changes in the conditions of the slopes and command, such as the inclusion of a lower parapet in front of the main parapet, below its line of fire and just above the crest of the glacis for the immediate defence of the ditch, the slope in front of it running evenly down to the bottom of the ditch. It appears as if the Romans had rung the changes in their design, according to these conditions and slopes of the ground, and were prepared to utilise such a lower parapet in some cases, and this is especially noticeable in the sections of the inner rampart at Ardoch and on the southern agger of the Hadrian Wall. Such a parapet would act also as a screen for a patrol path on the safe side of the ditch for observation purposes.

The Antonine defence being on the system of continuous lines, it will be useful to notice that in modern continuous lines it is considered unnecessary to supplement the parapet by quick-firing guns '*en tourelles*' or in towers, because the frontal fire is considered to be very great, except where it is of great importance to keep the numbers of the garrisons at a minimum. Covered ways are *always* provided for in continuous lines in modern fortifications. Entrances from the covered way to the interior should be *numerous*, and defended from some position quite separated from it, so that in case of a surprise or assault the defence may be conducted coolly and without disturbance from the retreating troops. In the Antonine Wall, it is quite a question whether the expansions at intervals on the south side of the vallum might not have been protecting stances for entrances to and from the interior, defending the same by flanking these entrances, and it seems equally possible that they might have been placed there for the reception of men or of stores or weapons. The fact of two expansions being only 133 yards apart at Croy, at a precipitous point where it would have been

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difficult to see an enemy storming an entrance, and whence he could have been easily driven down by a sally, and where a good lookout would always have been kept, makes one inclined to the idea that they (the expansions) might have had something to do with an entrance from the outside of the ramparts to the interior and *vice versâ*. Again, looking at the section at Bonnyside No. 1 there is an expansion with indications of a structure at this point on the outer mound of a rectangular shape; the two taken together may indicate an entrance to the work, the expansion being to flank the same inside, whilst the rectangular building outside might have been for the concealment and defence of the exit. The other expansion at Bonnyside, east of the previous one, is practically at the same distance as the interval between the two expansions at Croy, namely, 140 yards against 133 yards. Bonnyside, being more easily stormed than Croy, would want a protection in front to cover any entrance. These intermediate entrances, if they really existed as such, were in proximity to the main lines of approach between the camps,—Barrhill—Westerwood and Rough Castle—Camelon. Continuous lines require careful guarding, for unless they are carefully retrenched, which the Antonine Wall was by its forts, passing them at any point might involve the loss of the whole. On a ridge or edge of a plateau the lines have to be constructed along the edge or crest of the hill to see down the front slopes of the hill before them. Continuous lines are *bound* to be used, when it is necessary or desirable to stop an enemy absolutely at a fixed line, and this the Romans contemplated in designing the Antonine Wall. The retrenchments, consisting of the forts, need not see the ground outside the lines, and should not be exposed to serious injury from the lines themselves, if in the hands of the enemy. This can be best fulfilled by giving the forts extra thick parapets. The best (but most expensive) position for a retrenchment is in some spot in rear of the lines from which the latter can be seen and at some little distance from it. Occasionally a portion of the lines forms part of the retrenchment, and in this case should be made *exceptionally strong*, so that the enemy may not be induced to attack it directly. Indications show that the vallum was exceptionally strong at Rough Castle, and bear out the principles above enunciated. Continuous lines, when constructed across

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defiles, are usually placed where the defile narrows in, it being desirable to stop an enemy where a few men can do it. A *single* fort in a defile might do it, but the continuous lines give a longer front to oppose the enemy, and the difficulty of protecting the flanks satisfactorily is avoided. In the defence of a salient ridge a good big ditch is the best obstacle. If possible, the lines should be placed at some point where the ridge widens out, so that they may present a longer front than the assailants. On a ridge, two or three lines of works can often be constructed, those behind firing over those in front; the front lines being organised entirely to repel the close attack, whilst those in rear mount guns for distant fire.

Applying these principles to Croy Hill (see Section A7, Croy No. 12*a*, and A8), Croy No. 11 was the first trench or the ditch which it formed halfway down hill, strongly occupied, as the immediate defence of the ditch as well as the ramparts in rear. Were the two expansions, 133 yards apart, connected with this double defence as '*places d'armes*' or places of assembly for defensive purposes, either to guard a sally-port by flank defence (in which case they appear to be too far apart), or for the assembly or parade grounds of the night patrols on the ramparts, or in the ditch, or along the berm? If for the latter purpose, why should the expansions occur in pairs and be of the same height as the vallum? A parade place of assembly, unless for expected alarm, would be in a sheltered spot lower down than the crest of the vallum. As the dimensions of these expansions are about semicircular, they would not be of the best shape for flank defence of an entrance which would preferably be rectangular, and at twice hurtling distance, or only 200 feet apart, instead of nearly 400 feet. Whatever the purposes they served, they seem to have been intermediate supplementary works strengthening the long line of vallum in some way or other, either as places of assembly for men, stores, or for weapons. The fact that they occur in pairs, except at Bonnyside, where three or more are suspected, tends to induce the impression that they were connected in some way or other with a sally-port, and within striking distance of an enemy following in on the retreating defenders. If they were ramps on to the vallum to enable the troops from the military road to quickly get on to the ramparts at night, and to relieve guard, it might

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save confusion to have two distinct places of assembly—one for those going on duty and one for those coming off duty on the section of rampart told off to them, and would make it possible to have the rampart continuously manned. The subdivisions of the lines into subsections would be facilitated, and the guard coming off duty would always come off the ramparts at a spot nearer home, *i.e.* the nearest camp, than those going on duty, who would march to the furthest ramp away and push, as it were, the old guard in front of them, as they relieved them, thus insuring the watchfulness required at all times all along the lines. All these are considerations which suggest themselves as theories only, to account for the expansions. The expansions as found are fairly equi-distant from the forts or camps, which lends itself to the theory that they divided the wall into subsections between the forts for organisation purposes, which of course would be necessary for the distribution of the patrolling parties, especially at night time. As the expansions seem to be pretty evenly distributed all along the vallum, and not guarding only weak points, some regular purpose must have been provided for by them, either as a general strengthening of the whole line or for a regular organised subdivision of the lines for administrative purposes. If the latter, one would expect to find the double expansions at a uniform distance from each other and the camps, with a single expansion halfway between any two adjacent forts, or else uniformly distributed all along at a distance of about 133 yards, and they would be supplementary to the building of the vallum. The administrative use of them would not be immediately apparent until it was subsequently found necessary to ensure constant vigilance night and day, especially at night time, or they may have been part of the whole designed work, and built afterwards as a matter of construction. On the whole, it would appear safe to surmise that the expansions were designed for increased defensive and improved administrative purposes combined.

With regard to the relative strength of the supporting forts or camps, this would depend to a great extent on the chances of locality. Where most vulnerable to an enemy's attack, and on the line of the main approaches they would have to be strong, such as at Rough Castle. Those facing Kilsyth hills, where an enemy could concentrate in the mountains

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unperceived and deliver a sudden attack at night, would also have to be strong. In modern construction of fortifications the edge of a steep-sided plateau is the part of it that must of necessity be held, and it depends on the exact conformation of the ground in any particular case whether it is best to do this by means of separate works, on the salients, or by a continuous line. Dueira lines in Malta are an instance of a case where it was necessary to adopt the latter alternative. The manner in which the works in a long line of fortifications should be disposed is the first question which has to be decided on in connection with the defence of any particular place or territory, the basis of the whole and the main object for consideration being the strength of the field force and the labour and time available. The defences have to be interdependent, and not form a line of scattered units. How far apart should be the pivot forts depends on the ground and approaches, and the relative strength of the defending and attacking force, and may vary from 500 yards to 5 miles or more. The *former* might be the distance, either in the case of some very uneven ground, which it is nevertheless necessary to defend in detail, or to the numerical inferiority of the defending garrison, or to the nearness of the place to be defended, *i.e.* the objective. The *latter*, namely 5000 yards, might be the distance either if there were very few lines of approach to the lines, or, in case of lines of great importance and very large size, such as the Antonine, and therefore with a numerous garrison. Only key positions need then be strongly fortified, as was the case in our wall.

The calculation of the garrison required for manning the parapets for a system of continuous lines is best made by the application of the formula of the late Sir John Jones, R.E., one of Wellington's chief engineers, and who constructed the lines of Torres Vedras. This may be taken as a guide for us. It was two men per yard run for all *front* lines, and one man per yard for all *rear* lines, and was calculated for *field works*. In the case of *permanent* and *semi-permanent* works, such as the Antonine, we should be safe in calculating at the rate of one man per yard run throughout. A deduction has to be made for the spaces occupied by the artillery, also an addition or reduction from these numbers being made by the chief engineer in all cases when deemed expedient from local causes.



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It does not follow that the number of men calculated as required for a fort should always be in it. There should be a permanent garrison for the work, who should always be in it. These should know their way about, but the reliefs who belong to the fort had better be out of it, unless when actually wanted on duty inside the fort.

In addition to the garrisons of the forts, a field force is required: first, to watch; secondly, to guard the intervals between the forts on the lines; thirdly, to make sorties; fourthly, to make counter approaches; and, fifthly, to strengthen the position by making additional works of defence, such as shelter trenches or a fosse. The amount of the necessary force depends upon a variety of circumstances, but it can best be arrived at by answering the question, What has the enemy to get by penetrating between the works? and with what force is he likely to try and do it? We will do well to take Sir John Jones's estimate for the Antonine Wall. An addition must be made for cooks, orderlies, and sick; for the Romans we will take it as one-tenth, for they would be fairly stationary, and probably able to avail themselves of the services of auxiliaries, civilians, and others. In constructing the Antonine Wall, the forts would first be constructed with the number of men who could be economically employed in building them, all the remainder of the workers for construction purposes being employed in clearing the ground in front and in constructing the intermediate lines and trenches, civilian labour of a suitable nature being employed if available, and the working parties would have to be at their full strength at this construction period. With regard to *details* of construction, ramps leading up to the rampart up which *guns*, or heavy weapons and stores, are taken should be one in ten or one in twelve if possible. They should be made as flat as possible, and the longer they are the flatter they should be. In the expansions of the Antonine Wall, taking the slopes in rear of the expansion as if parallel to the present slope to a height of ten feet, namely, that of the vallum, we get a slope of one over six, which is, if in the case of a ramp, more suited for men to go up than for guns or heavy weapons. The counterscarp of the ditch should be *rounded* on top, as there will be difficulty in getting at the head of a scaling ladder. An overhanging kerb on the face of the escarp is a good thing, as it prevents the scaling ladder

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from lying flat against the side, and renders the ladder springier and more liable to be broken by the weight of a man on it, and also renders it impossible to slide the top of the ladder up into position. If it be possible to give the escarp a *facing* of hard stone, such as granite, it will increase the difficulty of commencing a breach. This principle seems to have been applied in the fosse at Rough Castle, giving perhaps two platforms of sods, one above the other in some places, thereby getting a double line of fire. An escarp 40 feet high is supposed to be secure against escalade. It should be *at least* 10 *feet* high to necessitate the use of ladders; with less height men will help each other up. *Fifteen feet* is the minimum that should be used. Counterscarps should be higher than this, or men will jump down them without injury. Detached walls should be angular at the top, so that there may be no landing-places there for men to stand on or pull ladders over.

The high kerbs at Rough Castle, being in the nature of retaining walls, batter as they get higher, thus complying with the modern rule for retaining walls. Detached walls are more easily breached than retaining walls, and the Romans do not seem to have employed them as an obstacle, except perhaps, for instance, at the foot of the counterscarp. The effect of the soil on the design is very great. On an earth site, any increase in the depth of the ditch involves an increase to the escarp and counterscarp walls, if such be used, and more earth moved in order to get them in, even if they be not actually increased in height. In such a case it is best to settle on a good form of ditch, and to get from another place any earth that may be required to complete the parapets. An earth site or a sandy site lends itself to the V-shaped ditch, whereas on rock it would usually be best to adhere to ditches with vertical sides. It is not necessary to take such pains to conceal a natural rock escarp as a built one. The Romans made, we know, a fastigiate ditch chiefly on a sandy or earth site, and at Croy Hill did not take over-much pains to conceal their escarp, as it was on a rocky face. A work on a rocky site, where the interior slope can be revetted, and when the stuff will stand at a steep angle, need not cover quite so much ground as one on a sandy or clayey soil. The Romans by making their stone foundation to the vallum, and building it of sods which stand at a steep angle, had this in mind, and saved material as well

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as keeping their parapet dry. The rubble drain foundation which they made to the vallum seems as if it was a vast longitudinal agricultural drain, with intermediate culverts, at the lowest antisynclinal points in its course.

Having fixed the positions of the key forts approximately, the Roman engineers would have to fix approximately the crest line of the vallum, so that the near slopes of the hills might be conveniently swept. The crest line will usually be ten to fifteen feet, according to modern practice, above the level of the ground, the height depending greatly on the nature of the rampart, whether solid or casemated, partly on the amount of cover desired, partly on the slope down which it is necessary to fire. It may be that the position of the crest line determined thus may indicate that the ground should, in whole or in part, be taken up by a continuous line. This is the case, for instance, in Malta, where it is necessary to occupy Dueira hill with a *continuous* line nearly a mile long, there being no single position on the hill from which the whole of the slopes can be seen. For these reasons, as well as the fact that the Antonine Wall was to act as a rigid barrier line, the Romans decided on continuous lines. In the work of excavating the fosse and heaping up the remblai on the counterscarp side, the crest of the outer mound may be varied in height above the natural ground, in order to adjust the deblai and remblai for economical reasons. An increase in size takes place in the disturbed soil varying from one over thirteen in sand to one over three in hard rock, and the proper allowance must be made for calculating the deblai and remblai of any particular work. Defensive qualities, however, should not be sacrificed to economy, and in some cases it may be found necessary to remove part of the deblai from the site altogether, in order that the work may not be unduly raised or conspicuous.

Did the Romans see to this? A glance at the sections will show that they did, as for instance at Bonnymuir for defensive reasons, and also on the eastern slope of Croy Hill. In those cases, where they used the deblai in ridging up a counterscarp, was it to deepen the depth of the ditch to prevent men from getting down easily; or to get rid of excess soil easily by heaping it up near the edge of the ditch and not spreading it evenly over the surface of the natural northern slope, or was it with the object of raising

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the height of the counterscarp to more nearly approach the level of the opposite escarp cutting with the berm, thus making the escarp more invisible from the enemy's side? Again, in the case of the highly ridged counterscarp, was this provided for by an increased width of exterior berm, as the highly ridged counterscarp giving cover to the enemy would enable him to rush the vallum more easily, and therefore would require to be met either by a greater distance between the escarp and vallum or by a double row of fire from a secondary parapet immediately defending the escarp side of the ditch? See Barrhill section No. 1, where the edge of the escarp is only 30 feet from the base of the vallum, and the ground in front of the high outer mound drops rapidly to the north, rendering this section liable to a sudden rush from the northern side by a concealed enemy. Note the ditch is full width here. Take Seabeg section No. 2. Here the edge of the escarp is only 23 feet from the base of the vallum, but the ditch is made full width, and the counterscarp heightened as much as possible artificially to make a better obstacle and conceal the escarp by cover, the outer mound being sloped so as to keep the attackers as *long as possible* under fire from the ramparts. In Bonnyside section No. 3, note the width of the ditch and the even upward slope of the outer mound, purposely sloped upwards to the north and not parallel to the natural surface; again, in Bonnyside section No. 1, in the same way, as well as the section of trenches at Ardoch between the inner and outer ramparts, the object being to keep the advancing enemy under fire command as long as possible, the defenders gradually retiring from one trench of *vantage* to another in rear till the inner rampart is reached. The same arrangement of outer mound holds good in Rough Castle No. 1, but in Bonnyside No. 2 the command of the vallum side being better, the ground all sloping down slightly to the north, the slope of the outer mound does not slope upwards to the same extent, it being unnecessary. In Ordnance Survey, sections A7 and A8, when the counterscarp and mound are unseen from the vallum, due to the nature of the ground on the slopes of Croy Hill, the profile of the work shows that the Romans cut the fosse about half-way down the slope of the hill, thereby securing the obstacle within range of their weapons, by advancing to meet the enemy either at the brink of the steep slope

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terminating in the bottom of the ditch or by waiting for them when scrambling up in a breathless condition on towards the vallum. If the fosse had been cut at the foot of the hill, it would have necessitated a longer line and consequent expense, besides not being so defensible without, the Romans having to go a long way down hill and so endanger themselves by being liable to be cut off. As every obstacle should be under the fire of the defence, according to modern practice, and it is thought that the Romans knew this fact quite well, it seems quite likely that at Croy Hill the Romans were prepared to sally out and attack the enemy when crossing the fosse below or appearing over the brink, otherwise as the fosse is so small it would not seem to answer any useful purpose of defence, as it would rather be of assistance than an obstacle to the enemy, enabling him to erect scaling ladders in its base. If the fosse, on the other hand, was used at Croy Hill for manning at night, it would be useful here as a means of communication for advance sentinels, and some means of retreat into the interior of the lines would have to have been provided for.

Looking therefore to the general line of sections, it looks as if the Romans always counted upon having an enemy within their spear, javelin, or hurtling zone for a clear distance of 100 feet minimum to 150 feet from the vallum with a ditch in between if possible, and it is a question whether in places where the enemy might conceal themselves behind the ground in front, and rush the defences, whether the Romans did not modify their profiles by increasing the width and depth of the ditch, and erecting a double line of parapets, with facilities in rear of the ramparts for concentrating to meet these sudden attacks by having parties of men assembled at intervals,—for instance, on the expansions,—to be ready at any time, night or day, to repel the enemy and sally out to drive them away, besides always having the upper hand in points of command. It will be found that they always contrived to get the minimum of 100 feet clear hurtling zone, for whether they increased the berm on their own side of the ditch or increased the space on the enemy's side of the fosse, they invariably stipulated for this minimum of danger area to the enemy, and when the ground in front did not form an obstacle in itself they included their obstacle, the fosse, somewhere within this distance of 100 feet.

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The Romans were far too experienced and skilful as engineers not to practice economy, both in regard to material and to labour. Witness the construction of the vallum with its costly kerbing and culvert system, which being a real economy in the long run enabled them to build up a smaller rampart with a very durable wall of turf superstructure; the V-shaped ditch of minimum depth to answer its purpose, obtaining depth for the counter-scarp by piling up earth from the deblai; the saving of all the costly work of masonry construction and cutting stones only, for the absolutely necessary work connected with the forts, their gates, and for foundations generally. No extravagance was incurred when not needed, as in the military road for instance, no kerbs being required, there being no side pressure or thrust, such as in the vallum, to be resisted, and the drainage could be simply arranged for. Economy was also practised by having the supporting forts appuied with the vallum and not behind it. It may be taken for granted that the Antonine Wall construction was only just sufficient to answer its purpose, being begun in the cheapest way possible, and strengthened and more money expended upon it as it became necessary by experience.

Reasoning on this basis it would seem as if the Antonine was at first a sod wall pure and simple, with military road and supporting forts. As the strengthening process went on, the ditch, which no doubt formed part of the original design, was added; supplementary works and accessories to forts, masonry gates, and buildings for the convenience and comfort of the troops were also added. The wall may be taken as an advanced obstacle on advanced lines built at first at the farthest limits of the country proposed to be occupied and in the cheapest way; and as the more restricted area became necessary owing to withdrawal of troops for political and military reasons, the Hadrian Wall was "reconstructed" and finished as a second line, and from experience gained on the Antonine it was made of a more solid form, in order to form a more durable barrier line in a more civilised district for all time, and necessitating a far smaller number of men proportioned to its durability and strength to garrison it. Everything seems to point in this direction when contrasted with later experience in connection with the withdrawal of troops from an occupied foreign land. No extravagance was incurred in the Antonine, whatever may have been the case with the Hadrian.

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The ditch was the smallest depth commensurate with efficient defensive qualifications, the vallum the minimum height, the ditch as far as possible following the lines of least resistance to its excavation, whilst conforming with defensive necessities; when it had to come out of rock, it was made as small as possible on the shortest lines. The vallum would be the governing line of defence, and if the ditch followed after, it was made to do it as cheaply as possible, and it had to furnish a formidable obstacle under fire range of the vallum where feasible, unless obstacles such as rocks were encountered. Where the steepness of the ground compensated for the small ditch and its excessive distance from the vallum a berm of varying size would be necessary, for the purpose of preventing damage to the escarp wall in soft soil by the pressure of the weighty rampart, as well as in order to obtain the requisite hurtling zone and view in front of the vallum for *command* purposes.

A few calculations are now made with a view to seeing what an enormous army the Romans would have had to keep up for the defence of the wall, as to the number of men and the time it would take to construct the works, and the great expense that would be incurred to the country by permanently occupying this advanced line in a passive defensive manner, varied by occasional counter attacks against an irritating and agile enemy. Taking the distance of lineal parapet of the lines, including the rear and flank lines of the supporting forts as 40 miles, and allowing $1\frac{1}{2}$ men per lineal yard, as in Sir John Jones's formula for the lines at Torres Vedras for the Antonine Wall, which we will put down as a *semi-permanent* work, treating the vallum as a field work, and the forts as permanent works, we get for the whole field army to garrison and construct the Antonine

$$40 \times 1760 \times 1\tfrac{1}{2} = 105{,}600 \text{ men.}$$

If the whole be treated as a *permanent* works, considering the ditch added to it, at one man per yard, we have $40 \times 1760 = 70{,}400$ men. Taking into consideration the fact that the key forts were at such long intervals apart, we cannot think that the field army was meant to be a weak one; therefore, we may take it that against an enemy such as the Romans would have

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had to keep at bay a body of 50,000 would have had to be provided for the Antonine, or at the rate of 5 men for every seven yards of lineal parapet for the whole lines.

50,000 *men* would form a large army corps for a modern general, but Lollius Urbicus would have had say (for example) 25,000 regular troops and 25,000 auxiliaries, besides labourers and civilians hired from the country side. The 25,000 regulars would include those three legions who, by the inscriptions on the tablets, performed so much of the work of the vallum, the strength of each legion being taken according to Vegetius at 6100, including engineers, foot soldiers, and artillery men, with 300 cavalry men or mounted scouts per legion. If we allow as many auxiliaries as regulars, our garrison, calculated according to modern rules, approaches very nearly to what we would expect from the tablets and ordinary building practice in fort construction to enable the whole work to be completed in a reasonable time (say six months). Until A.D. 200 or so the legions were wholly composed of Roman citizens; after that date it appears that imperial Roman citizens were included from all parts of the empire, and it is lamentable to find that the discipline and power of the Roman arms and the empire generally began to deteriorate after this date, instead of increasing, a circumstance which we sincerely hope will not come to pass in this country when the realisation of a grand English-speaking imperial army in our future history becomes an established fact. For watching the walls at night time a double sentry every fifty yards should be placed for a watch of three hours' duration, 2816 men as sentinels would be required every three hours, or 11,264 men for the whole lines for the whole night of 12 hours, which would only give each man three nights in bed out of four, far too small a proportion; so *single sentries* every 50 yards, making a double sentry every 100 yards, will be found all that can be spared, giving each man seven nights in bed out of eight when the mobile field army were at home. Assuming there were twelve forts in the lines, and the distance between any two of them averages 6400 yards, 128 pairs of sentinels would be required for each section to be relieved every three hours; and if each section—say from Barrhill fort to Westerwood fort—be divided into three subsections, averaging 2133 yards apiece, then 43

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pairs of sentries are required for each subsection, or 86 men at 50 yards apart. If these assemble on the expansions, there would be ample room for them, taking an expansion as 50 ft. × 40 ft. = 2000 sq. ft. One row of Romans in close order, four in a row, take up 8 sq. ft., so that 250 rows of fours, or 1000 men, could stand on one of the expansions of 2000 sq. ft. in a close crowd, leaving room for 914 emergency men to be assembled on each of the expansions, if required, after the guard had mounted.

For constructing the vallum of sod work, the time and number of men required, worked out at modern practice rates, is as follows: The size of the modern military sod is 18 inches × 9 in. × 4½ in., or two spades long, one spade broad, and half a spade thick. Three men cut 100 sods per hour, equals 13 cubic feet per man per hour, or 100 × 18 in. × 9 in. × 4½ in., or 100 men working 8 hours a day for 49 days, say 50 days, cut enough sods to build 528,000 cubic feet of the vallum, or one lineal mile of cross section of the vallum, 14 ft. wide at the bottom, 6 ft. at the top, and 10 ft. high. The sods should not be laid when wet, as in dry weather they shrink, and by the opening of the joints the stability of the structure is endangered. It is an ascertained fact that a sod of peat shrinks to three-fourths of its original size, and on drying assumes a light-coloured bloom on its face. In a sod revetment, built to keep in earth as a retaining wall, the sods should be laid *perpendicular* to the slope, as they are then able to resist the outward thrust better than if laid horizontally. In the case of the Antonine Wall the parapet was made of turves laid horizontally, which did not act as revetments, so far as can be ascertained. It is not known whether, as in modern practice, they were laid in rows, headers, and stretchers. There are other sod-mounds at Ardoch, and these in some cases are a bit tilted, but never look as if they had been used as a revetment at right angles to the slope, but merely laid in horizontal layers.

Continuing our calculations for the vallum construction by the builders of the turf parapet, the *diggers* of the sods must be in the proportion of *three* diggers to *two* builders to keep the latter continuously occupied, together with a proportion of carriers, depending upon the distance of the sod-cutting ground from the vallum, being required in addition. Three diggers cut 42

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cubic feet of sods per hour, two builders lay 100 sods per hour according to modern practice, equals 42 cubic feet; one builder lays 21 cubic feet per hour, or for eight hours 168 cubic feet, 528,000 cubic contents of the mile of the vallum divided by 168 gives 3142 days for one builder at eight hours, or 31 days for 100 builders at eight hours, or 46½ days for 100 sod-men, or 31 days for 133 sod-men, to perform one mile of the vallum building and digging sods. 40 miles of the vallum in 124 days (4 months at 31 days a month) would require 1000 builders and 1500 diggers for the turf work, equals 2500 men, plus carriers in proportion. But before the vallum could be constructed we know that a vast amount of quarrying and collecting stones for the foundation would be required, and it would seem that from the inscriptions found in quarries that the skilled quarrymen were chiefly Roman soldiers, probably military artificers belonging to the Engineer corps, and for which a certain number of masons and bricklayers are always enlisted at the present day. Taking the kerbs of squared freestone or whinstone of the vallum as 13 in. long × 13 in. wide × 8 in. deep, and assuming them to be a foot long, we have for one mile vallum 1760 × 3 × 2 stones, equals 10,560 stones of squared freestone or whinstone for the foundation of one mile of the vallum. Assuming our quarrymen turned out two of these stones in a day of eight hours, we should require 1703 quarrymen to make kerbs for the 40 miles of vallum in 124 days, or for 40 miles of vallum in 124 days we require 2500 diggers and builders of sods, 1000 carriers of sods, 1700 quarrymen, 850 carters of stones for kerbs and foundations, with a proportion laying foundations, a total of 6052 or one legion for the construction of the whole vallum in four months. Another legion would have been easily employed in the construction of the twelve detached forts, giving only 500 men for each fort. A third legion, with 5000 additional men, might have been kept free as an army for the defence of the intervals and forts, 1000 to each of the 11 intervals. But it is quite likely that the Romans used their extra auxiliaries in the form of countryside labourers as carriers, and in doing unskilled work so as to leave a large proportion of warriors free to attack the enemy. Another 6000 would have been employed in clearing away obstacles in the ground in front of the vallum and picking up stones for the vallum foundation and making the military road. Thus we have 24,000 men whose services would have been utilised in the construction of

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the lines and forts, and the immediate protection of the works under construction, and if work in the quarries did not delay them and difficulties in transporting materials, it would appear that the forts, road, and vallum might be constructed by 24,000 men (including the legion for protection of works under construction), in six months, allowing a margin for unforeseen contingencies, the remaining 26,000 men being ready for attack and defence as a field army of a mobile description, whilst the vallum and forts were being built.

Assuming the vallum and forts finished, and the ditch or fosse subsequently begun as an obstacle for the purpose of strengthening the lines, how many men would it take and what time to construct the fosse? The area of the V-shaped fosse is one half of 40 multiplied by 12 ft., equals 240 square feet, and allowing as a task for one man in four hours 40 cubic feet of excavation as an average in ordinary medium soil throughout the fosse, we have for one mile of fosse 240 × 1760 × 3 divided by 40, equals the number of tasks of men for four hours equals 31,680 men-days for four hours a day, or 15,840 men-days at eight hours a day. 100 men will dig out a mile of fosse in 158 days in ordinary soil; for forty miles 4000 men a day will take 158 days, or under six months, and another 3600 men for the military road in the same time. Reasoning on this basis, one man per yard for continuous lines, as in Sir John Jones's formula for Torres Vedras, we get a garrison of 76,000 men required, but reduce it to 50,000 as the enemy are not so formidable as to be considered on an equality. Dividing up this 50,000 men we take 24,000 of them for construction and immediate protection of works, leaving 26,000 for an active mobile field force, and we calculate we can construct the vallum and forts, military road, and clear the ground in six months. We then put on another 6000 men on to the ditch, including 4000 diggers and 2000 spreaders, and find that they could complete the same in six months, including a margin for unforeseen contingencies. If 16,000 of those who constructed the vallum and forts were put on to the ditch we should finish it in 40 days; by employing more men on the works and reducing to a minimum the field army, the whole work, vallum, forts, road and ditch could be finished in two months if everything, including transport, material, quarried stones and labour was to hand and the weather dry and everything went smoothly. But it is

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thought that it would be necessary to have a big force to protect the quarrymen, of whom it would require 3000 to do all the stone work in four months.

It has already been shown that 50,000 men is only sufficient to give one sentry every 50 yards as a night guard, so that after the line was finished there would not be many men available for offensive warfare at this rate without weakening the protecting force on the lines themselves. A number of minor suggestions occur based on details such as the dark lines in the vallum. These may, it is considered, be fairly accounted for by the theory of uneven subsidence and unequal shrinkage. They chiefly bifurcate towards the edges, as owing to the batter the centres of gravity of the upper exterior rhomboidal superstructures fall nearer to the centre line of the vallum, tending to tilt the outside two-thirds of their sod bases upwards when resting on a synclinal bend of turves below them. We know that exposure to the rain, unequal thickness of the turves, unequal dryness of the layers, variation in the hardness of foundation, all would tend to unequal subsidence, and, it is thought, cause these peculiarities of the lines in the sections. What we do not know is whether one row of turves was pegged down to the rest, as in modern work of sod revetting by wooden skewers. Sod revetments intended to act as walls to support earth behind should not be at a greater slope than $\frac{3}{1}$, but sod mounds will stand at almost any slope, for permanent defence, however, like the Antonine mound exposed to all weathers the slope of $\frac{2\frac{1}{2}}{1}$ is a safe one.

Trifling circumstances suggest other reflections such as these: Was the stone found at Section Bonnyside No. 3 placed there as a kerb to retain the heaped-up earth of the outer mound? Do the expansions on the outer ravelin flanking the north entrance to Ardoch furnish any clue to our expansions? Do not the frequent stones found in the outer mound point to the fact that they came out of the ditch whilst being excavated, and, being posterior to the vallum, were not put aside to use in the rubble foundation of the latter structure?

Does not the distance of from 130 to 140 yards between any two consecutive expansions, differing by only 30 yards from the distance we have ascertained from our basis or calculation derived from modern practice as the distance we can put our double sentry, namely, at 140 yards

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interval—does that lead us to think that, if expansions are found at nearly every 130 yards right along the face of the lines, that they might have been possible stances for each double sentry, with possibly a hut below in the shelter of expansion and vallum for the whole of the night relief party, say 8 men in each hut at every 130 yards interval, and, had they any footways to the outside berm, as modern continuous lines always have covered ways with frequent entrances to the interior, was the outer mound ever utilised in this way? Why should the culvert at Section No. 2, Barrhill, have the peculiar dammed-up spout? Considering that the spout on the south side was 8 inches lower than that on the north, was not this in order to form a pond on the south side, which, by welling up, would slowly discharge like a dam over the northern orifice, and thus save the undermining of the curbs and consequent subsidence of the vallum? Look also at the V-shaped southern end of the other culvert, where the foundation slopes north!

Does the fact of the bottoming of rough stones being a foot lower than the top of the curbs in the vallum foundation at Croy No. 8 lead us to suppose that not only was a deeper key made for the vallum at a very exposed situation from the wind, but also that, being at the apex of a watershed both ways on hard rock, there would be little danger of the soakage of drainage water into the base of the vallum, thereby endangering the structure, and thus doing away with the necessity of a deeper bottoming?

Does the whitish clayey substance, mentioned as forming lines in some of the sections, lead us to think that the layers of turves were bedded in like as are the sod mounds of the present age, thus agreeing with the system described as "*velut murus*," or by rows of headers and stretchers packed in with earth rammed and bedded in on layers of loose earth or mortar? The whitish clay substance looks like a clay earth which turns white as it dries through age. At the present day sod mounds are rammed when being laid, and is it not probable that the vallum of the Antonine Wall was bedded in an earthy clay between the turves, and rammed down or pegged to the row below? Can it be that a damp-proof course has been attempted in some places by the whitish clayey matter to keep the vallum from getting its base of turves soaked with subsoil drainage water?

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Again, looking at Croy Section No. 8, was the ditch occupied here, and was there an exit through the vallum indicated by the protraction of two feet beyond the north kerb, a descent by steps or by a ramp from the top of the vallum being made? No protraction being visible to the south side, it is to be borne in mind that the slope of the base of the vallum does not seem to warrant a protraction of two feet north without a reason. To get full effect from their weapons on Croy Hill, it is thought that the Romans would have had to issue out to command the ditch from the heights above in some cases. See also Section A8, where protracted lines occur as well, and where there is also a southern expansion. To get onagers out of the forts to these high expansions on the top of the hill would have taken some considerable time, and we think here the onagers would have been better employed in the forts. The fact of there being no kerbs to the expansion makes one inclined to think that the slopes were the natural slopes of the ground, namely, about 26 degrees, being a ramp of ascent for men only, and not for heavy weapons.

The white plastered-looking front to the vallum, where the south expansion leans on to it, looks like earthy clay packed in between the faces of the junction of the vallum and the overhanging face of the expansion, or exuded liquid matter from the joints, and as if this white clay, perhaps waterproof, was layered on the earth side of the rows of turves with the underneath grass surface of the above row bedded into it. The rows of turves being levelled uniformly by this means, why does the clay bedding disappear in a vallum with peat sods preponderating, as at Bonnyside? Were the peat sods dried here by exposure before use and no clay bed considered necessary? Looking at Section 12A Croy, or A7 at the second expansion, the vallum has fallen away to the north side, although the north kerb is 15 inches higher than the south. The width of the vallum's base is 16 feet, 4 feet of which lying between the north kerb and the centre is very well packed. Does not this fact lend itself to the idea of an exit from the vallum to let men out to defend, from the edge of the cliff overhanging it, the fosse, which lies 40 feet below. As the slopes of the expansions appear to have been very easy ones, there was no chance of the expansion falling down; and if there was, it did not much matter, as

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the slopes could be easily ascended by men. There were, therefore, no kerbs and no laying of clayey matter to keep the turves level, so as to make the structure more stable by reducing the inequalities in the thickness of the turves. As there were no kerbs, we do not think the expansions were meant to carry an abnormal weight. The black lines in the sections of the expansion would not be so distinct against the red earth without the intervening whitish clayey layering. At Bonnyside No. 1 we should look out if there are any signs of an exit, for there is an expansion here. The layers project 6 inches beyond the north curb of vallum, and not on the south, and the berm has some of its surface laid with stones. The scarp and counterscarp seem to have been strengthened here by supporting stones; at a distance of 133 yards or so east there is the trace of another expansion and possible *clavigula* on the outer mound, and at about 133 yards east of this is another undoubted expansion. Bonnyside Section No. 3 is at about the right distance for the next expansion, but there is nothing structurally peculiar about this section, except the large stone on the counterscarp edge. Was the bottom of the ditch wet, due to a damp soil near Bonnyside, and were there any foot bridges across? Do the dark lines here, very distinct, indicate turves of a peaty description?

So far as we can read, the riddles which present themselves in the details of the construction of the Antonine lines and forts, they have in most cases several plausible solutions, but admit of only one really correct solution, and that is the one which, after studying all possible answers, absolutely convinces me that it is the only rational one. For instance: The expansions may have been *places d'armes* for men, weapons, or stores; they may have been flanking places for an exit, or simply places of assembly or parade grounds, where men could quickly assemble or disperse. The supplementary mound on the escarp, where it existed in Roman works, may have been either to give an additional line of fire directly into the ditch or to deepen the ditch on the escarp side, or to form a support for *fraises*, or an obstacle constructed to prevent climbing up the escarp wall and superior slopes, as well as forming in itself a patrol path. The stone kerb 14 feet from the edge of the ditch, escarp side, on Rough Castle No. 2, an intermediate kerb, may have been to hold up a

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second turf mound as an additional line in front of the vallum for a double defence; and there are two heightened curbs acting as retaining walls to the increased thickened vallum of 16 feet wide, and which, according to modern principles, would have been strengthened at this point. The facing of the scarp and counterscarp at Rough Castle with stone is also at once diagnosed as an increase in strength, according to modern practice for supporting forts.

These various riddles, to be accurately solved, require a very careful study of each one individually, and a comparison with other Roman works, and also with modern practice. It is thought that there was a good reason for all the variations observed in this great work, and, if these few reflections will be of any assistance in directing the attention of other and fresher minds to this interesting study, that the riddles, which yet remain unsolved, will yield eventually to the careful and analytical researches of the patient investigator.

Before we close this record of hasty impressions, what can we do to clear up the historical differences as to the relation of the Antonine Wall to the vastly more elaborated Hadrian Wall further south? Can we deduce anything worthy of our attention by reasoning on a rational basis of the probable sequence of similar structures in more modern times, so as to build up a theory which will fit together as a whole? Julius Capitolinus, the inscribed tablets, and Vegetius seem the most reliable authorities. Gildas says that the sod-wall, which must evidently be the Antonine, was made by the Britons of sods in an unskilful way. This is evidently an imaginary statement, for it has been proved by us up to the hilt that this wall was made in the most skilful way after Roman design and by the Romans themselves, who in the truest sense of the words have proved themselves to be past-masters in the art of fortification. We cannot, therefore, pay much heed to Gildas. Bede and Nennius we do not regard as much more accurate historians than Gildas on this particular point. Now, putting ourselves in the place of the Romans, advancing as far as practicable into a strange country, would we not go on as far as we could, carefully noting the country we pass through?—say up to the north of Ardoch, where we established a camp; and then, having observed



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in our progress the tantalising line of defence between the Clyde and the Forth, resolve to draw the line at that barrier, knowing that as long as we had *command of the sea* our weak flanks would be secure. Having built the Antonine Wall, we find we require a large and expensive garrison to keep it up, and to be able to assume occasionally the offensive as the best defence. Afterwards finding the wall too far away from our base, and necessitating a very large and expensive army, we withdraw farther south, leaving the wall in the hands of people (the Meatœ), whom we treat as a buffer state, who, by the way, if unfriendly to us, had *not command of the sea* without our aid, and were therefore liable to be outflanked. We therefore decide on building for permanent occupation another wall, which, though very costly in its first construction, would by its strength enable us to reduce our garrison in proportion inversely to this added strength. We therefore commence to build the Hadrian Wall between the Solway and Tyne, the flanks of which would be much more secure. To commence it, therefore, we construct a long line, viz. the south agger, with fosse, for our mobile field army to start from and retire to if required, and in order to protect the heavy stone wall (which would have to be afterwards made leisurely in peaceful quiet, if possible, and in sections) from being outflanked and taken in rear whilst under construction. This masonry wall, of course, like the vallum of the Antonine, takes the best ground for observation and defence. Reasoning from our experience on the Antonine Wall, we see what an enormous garrison would be required to maintain and defend the Hadrian Wall. We therefore have to strengthen the lines to reduce this garrison by completing the intermediate northern agger in the simplest and cheapest way—thus, forming another rampart between the original vallum or southern agger and the majestic masonry wall which takes the place of our vallum in the Antonine, enabling the defence of both the north and south sides to be made by a small garrison, who could, if necessary, by throwing up entrenchments between the north rampart and the masonry wall, completely secure their own protection during the construction of the several sections of the masonry wall and afterwards. It certainly appears as if the whole of the Hadrian Wall installation was built on a preconceived plan, forming one design, the dominating structure of masonry taking the best line

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afforded by the ground, the protecting south agger the second best line, varying in distance according to the lie of the land. If the south agger had been built independently before the masonry wall had been thought of, why did it not take the best ground like the Antonine vallum? The military road has to be close up to the masonry structure, for facility in handling the big stones which have to be manipulated. There must be ample room between the military road and the fosse of the south agger for construction purposes, turning the stone carts and parking the stones, and for stone-masons' huts for dressing the stones. After each section of the masonry wall is built, then it is time to think of strengthening its defence, thereby reducing the number of the permanent garrison who would eventually occupy it when finished; also in order to make each section in course of construction into a close work of defence if necessary, in case of attack before the whole line of masonry wall is finished. The easiest way of doing this is to complete the northern agger, which answers several purposes; but it is not worth while filling up a portion of the ditch of the north and south agger by refilling it with the mound of the south agger, for even if the south agger remains where it is standing, there is the usual hurtling zone of 100 feet available for the north agger, and the marginal mound of the south agger, where it exists, is only on all fours with the intermediate trenches between the inner and outer ramparts at Ardoch and other places, besides having the wide ditch which forms so good an obstacle against attack from the north side. Besides, the distance between the north agger and the masonry wall is so narrow in places that the same force could hold both sides of the enclosed work if necessary. The Romans knew that the more permanent their work was the fewer men per yard were required to hold it, and this would mean the greatest economy in the long run if it had to be held permanently by a large army for many years.

We now proceed with the deductions made by a comparative estimate of the price of the Antonine and Hadrian structures. As regards the earth required for the enlarged northern agger, there seems to have been a likelihood of the northern fosse being constructed before the masonry structure commanding it, as it could be done in shorter time, while the earth available

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from the foundations of the masonry wall as excavated, with probably some spare earth in places from the joint north and south fosses, could be used for the completion of the northern agger. This is a matter of calculation and measurement, and could be readily ascertained. It appears likely that as each section of the masonry wall was finished the enlarged northern agger was then commenced and completed. The next section of masonry wall would then be ready for its protecting *parados* in the shape of the northern agger.

Assuming that the Roman army were marching on two roads, one up from Carlisle to the Antonine Wall say at Barrhill, the other up to Camelon and Falkirk *viâ* Inveresk and the east road, according to modern practice each 25,000 men would occupy ten miles of length of road. The cross connections of these two main roads necessary to keep up lateral communication would not have been good ones, due to their interception by mountain chains and streams, and we do not know, except by the position of hill forts and camps, whether the Roman army of occupation for the Antonine Wall came up all in one body or in two or three separate columns. The Romans were acting on 'interior lines' in defending the Antonine Wall, assuming both roads of advance converged towards the centre of the Wall of Hadrian. But if one body was using the East Coast road along the shore line from Newcastle-on-Tyne as a base, and the other using Carlisle as a base, they would be acting on 'exterior' lines. From our knowledge, however, of the country and Roman roads of approach we think the East Coast road was not used, unless there were three columns of advance, except *viâ* the present Waverley route of the Midland Railway, namely, parallel to the Gala Water. It is curious to note, as showing how little geographical strategy alters, that during the army manœuvres in Wiltshire in 1898, our commissaries, without having consulted any antiquarian authorities whatsoever, planted their principal camps on the very identical sites on which the Roman legions rested during their conquest of Southern Britain.

In addition to principal bases in warfare, there are secondary bases, and as an army advances into a hostile country so day by day it gets more distant from its base, and begins to feel less secure, and it is most desirable to provide a new 'point d'appui' before going

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onwards, as well as a new base. The defender, on the other hand, as he is obliged to retreat, covers himself with a new line more in the interior; indeed, France has now already a second line with very strong fortresses. Compare this with the Antonine and Hadrian constructions. Vegetius, living in the time of the Emperor Valentinian, at the close of the 4th century A.D., might have been quoted word for word as a nineteenth century military writer on principles of war, his words being full of wisdom and philosophy, and far from being mere exercises in archaeological curiosity. Hadrian, Trajan, and Antoninus were great builders of walls, from the shores of the Black Sea to the banks of the Clyde, but all the ability of these engineers and the lavish expenditure of the exchequer were in vain. If large numbers of men, broad rivers, and intricate mountainous districts cannot keep out invaders and protect a state, neither can a lengthy wall in the long run if the nation becomes effete, corrupt, and passive. The lines of Torres Vedras covering Lisbon answered their purpose effectively, and were justified by the topography of the theatre of operations; but the long line of works in Belgium in 1705 from Namur to Antwerp were carried by Marlborough. Look then at the Chinese wall, 2000 miles long, 40 feet high, and wide enough on top to drive two coaches and four abreast; look at it now,—in places not 100 miles from Pekin it has dwindled down to a miserable mud wall, not 20 feet high, and of no thickness, and with gaps in it from a quarter to half a mile in width, large enough to admit a brigade. It is a sad example of official negligence and corruption. Close to Pekin, however, where it was under the immediate eye of the Empress, it is a magnificent structure built of immense blocks of granite.

In fact, with regard to boundaries, we find that certain frontiers give military chances to brave and enterprising armies, but that no frontier, however massive, or however strengthened by nature or by art, can prevent a luxurious, inert, or corrupt race from ruin. That great authority on fortification, Sir G. Clarke, R.E., says that the best "fortification, judged by results, has been improvised by stress of circumstances, unspoiled by the debasing influence of the text-book, and not demoralised by the technical possibilities opened out by large expenditure." Does not our

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Antonine Wall come under this category? We look upon the Antonine lines in the same light as those of the lines constructed in 1877 against the Russians by the Turks to cover Constantinople at Gallipoli as a model of economical construction for the purpose required. These lines at Buyuk-Tchekmedje were as remarkable in strength as Constantinople was in its geographical position. Out of their 20 miles of length twelve of them were occupied by broad lakes and the remaining eight by swamps and impassable thickets, whilst a ridge of from some 400 to 700 feet high commanded them, covered with redoubts. 30,000 men actually occupied them, but according to modern rules 60,000 would have been none too many had they not naturally been so strong. 30,000 men here were a more powerful force than 60,000 in the lines at Plevna. Look at Masséna sullenly retreating after long observation from the lines at Torres Vedras in 1811. In these celebrated lines the first line was 29 miles long from sea to sea, the second line 24 miles long, and from 6 to 10 miles in rear of the first, the third lines were quite short and intended only to cover a forced embarkation. The second line was the strongest, the others appendages, the third a mere place of refuge. There were five practicable roads for guns in the first line and four in the second. The aim was to defend these roads, and strengthen the fighting positions between them without impeding the movements of the defending army. The loss of the first line would not have been so very serious, except for the bad moral effect and loss of prestige which would have ensued, as the second and stronger lines always lay behind. To occupy 50 miles of lines and man 150 forts at Torres Vedras took quite a few men, but they were there available. The Russians tried a similar structure at Drissa in 1812 and it was a failure, but Soult was successful at Bayonne. The Americans seem to set great store on lines, especially when the land defence is supported by sea power. In the case of Canada, if the Americans were to attempt to invade the Eastern province, Nova Scotia through New Brunswick, they would soon find themselves before a second Torres Vedras, the right flank of the lines resting on Northumberland Sound, the left on the Bay of Fundy with the Petticodiac River in front, and a strong second line behind with flanks resting on Cumberland Basin to the west and Bay Verte to the east, whilst the Intercolonial

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Railway in rear of them would bring up men and supplies from Halifax and Sydney (Cape Breton).

When a state proposes to invade its neighbour it should first organise a solid basis of operations, a zone from which to raise reinforcements, provisions, and ammunition. On this zone there should be some strong 'points d'appui,' otherwise it will be liable to raids and enterprises against its flag which would be detrimental to its utility. The Hadrian line seems to answer most of these requirements, whilst the Antonine, not being on so permanent a footing, saved the danger of such an elaborate and far-reaching frontier defence as the Hadrian without an over-multiplication of forts or entrenched camps. The *Antonine* was more compatible with *mobility* than the *Hadrian* (after final completion); for permanent works, if used for fighting purposes, signify immobility. The Antonine would give the offensive army many a safe debouché over towards the enemy, and would cover a retreat and check the pursuit. The Hadrian would form a position from which the advanced forces could fall back, recruit in safety, recuperate in men and stores, and there await the arrival of reinforcements. An invader who has sufficient force can seldom be prevented from entering a mountainous country, whether by the nature of the roads or by the hill forts as we have proved in India and in South Africa. The Romans practically surrounded their Empire, whether by the banks of the Tigris, the Danube and the Rhine, or north on the line of the Solway and the Firth of Forth, with a series of military posts, their headquarters being frequently placed behind in a central camp or colony, whence they could with ease reinforce any part of the second line. Rapid communication with every part of the Empire was secured by the admirable military roads which invariably accompanied the progress of their arms. No question of cost was allowed to interfere with the excellent structure and perfect preservation of their main highways. For centuries the Empire expanded and the armies were continually advancing. But then came a time when the progress of the Empire stopped and forts, walls and vast dykes took the place of powerful armies ready for the fray. The end of the Empire was then at hand, the merely defensive attitude behind lines of forts is a sure sign of national decay. The Romans became timid when waiting, victory being uncertain, and before long the very roads made by them became easy avenues

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of approach for barbarian invasions, yet these roads were originally built for immortality, and are still found frequently in all parts of the Eastern world. Looking at these considerations it appears probable that the line from the Solway to the mouth of the Tyne was a principal base, and the Antonine Wall only an advance or secondary base in point of strength and not entirely in point of time; that the southern agger of the Hadrian and its fosse and northern mound were in the nature of a field work line of defence for an advancing mobile army, and that it was designed to be strengthened as time went on by the construction of the masonry wall and intermediate agger, at a time when the advancing army had pacified the country to the north of it, building in its turn the Antonine as an advance semi-permanent base for a mobile army, and when the country to the north of the Solway line was quiet enough the masonry wall and north agger were completed, during which time the Antonine Wall may have been held. What exact intervals of time elapsed during this construction period it is not within our power so far as can be ascertained to determine with any approach to accuracy, except perhaps by further excavations leading to further finds and the historical information obtained thereby. In enunciating these principles of fortification, I have been much assisted by a perusal of the works on this subject written by Col. Lewis, R.E., who himself has designed and estimated for 11 miles of continuous lines in modern times; and for the parallel with modern lines and strategical geography, to the works of Mr. Maguire, Barrister-at-law of the Temple, London, a well-known military historian and geographer.

[Appendix

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## ESTIMATED COST PER FOOT RUN OF THE ANTONINE LINES

### FIRTH OF FORTH TO FIRTH OF CLYDE AT CIVIL RATES FOR THE WORK ESTIMATED FOR.

| Part of the Building or Work. | Description of the Work to be performed, and of the Materials and Labour required. | No. | Length. | Breadth. | Height. | Content. | Item of Schedule. | Price. | Amount. £ | s. | d. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Base Stones, | Freestone roughly dressed and bedded in mortar, | 2/ | 1′ 0 | 1′ 0 Ft. | 8″ cubc | 1 4 $1\frac{1}{3}$. | 620 622 | 2/7 | | 3 | 5 | |
| Rubble foundation, | Picking up and carting stones to place required and handpacking in position (say 3/- per Y.C. for stones and 10d. for packing), | 1/ | 12′ 0 | 1′ 0 Yd. | 1′ 0 cubc | 12 0 $\frac{13}{27}$. | * 31 | 3/10 | | 1 | 11 | |
| Internal portion of Embankment (less revetted faces), | Dig common ground and throw into heaps, | 1/ | 10′ 0 Say | 10′ 0 Yds. | 1′ 0 cubc | 100 0 4. | 1 | 6d. | | 2 | 0 | |
| Upper portion, | Raising do. 5 to 10 ft. high, | | Half | above | = | 2. | 37 | $1\frac{1}{2}$ | | | 3 | |
| Embankment, | Extra to forming ground in layers to form Embankment, | | As | above | = | 4. | 28 | $3\frac{1}{4}$ | | 1 | 1 | |
| Outer faces, | Sod revetments as item (Sods found on Govt. property), | 2/ | 10′ 0 Per | 1′ 0 100 | F.S. | 20 0 $\frac{20}{100}$. | 51 52 | 42/ | | 8 | 5 | |
| Top, | Covering top portion with 3 in. mould and sow with grass seeds, | 1/ | 6′ 0 Per | 1′ 0 100 | F.S. | $\frac{6}{100}$. | 25 | 1/7 | | | 1 | |
| | | | | | | Total for the Vallum—price per lineal foot | | | | | | = 17 2 |
| Ditch, | Dig common ground and throw into heaps, | ½/ | 40′ 0 Say | 12′ 0 Yds. | 1′ 0 cubc | 240 0 9. | 1 | 6d. | | 4 | 6 | |
| | Forming surfaces of ditch and bank to required slope, | 4/ | 22′ 0 Per | 1′ 0 100 | F.S. | $\frac{88}{100}$. | 29 | 6d. | | | 5 | |
| | | | | | | Total for the Fosse—price per lineal foot | | | | | | = 4 11 |
| Military Road, | Picking up stones and hand packing as above, | 1/ | 15′ 0 Say | 1 0 ½ Yd. | 9″ cubc | 11 3 $\frac{13}{27}$. | as above | 3/10 | | 1 | 11 | |
| | Top surface of do. broken to 2 in. gauge, say 5 in. thick, | = ½ | above | Yd. | cubc | $\frac{1}{4}$. | 960 + 3/ | 5/9 | | 1 | 5 | |
| | Blinding top surface with soft earth or gravel, | 1/ | 15′ 0 | 1′ 0 | Y.S. | $1\frac{5}{9}$. | 964 977 | $1\frac{1}{4}$ | | | 2 | For the road 3 6 |
| | | | | | | Total price per Foot Lineal, . . . | | | | | | £1 5 7 |
| | | | | | | Add contingencies, say . . | | | | | | 4 5 |
| | Or £4 10s. 0d. per Yard Lineal. | | | | | | | | | | | £1 10 0 |

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Taking the price of the whole work at civil rates for labourers at 3s. a day

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The price of the construction of 40 miles of Vallum and Forts works out to . . . . . | £181,280 | 0 | 0 |
| The price of the construction of 40 miles of Fosse works out to . | 51,920 | 0 | 0 |
| The price of the construction of 40 miles of Military Road works out to . . . . . | 36,960 | 0 | 0 |
| Total for Antonine Lines, . . . . . | £270,160 | 0 | 0 |
| Adding contingencies at 4s. 5d. per lineal foot, | 46,640 | 0 | 0 |
| Total for the whole Lines amount to . . . | £316,800 | 0 | 0 |

1. Assuming it costs the bare sum of £270,000 for the work without allowing 20 per cent. for contingencies, and the soldier's wage is half the civilian's, namely 1s. 6d. a day extra working pay average at modern rates, we find that the time it would take to expend this £270,000 in the work, employing 20,000 soldiers every day, just amounts to six months, which is the time we calculated it would take to do with an army of 20,000 men working 8 hours a day on page 462 by another method of computation, which forms a very satisfactory check on these estimates and calculations.
2. Adding contingencies for the unforeseen at about 20 per cent., we have shown that the whole of the Lines would cost for construction work, leaving out the purely regimental pay of the soldier which always goes on, the sum of £316,800—say £317,000—price of Antonine Wall.
3. Comparing the price of the Hadrian Wall with this by a very rough comparative estimate, as the expense of the masonry wall of the Hadrian is the chief item and does not exist in the Antonine; assume for curiosity's sake that the Hadrian Wall is twice as strong and twice as long as the Antonine and we get a rough approximate estimate of the Hadrian Wall as four times that of the Antonine:—viz., 4 × £317,000 = £1,268,000 price of Hadrian Wall.
4. But as the Hadrian Wall is assumed to be twice as long and twice as strong as the Antonine, the strength of the permanent garrison to hold it can be reduced to a number not far exceeding, if at all, that required to hold the Antonine Wall, which at regimental pay rates for purely military duty works only, would amount in a year for say an army of 60,000 men at 1s. 6d. a day a head to £1,620,000 or more than the price of constructing the whole work. This shows at once the economy of constructing a very strong work, thereby enabling a smaller garrison to hold it. This calculation is only for the bare military pay of the soldier, taking no account of his arms, ammunition, clothing, food or equipment, etc.
5. It is thought this financial argument, *i.e.* the expense increasing as the soldier gets farther away from his base, is in favour of the theory that the Hadrian Wall was built for permanent occupation subsequently to the Antonine. For it is not likely that the lowlands of Scotland at that time would have been a very lucrative acquisition, but rather a very costly one, and if the Caledonians could be kept back at the Hadrian Wall at less expense than at the Antonine, it seems likely that the practical Roman Empire would have begun after a time to realise this fact and determined to construct the finished Hadrian Wall subsequent to their costly experiment on the Antonine lines—as the more business-like method of procedure.

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## No. XX.

## ANNUAL EXCURSIONS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1900 AND 1901.

### 1900.

THE Excursion took place on Thursday, 30th August, the day's programme including Dirleton and Tantallon Castles and Whitekirk Church. Among the members present were J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., *Vice-President*, Professor Cooper, D.D., Peter Sturrock of Baltorsan, late M.P. for the Kilmarnock Burghs, James Caldwell, F.S.A. Scot., Robert Guy, J. T. T. Brown, Robert Brydall, F.S.A. Scot., John Mann, C.A., J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., *Hon. Secretary*, the Rev. W. Young, R. Hunter Dunn, James T. Bell, T. B. Fotheringham, etc.

The excursion party left Queen Street Station at 8.45 a.m., and, changing carriages at Edinburgh, travelled to Dirleton. There the interesting ruins of Dirleton Castle were visited under the guidance of the Rev. John Kerr, minister of the parish, who read a paper upon the history of the fortress as follows—

The Castle of Dirleton is first heard of in connection with the De Vaux family, which on the Continent has played a very important part, various great Dukes, Sovereign Counts, and Kings having borne the name. Members of the Norman branch accompanied the Conqueror to England in 1066, and their descendants became Lords de Vaux of Pentney and Beevor in Norfolk, of Gillsland in Cumberland, and of Harrowden in Northamptonshire.

"The learned antiquary and historian, Sir James Dalrymple," says Nisbet, "observes that the ancient sirname Vaus in Latin charters called de

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Vallibus is the same with the name of Vaux in England, and is one of the first sirnames which appear there after the conquest. One of the family came to Scotland in the time of King David the first, and in the reign of his grandson and successor, Malcolm IV., mention is made of Philip de Vallibus, who had possessions in the South; and soon after that we find the family of Vallibus or Vaus proprietors of the lands and barony of Dirletoun in East Lothian, and also of Golyn and Fentoun."

The Castle ruin displays three distinct architectural features. The oldest (marked in black on plan) is, of course, the de Vaux Castle, of which a goodly portion still stands, and carries us back we may safely say to beyond the middle of the 12th century. The large round tower to the west of the entrance and the smaller square and round towers further west have the characteristics of the period—fine regular ashlar work, thick walls and narrow loopholes, with wide interval bays and angular openings at top and bottom. The round and domed ramp at the south-east angle is evidently a remnant of the original edifice, and formed the sloping base of a round tower. The original castle was built on a hard igneous site, not high, but very secure, and was surrounded by a moat which was supplied from a lake near by.

In the year 1174, John de Vallibus was one of the hostages given to the English for the ransom of the Scots King, William. In 1244, another John, Dominus de Dirleton, is mentioned as one of the Magnates of Scotland in the Pope's ratification of the peace between England and Scotland. According to the *Glasgow Chartulary* 413 and 417, this gentleman in 1243 gave 10 merks yearly out of his lands of Golyn to the See of Glasgow. Again, his grandson, John, was second husband of Dervorgill, widow of Sir John Baliol, and mother of King John Baliol, whose claim to the crown came to him through her. In 1291 he swore fealty at Berwick to Edward the First. In 1298, when Edward I. invaded the Lothians, and Wallace fell back before him, Dirleton Castle was one of the few which held out. Edward passed it by, but sent the fighting Bishop of Durham, Anthony Beck, to attend to it. Beck found the task no easy one, and sent to the King for further instructions. "Tell Anthony," replied His Majesty, "that he is right to be pacific when he is acting the Bishop, but that in his present

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business he must forget his calling." So the castle was stormed, and for some time it was held by an English garrison. In 1306, the Wardrobe accounts of Edward I. contain entries of provisions and ammunition for the Castle of Dirleton. John de Vaux seems to have been fickle. In 1304 he was a principal party to an agreement between Edward and "John Comyn and his Aydents." Two years after he is spoken of as a friend of Robert Bruce's, and an order is given by Edward to Aymer de Valence to seize on his person and send him to the King, and give the Castle of Dirleton to the keeping of John de Kyngeston. Again he made his peace with Edward, as on 30th September, 1307, he is included in a list ordered by the King to proceed against Bruce in Galloway. After Bannockburn, 1314, the Castle again came into the possession of the family. Thomas, who was a leader of the Scotch army at Halidon Hill, fell at Nevil's Cross, 1346. His successor, William, was taken prisoner. On his release he held various high offices under King and Parliament, and died in 1364. He was succeeded by William, his elder son having been killed at the siege of Berwick in 1355. William died in 1392, and was succeeded by two co-heiresses, one of whom—Christian—married Sir John Haliburton, and so the name de Vaux vanishes from the scene. It may be noted that one of the family connection, Mr. George Vaus, was Dean of Glasgow and Secretary of State to King James II. The most direct inheritors of the name are the Vans Agnews of Barnbarroch, whose crest, a lion rampant, holding scales in dexter paw, and motto, "Be Faithful," and other insignia, are said to be from the arms of the Dirleton de Vaux.

The second and most imposing part of the ruin is what remains of the work of Walter Halyburton, who was Lord Treasurer of Scotland and one of the Wardens of the Marches, and who in 1440 became Lord Halyburton of Dirleton, and retained the estate for fifty-seven years. While he was a supporter of the young King James I., for whom he was held as a hostage on his liberation in 1424, he was friendly also with the usurping uncle, Robert Duke of Albany, whose daughter he married. The ruins are a testimony to the Baron's great wealth and the lordly style he kept up. The massive arched entrance, with drawbridge, gates, and portcullis; the great range of buildings on the east, where the wall varies from thirteen to

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twenty-one feet in thickness; the wine-cellars hollowed out in the rock for butts of Gascony, Falernian, or Sicily, over which my lord could look from his private chamber at the north end, underneath which is the dungeon, the bakery with its ovens, the kitchen with its lofty vaulted roof, two great fireplaces, and service window: then the grand hall, 72 × 25 feet, which is supposed to have had a timber roof like that which is seen at Darnaway Castle, all testify to the importance of the castle and its lord, and furnish to the architectural eye "a fine example of the arrangements usual in the great quadrangular castles of the fifteenth century." In 1444 this baron founded a collegiate church at Dirleton. Again it "cam' wi' a lass and it went wi' a lass." Patrick, sixth Lord Halyburton, died in 1506, and was succeeded in his title and estate by his eldest daughter Janet, who married William, second Lord Ruthven. Their son Patrick was the father of John, Earl of Gowrie, who in 1584 was found guilty of treason by King James VI. and beheaded. His chief crime some say was that the king's favourite, the Earl of Arran, coveted Dirleton, which he got, but did not hold long, his worthless life having been ended by the assassin's dagger. There is a record of a meeting of Privy Council in Dirleton during the time he held the castle, at which he presided.

The castle was a twelve days' refuge to King James VI. when the plague devastated his capital. During his stay he was entertained with the performance of Robin Hood.

Dirleton was restored to Gowrie's son, who lost his life and ruined his family in what is known as the Gowrie conspiracy. This castle was the bribe which Gowrie offered to Logan of Fast Castle and Restalrig for his assistance in the business. In a letter produced at the trial Logan wrote, "I care not for all the other land I have in the kingdom in case I get a grip of Dirleton, for I esteem it the pleasantest dwelling in Scotland."

It was in the Ruthvens' time that the third group of buildings was added. A smaller, or private, hall or dining room was erected along the south-west side of the courtyard, with a separate staircase, which also gave access to bedrooms on the upper floor.

This is in the Scottish baronial style, and plaster on the walls betrays their more modern date. The addition marks the time when the feudal

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system was losing its grip, and the baronial lord kept the great hall only for state occasions, preferring private rooms instead of dwelling in the midst of his retainers. The buildings exhibit the more domestic accommodation of the mansions of the time of King James VI. Dirleton, instead of going to Logan, went to Sir Thomas Erskine of Gogar, who saved the king from the conspirators and killed Alexander Ruthven with his own hand. He was created Lord Dirleton in 1603, Viscount Fenton in 1606, Earl of Kellie in 1619. These titles now go with the Earldom of Mar. Erskine died in 1639, having parted in 1631 with Dirleton to James Maxwell of Innerwick, gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Charles I. In 1646 he was created Earl of Dirleton and Lord Elbottle. In 1649 there was a trial for witchcraft in the Broad Hall of the castle before the chamberlain of Dirleton and others. A witchfinder found the devil's marks on the two —man and wife—who confessed that they had had a visit from the devil and sold themselves to his service. They suffered the usual penalty. Maxwell was a zealous royalist, and the castle was held by mosstroopers in the interest of Charles II. in 1650. When Cromwell, after defeating Leslie and proceeding to Edinburgh, found this and other strongholds a nuisance, as they came between him and his base of supplies at Newcastle, he issued a proclamation on November 5 against these irregulars which meant business. His lieutenant, Major-General Lambert, appeared before Dirleton three days after, closely followed by General Monk with 1600 foot and five guns, and the two made short work of the castle. "Their great shot played, and the fourth shot of their mortarpiece tore the inner gate, beat down the drawbridge into the moat, and killed the lieutenant of the mosstroopers, so that they called for quarter, which would not be given them, nor would they agree to surrender to mercy but on reverence, which was consented unto. They took the governor and captain of the mosstroopers and sixty soldiers. Two of the most notorious of them and the captain (Wait) were shot to death upon the Place. They took in it many arms and demolished the house." So endeth the story.

Maxwell, the owner, died in 1653, and left no male issue. His two daughters were Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, and Diana, Viscountess Cranbourne, mother of the third Earl of Salisbury.

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In 1663 Dirleton was purchased by Sir John Nisbet, then the most eminent lawyer at the Scottish Bar, afterwards Lord of Session and King's Advocate. "It stood him a great soume of money, and was looked on as a great bargain and purchase at that tyme." Nisbet did not care to repair the ruin, but built Archerfield. He was descended from the Nisbets of that ilk, a great grandson of Henry Nisbet, Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1597, second son of Sir Patrick Nisbet of Eastbank, Lord of Session, born 1610, Advocate 1633, Lord Advocate, Lord of Session (the last to hold the two offices together) 1664, resigned 1677. He was a great scholar, but, according to Burnet, he loved money too much. He wrote *Dirleton's Doubts and Decisions*, 1665-7. His only surviving child, Joanna Nisbet, was married, first to Sir William Scott of Harden Kt., and second to Sir William Scott of Thirlestane. On his death in 1687, the estates passed to his nephew, William Nisbet of Craigentinny, member for the county of Haddington in the last Parliament of Scotland and the first of Great Britain. He was a supporter of Scottish national rights, and in 1695 subscribed £1000 to the Darien scheme. William Nisbet of Dirleton married Mary Hamilton of Belhaven, by whom Belhaven estates came. Their son married Mary, eldest daughter of Lord R. Manners, by whom the Bloxholm Estate, in Lincolnshire, came into the family. Their only child married Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin, Ambassador at the Court of the Sublime Porte, well known for his researches in Greek antiquities, the giver of the Elgin marbles to the British Museum. The daughter of this marriage was Lady Mary Nisbet Hamilton, who married in 1828, Robert Adam Dundas, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, sixth son of Lord President Dundas of Arniston. Their only daughter, the present lady of the manor, is married to H. T. N. Hamilton-Ogilvy, son of the late Sir John Ogilvy, Bart., of Inverquharity and Baldovan. The next heirs to the estate are the Grants of Kilgraston.

After a hearty vote of thanks had been awarded to Mr. Kerr for his valuable paper, the Society drove to North Berwick, and after lunching in the Imperial Hotel, proceeded to Tantallon Castle, where after a careful inspection of the ruins, Mr. Dalrymple Duncan read the following paper—

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TANTALLON CASTLE was probably erected by William, first Earl of Douglas, who in 1371 obtained possession of the lands on which this fortress stands, along with the adjoining Barony of North Berwick.

William Douglas was created Earl of Douglas in 1356-7; but, having married Margaret, daughter of Donald, 12th Earl of Mar, he was in her right generally also styled by the latter title. Being descended from the Comyns, the Earl, on the death of David II., in 1370-71, appeared inclined to dispute the succession of Robert II. to the throne. The grounds of his claim have been examined by the late Mr. Riddell, and appear not to have been altogether without foundation; but as he saw clearly that the High Steward's party was extremely powerful, he wisely decided to pass therefrom on condition that Robert's daughter was given in marriage to his eldest son, and that he himself was appointed warden of the marches. It seems probable that the Barony of North Berwick formed part of the consideration, on account of which Douglas withdrew his claim. It had been possessed by the Macduffs, Earls of Fife, during the 12th, 13th, and part of the 14th centuries, and on the death of Isabel, the last Countess, must have passed along with her other estates to Robert, Duke of Albany, third son of Robert II., who in all probability was compelled to hand it over as an additional sop to his father's formidable rival. Be this as it may, for no written grant has been recorded, there can be no question that two years afterwards (1373) the Earl of Douglas obtained a Crown charter constituting his village of North Berwick, a burgh with a port and custom-house.

On the fall of the Black Douglases in the middle of the 15th century, the Red or Angus Douglases rose in their kinsfolks' ruin, and George, fourth Earl of Angus, had bestowed on him in 1457 the Lordship of Douglas and the appendant domains. He had, previous to this, received in 1452 a grant of the great customs belonging to the King in the burgh of North Berwick, and of the King's Castle of Temptalon and lands thereto belonging, erected into the barony of Temptalon on 31st June, 1452.

The Castle was a favourite residence of the most notable of the Earls of Angus, Archibald "Bell-the-Cat," and here he gave shelter to Sir Ralph Sadler, the English Ambassador, after the failure of the negotiations for



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the marriage of Mary Stuart and Edward VI. Sadler reported the place poorly furnished, but sufficiently strong to shelter Angus from the malice of his enemies.

Scott, as all will remember, makes Tantallon the scene of the visit paid by Marmion to the grim old chief of the Douglases, and well describes its situation:

But scant three miles the band had rode
When o'er a height they passed,
And sudden, close before them, shewed
His towers, Tantallon vast.
Broad, massive, high, and stretching far,
And held impregnable in war.
On a projecting rock they rose,
And round three sides the ocean flows,
The fourth did battled walls enclose,
And double mound and fosse.
By narrow drawbridge, outworks strong,
Through studded gates an entrance lay,
So the main court they cross.
It was a wide and stately square,
Around were lodgings fit and fair,
And towers of various form,
Which on the court projected far,
And broke its lines quadrangular.
Here was square keep, there turret high,
Or pinnacle that sought the sky,
Whence oft the warder could descry
The gathering ocean-storm.

"Bell-the-Cat" was succeeded by his grandson (his son the Master of Angus having been killed at Flodden). The new Earl married Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, and on Albany's departure for France in 1517, was nominated one of the Council of Regency, in which his power latterly became paramount.

The Earl of Arran and others of the chief nobility formed a party against him, and a bloody conflict between the two factions took place in the High Street of Edinburgh in 1520, when Arran's party was worsted. This affray became known by the name of "Cleanse the Causeway." Angus was driven into exile in France for two years, but returned in 1524, and was again appointed one of the Council of Regency. Succeeding in

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getting an act passed declaring that as the King had now attained the age of 14 years the full royal prerogative had vested in him, Angus, as in possession of the King's person, had virtually nothing short of uncontrolled power. Two attempts were made to liberate James out of his hands, but it was only in 1528 the young monarch succeeded in escaping. When he did so Angus was forthwith deprived of his office of Chancellor, and he, his brother and uncle, were declared forfeited by the parliament. Angus retired to his Castle of Tantallon, where he was, in September, 1528, besieged by the King, who, however, withdrew his troops in November, leaving only a small detachment to protect the artillery. Angus thereupon swooped down with 150 horse and captured the guns. He did not, however, retain his prize but sent it to James, charging the commander of the royal forces to inform the King that his loyalty to him was unshaken, and that if it had been represented otherwise he had been foully slandered.

Angus's magnanimity in not seizing the cannon had no effect upon the implacable King, who declared that while he lived the Douglases should have no resting-place in Scotland. Angus accordingly retired to England, and the siege of Tantallon was resumed.

Pitscottie thus describes the siege: "Ffarder the king made procliematioun into Fyfe, Angus, Stretherne, Stirlingschyre and Lowtheane, Merse and Teivedaill to compeir at Edinburgh the 10 day of December anno I^m V^c and xxvii zeiris, that they may compeir the said day at Edinburgh witht xl dayis wictuall to pase witht him to Tamtallane to seige the samin; and to that effect gart send to the Castle of Dunbar to Captane Morise and thair borrowit sum artaillze and layit great pledgis for the samin, because the castell was then in the Duik of Albanieis handis and the artaillze thairof his awin, bot it was ewer at the kingis plesour quhene he had ought to do and be the command of the said Duike of Albanie. Bot zeit for restoiring and deliuering of the samin and obserwing of ane goode order caussit the lordis to pase in pledge for the said artaillze quhill it was deliuerit againe; and ressawit the samin in maner as efter followis, that is to say tuo gret cannonis, that is to say, thrawinmouth and hir marrow, witht tua greit battartis and tua myans and tuo doubill fallcons and foure quarter fallcons witht thair powder and bullatis and gouneris for to wse them conforme to

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the kingis plesour. Syne passit fordwart to Tamtallan and seigit the samin the space of xx dayis, bot they come no speid; quhither the castell was so strong or the gouneris corrupit be the Earle of Angus moyans, I can nocht tell. Bot the king left it and was constranit to depairt hame to Edinburgh againe withtout ony succes of wictorie or ony hope of the winning of the said castell, bot had baitht mony men and horse slaine at the persuite of the said castell; and at his returning had ane nobill captane of weir slaine callit Dawid Falcunar quho was slaine and murdreist cruellie be the hands of Archebald Douglas wmquhill thesawrar and father brother to the said earle. At quhose slaughter the king was hevelie displeissit and lamented the same greatlie, casting all the ingyne that he might be his consull to obtene the castell of Tamtallan, knawand weill gif he had the castell thair wald be no ressorting the earle nor to his freindis into that contrie. Thairfor he caussit sindrie lordis and gentillmen to mak moyans witht the said captane callit Simon Penango, promissand to him great giftis and rewairdis batht of land and geir, witht the kingis spetiall favouris and remeit of all thingis bypast to the said captane and his brother and his freindis or serwandis quhome he desyrit excepand the Douglassis. In all thingis off their offeris the captane tuik to be advyssit be ane certane day and syne promissit to gif the king ane answer conforme to his desyre; and in the mean tyme the said captane sent to the earle, Archebald and George, to wit quhat was thair myndis, schawand to thame that he was ewill wictillit and wantit artaillze pulder and bullattis, thairfor desyrand the said earle and his freindis to furneische him thairwith withtin ane certane day or then wtherwayis it was force to him to rander the forsaid castell to the kingis grace or wtheris in his name that persewit it."[1]

The chronicler then goes on to say that the Earl could not supply the unfortunate Captain with ammunition or victuals, because the castle was watched both by sea and land; and, consequently, the castle was given up to the King, who garrisoned it and repaired the breaches in the walls, so as to be even stronger in the future than it had been in the past. The castle capitulated on 4th December, and, along with all the other estates of the Earl of Angus, were forfeited to the Crown.

[1] Pitscottie, Book XXI., Chapter xix.

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Thereupon (to again quote Pitscottie) "the king gart garnische the Castell of Tantalloun witht men of weir and artaillze and pat in ane new captain to wit Oliepheir Sincklar, and caussit maissouns come and rainforce the samin wallis quhilk was left waist of befoir, as transses and throw passages and maid all massie wark to that effect that it sould be wnwinabill in tymeis comming to ony enemeis that wald come to persew it."[1]

Till James V.'s death Angus lived in England (where he became a member of the Privy Council), but when the king died in 1542, he returned to Scotland and his estates were restored to him. He made Tantallon stronger than ever, and is said to have died there in 1557.

In 1639 the castle, which was then the property of the Marquis of Hamilton, was besieged and taken by the Covenanters, who garrisoned it against the King's forces.

In the *Douglas Book* (iii. 274) there is printed an inventory of the plenishing in Tantallon Castle, *circa* 1670, as follows:

Four iron zetis at the enterie, and ane iron zet at the tumbler, with short perculieris.

In the wel chamber nothing except the wel, tow, and bucket.

In the chamber next tharto two old bedsteades, with ane old table.

In the chamber second to the wel chamber ane old carvet bedstead, ane folding bed, ane table, and ane old chayre.

In the stable next therto ane heck and ane manger.

In the outroume of the garden chamber ther is ane good bedstead, wanteing cover above, with ane kist; ther is ane old caise in the window, with sum broken glese.

In the inner roume therof ther is ane litle wainscot table, and in on of the window, ane fixed caise, with brods, but wantes glase; in them is 3 dooris.

In the latching ther is ane iron brace, ane galaise, ane pair of great raxes, tua litle tables, and tua furmes, with ane great chyre and ane cuting boord.

In the baikhouse ther is onlie ane table.

In the dyneing roume ther is four carpit chyres, ane old armet chyre, ane bedstead, ane bathing fatt with ane studie, and thrie fixed windowes with broades and glase, and ane wainscott table, and ane iron brace.

In the chamber called my ladies' chamber ther is ane roun table, ane brace and twa fixed windowes with caices, broades, and glase, with ane old falding bed.

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[1] *According to Messrs. McGibbon and Ross, what James V. did was to make the walls as solid as possible by building up all the passages and apertures in the thickness of the walls, so as to prevent them from being breached by cannon;* e.g., *the fine ancient gateway in the entrance tower was blocked by the erection of a wall in front of it, with only a small door and narrow passage left.* Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland. Vol. I., p. 433.

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In the long hall ther is ane drawing table, twa braces, ane falding bed, with fyve windowes and old caices.

The chamber in Douglas tower is ane ald bedstead, stanchellis in the south windows and ane caice and broades in the north, with ane old table.

In the said chamber thair is 2 old bedsteades, ane old brace, and ane folding bedstead, and ane window have broades and caice.

In the blew chamber ther is ane carved bedstead, ane old fir table, ane brace, and on on of the windowes fixed with ane caice and glesse.

In the chamber next therto thair is ane old litle kist. Wpon the turnpyk that leades up to the turnpyk twa windowes fixed with iron stanchellis, and in the east towre on. At the wall ther is ane windowse, with sum ald timber. In the lang laft thair is ane great meall girnell. Everie enterie in the house hes ane door with snekes; the drawbrig has four iron bands thereon.

This list of the furniture in a mansion of the rank of Tantallon clearly shows the Spartan simplicity which characterised domestic life in Scotland in the 17th century.

In the beginning of the 18th century the castle and lands were sold by the Duke of Douglas to Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord President of the Court of Session, and they still remain the property of his descendant, Sir Walter Dalrymple. The castle, till then habitable, was demolished and left to decay.

Tantallon is a very fine specimen of the castles erected about the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th centuries in the form of a quadrangle, but it is quite certain that it succeeded an earlier building on the same site. One can have little doubt that the wonderful suitability of the position for the construction of a place of defence must have been observed long before 1371. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a much stronger situation for a building of the kind before the age of cannon.

As the castle was protected by the sea on three sides, it was only necessary to defend it artificially on the fourth or western side. Here there was a deep ditch and a strong battlemented wall, 12 feet thick and 50 feet high, in front of which was a large outer bailey, 300 feet long by 220 feet wide, defended to the west by a ditch and mound, while still further west there is another mound and ditch running from the rocks on the north almost to the ravine on the south, where it turns eastwards and joins the inner enclosure.

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The gateway tower (which served as a keep) was a large and important structure. The wall running north and south from it had towers at both the extremities. The hall and other apartments were situated along the north side of the *enceinte*, with vaulted cellars below and bedrooms above. The buildings were probably continued round the quadrangle.

The castle was long deemed impregnable. Bellenden calls it "unmovable by engine of man," and "to ding down Tantallon and build a bridge to the Bass" passed into a proverb as impossibilities.

A visit was next paid to the fine church of Whitekirk, where the Rev. P. Hately Waddell, after pointing out the many interesting features of the edifice read a note on it in the following terms—

THE church now represents three parishes, and is in the centre of the district which they originally occupied. The parish of Auldhame was on the north, and that of Tyninghame on the south, with Whitekirk between them. These were all foundations of S. Baldred, and two of them claim his grave. There are ruins of an ecclesiastical building, commonly called a Priory, at Auldhame, and distinct traces of a churchyard; but the parish and church there were not renewed after the Reformation. Of the church at Tyninghame two beautiful Norman arches and some other remains are still standing, and the church existed for worship until 1761. The history of the Tyninghame church is perhaps the most interesting of the three, as we possess its Session Records from 1615; those of Whitekirk begin much later, as several of the early volumes were lost long ago in a fire at the schoolmaster's house. There came from the church at Tyninghame many interesting relics: a Bible which used to be carried to and from the Bass in the Covenanting times, the bell which announced a death in the parish and was carried at the head of the burial procession, a basin for baptism with a boss in the centre for the laver to stand on, silver and pewter Communion plate, and leaden tokens 250 years old, which are still in use. The oak front to the Earl of Haddington's gallery here was also brought from his seat in Tyninghame church.

Whitekirk was not the original name of the church. We know from the history of the church which was found in the library of the Vatican

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at Rome that the spot was originally called Fairknowe, and the church was dedicated to our Lady of Fairknowe; but at the Reformation, when as this account says, it was given over to the preaching of heresy, the name was changed to Whitekirk. A few years ago, when restoring the south transept, I ventured to rededicate the window there to our Lady of Fairknowe and the Holy Well. For this is a Holy Well church, and was first founded as a small shrine in 1295, by a Countess of Dunbar, as a thankoffering for the relief she received by drinking the water of the well. Search has often been made for the well, but in vain. The reputation of the Holy Well and the sacred traditions of the church made this place a frequent resort of pilgrims, and there is said to have been as many as 16,000 pilgrims in the year 1309. Among distinguished pilgrims a century later was Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., who walked all the way from Dunbar barefoot. Until the Reformation there were pilgrims' houses standing to the east of the church, but these were then destroyed and used by Oliver Sinclair to build a private house for himself. The building, which still remains in the field, and which has many old pieces of masonry left in it, is said to have been the monks' Tithingbarn. The Tower of the church, in which there were two flats or stories, was in later days used as an alms-house for the casual poor: there the children of wandering tramps were sometimes born, and there often the old folks died. There does not seem, however, to be there or elsewhere in the church any "squint" for the use of the sick or outcast wanderers.

You will see in the south-west pillar of the tower a small door to a chamber which might have been supposed to be a squint, as it is six feet long and penetrates through the pillar into the wall beyond. The chamber, however, which was only discovered a few years ago, shewed no sign of any communication with the outside, and was probably the awmry of the church when the east end was at the pillars of the tower and the altar stood between them. The present Choir, the Vatican record tells us, was added to the western portion of the church in 1439, "all arched with stone, agreeable to the mode of Peter de Maine." The western part of the church is therefore the older, and the tower must be of the end of the 14th century, or five hundred years old at least. The Nave of the church

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has been badly knocked about and altered, for the roof was once the same height as that of the choir, as you will see from the marking of the water-table on the outside of the tower. At one time it was separated from the rest of the church by a stone and lime partition, and was for many years used as a school; the proposal of one minister to use it as a granary was, however, refused by the Presbytery. When used as a school there was a door under the window at the west end, but this was built up when the law was passed for the erection of parish schools and schoolhouses about 1696.

The Porch, which is a very pretty specimen of the 15th century, was added to the original building; but you will find traces of a wooden porch inside the stone one, and a niche for the Virgin's image. On the stone porch as it now is you will see the places where wooden dooks held the iron for the lamp in front of the image, and also on the right side the leaden plug to which the "jougs" were fixed.

In contrast with the gracefulness of the porch, the rest of the building has a strong and massive appearance, with embattled tower and heavy buttresses. The little oriel window in the east wall relieves the weight of masonry, and the Bishop's coat-of-arms carved above it on the outside gives it some historical though now undecipherable tradition. The glass in this window and in the south transept is by Kempe of London; that in the west window presented by the Earl of Haddington is by Hardman of Birmingham. The groining in the centre of the church under the tower is, I believe, not altogether usual; the more common form being the plain barrel-vaulting. On the shield in the centre of the groining are carved two crosses, the Latin and the S. Andrew; whether that is what they are really meant for and whether such a combination has any special meaning, I cannot tell.

The restoration of the church took place about sixteen years ago, under the direction of Messrs. Wardrop and Anderson, and everything was done to retain the dignity and simplicity of the ancient building.

Mr. Hately Waddell having been thanked for his kindness and courtesy, the Society drove back to North Berwick and returned to Glasgow in the course of the evening.

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## 1901.

THE Excursion took place on Tuesday, 3rd September, when a visit was paid to Lochmaben and Spedlins Tower. Among the members present were Peter Sturrock of Baltersan, late M.P. for the Kilmarnock Burghs, Andrew Smith, F.S.A.Scot., J. M. Easton, James White, F.S.A.Scot., William Anderson, F.S.A.Scot., James Ness, J. D. G. Dalrymple, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., Hon. Secretary, A. B. Dick-Cleland of Ravenswood, J. Arthur Brown, W. J. Wood, John Mann, C.A., Charles E. Whitelaw, W. E. Wingate, J. Edmiston, W. Maclay, John Hunt, etc.

Leaving the Central Station at 10.5, the members proceeded by train to Lockerbie, where carriages were in waiting, in which they drove to Spedlins Tower. On the way they were met by the Rev. R. Neill Rae, minister of Lochmaben, under whose guidance a small but well-preserved Roman camp was visited. Resuming the journey and arriving at Spedlins, the Tower (which is beautifully situated on the banks of the Annan) was carefully examined. It is a very fine specimen of a Scots border keep, the upper portion dating from the year 1605 (as is shown by a panel on the eastern side), and the two lower stories belonging probably to the 14th century. The ground floor and the hall on the first story are vaulted. From the latter a stair leads to the upper stories, and at the foot of the stair is situated a dungeon in which, as the story goes, a prisoner named Porteous was accidentally starved to death, a former proprietor of the fortress having gone to Edinburgh, carrying with him the key of the cell in which the unhappy man was confined, and though a messenger was at once sent back when the error was discovered, it was too late, Porteous having died in the

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interval after terrible sufferings, indicated by the fact that he had actually gnawed the flesh off one of his arms. His ghost is said to have haunted the Tower till eventually it was exorcised. A similar legend is related of Haughton Castle in Northumberland.

The hall contains a fine fire-place, and two of the windows are furnished with stone seats.

At each angle of the upper part of the Tower is placed a corbelled turret ornamented with a cable moulding.

Spedlins was for centuries the property of the Jardines, a family which is said to have come to Scotland in the train of the Bruces, and which latterly wielded very considerable influence on the Borders.

From Spedlins the Society proceeded to Lochmaben, on the outskirts of which they visited the curious earthwork known as "Woody Castle." The interior is circular and quite level, the diameter being 220 feet, and the surrounding rampart about 3 feet in height inside and from 7 to 12 feet outside. General Roy considered it Roman. A deed of 1456 mentions certain Lochmaben lands *cum uno manerio vocato Wedy Castell.* This at once raises several suggestions—first of all it is called a manor, secondly it was in the 15th century as at present described as a castle. These facts in combination seem to lend small countenance to its having been either a Roman camp or an ordinary fort.

On arriving at Lochmaben the excursion party was met at the Town Hall by Mr. Edward B. Rae, Town Clerk, who exhibited a number of interesting charters, and explained the remarkable tenure by which the "kindly tenants" of the "Four Towns of Lochmaben" hold their lands. The tenure is similar to an English copyhold, and the property can be transferred in the event of a sale by the simple enrolment of the new comer in the rental-book of the Earl of Mansfield, the Superior of the Barony.

Visits were paid both to the site of the old castle of Lochmaben and to the later fortress at the south end of the Castle Loch. Hardly any trace remains of the former structure, but considerable portions of the buildings of the latter edifice still exist. These stand on a peninsula projecting into the loch, and were protected by four ditches or moats. The last of

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these ran in front of the castle and was at this point enclosed with high walls. Access to the main entrance of the fortress would be obtained by boats passing along the moat through an arched opening in the enclosing forework—a very remarkable and almost unique feature. Messrs. M'Gibbon and Ross point out that the arches in the wing walls would be secured with grated iron grates, and the enclosure thus formed would not only be a safe landing-place but would also serve as a protection to the boats collected within it.

The main buildings would form a parallelogram 126 feet long by 108 feet wide.

A note on the history of the two castles by Mr. George Neilson, F.S.A. Scot, in the following terms was read—

"When the Anglo-Norman family of Brus came to Scotland in the train of David I., the wide province of Strathannan was granted to the first Robert de Brus of the long succession of lords bearing that name. In the grant was included a right to the recipient to have his *castellum*, and it has been matter of dispute whether Annan or Lochmaben had the better claim to the honour of being the original chief residence at the first settlement. In the thirteenth century the demesne possessions of the Bruces included three manors—Annan, Lochmaben, and Moffat. One of the points in the important question of the early Anglo-Norman settlements is the fact that at each of Annan and Moffat there is a large *Mote* or *Motte*, an earthen mound with traces of an external base court, being without doubt the site of a wooden hall or defensible house. That at Annan occupies a powerful position on an escarpment of the river Annan, which (as is not uncommon with the Scottish motes) gave much natural strength. At Lochmaben there is no sign of any such mote, and the site of the earliest strong-house of the Bruces at Lochmaben is within the area of the little town. The strength of the place—so far as it can be spoken of as a stronghold, for this castle never was very strong—lay in its situation between two of the 'mony Lochs' of Lochmaben. These flanked both the west and east sides, leaving open only the approaches from the north (through the town) and on the south up a sort of isthmus between the two lochs.

"Ultimately the castle of Lochmaben became the chief residence of

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the Bruce family. No doubt its central position tended to make this convenient. When the war of independence broke out its importance, not only as in itself a place of some, although apparently very second-rate strength, but still more in respect of its natural position, accounts for the frequency with which it recurs in the annals of that period during which it was repeatedly taken and re-taken from the day when 'Alexander our King wes dede' and the little Maiden Queen had followed him prematurely to the grave.

"Under Edward I. important alterations were effected, and a 'peel' made. The accounts are extant shewing that the peel was a large ditched circuit of palisades, adding size and strength to the weak town and castle. On the whereabouts of this 'peel' there remains dubiety, as it is not on record when the old or northern castle was abandoned, and when the southern or present castle of Lochmaben at the south end of the Castle Loch was built. In this connection the Society might with advantage examine by the aid of local friends the approach to the old castle site from the north. The locality now known as the *Barras* is evidently referred to in the 15th century charter, wherein mention is made of the *Berresdikis* situated at the north end of the town of Lochmaben and near the mill. Perhaps local friends will be able to point out to the Society the lines of the old fosses which guarded the access to the town and castle, and which palisaded would fitly take the name of Berresdikes. Barras was a well-known name for just such an outwork. The hypothesis which finds most favour with me is that the Barras was the Peel. The Society will remember that at Linlithgow they similarly saw a large tract lying round about the castle and known as the "peel." This conclusion at Lochmaben would suggest that at the beginning of the 14th century the old castle was still the Bruce stronghold, and that it was to the building then standing on this now levelled hillock that the fugitive Bruce came in 1306, after his hasty ride from London, that thence he set out for his 'siccar' day's work at the Greyfriars Church of Dumfries, and that thither he returned soon to ride thence northward to meet Sir James of Douglas on Ericstane, to be crowned at Scone, and to undertake that career of privation and toil and battle which was to secure for him the throne of an independent country at the expense of broken health and a too early grave.

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"Lochmaben is to be excused if it clings to the notion that the patriot king was born there, but perfervour should not tamper with truth, and the blunt statement on the Lochmaben Bruce statue that he was born at Lochmaben is mere reiteration of what does not admit of proof. There is distinct historical statement, though of dubious value, that he was born in England. An English historian, writing about the year 1357, said he was born in Essex, and it is vain to appeal to what is too often falsely called tradition to upset direct evidence so much nearer the time.

"As for the later castle, the Lochmaben Castle proper at the south end of the Castle Loch, it is extremely difficult to come to conclusions regarding its date and its constructor. As likely as not it may have been erected during the long English occupancy of Lochmaben as the military capital of the west march. Or it may have been erected after the Scots had recovered possession at the end of the 14th century. If the Society with the local assistance can offer any clear suggestions to determine the chronology of the change of site and establish the relations of the two castles to each other, students of county and border history may have reason to be grateful.

"Lochmaben town does not seem to have been a royal burgh in the 13th century. A burgh it was, but a burgh of the Bruces, not of the crown. When Annandale was granted to Randolph, earl of Moray, the burgh rights were carried by the grant. Under the English occupancy it had not burghal privileges. Not until the 15th century does it clearly seem to have taken royal burghal rank. A volume would be necessary to indicate the numberless claims to attention which the old town and castle have in respect of their share in the wild story of the Scottish borders throughout the centuries from Bruce's day to the union of the crowns."

A very hearty vote of thanks was awarded to the Rev. R. Neill Rae and Mr. E. B. Rae for their kindly assistance and guidance, and the Society drove back to Lockerbie, where they dined together in the King's Arms Hotel, returning to Glasgow at 6.52.

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# Glasgow Archaeological Society.

INSTITUTED 1856.

THE object of this Society is the encouragement of the study of Archæology generally, and more particularly in Glasgow and the West of Scotland.

Meetings are held in the SOCIETY'S CHAMBERS, 207 Bath Street, *at Eight o'clock p.m.*, on the *third Tuesday* of the months of November, December, January, February, March, and April. The Annual Excursion takes place in August or September.

A few Sets of the First Series of the Transactions, in Eight Parts, 8vo, have been completed for sale, price £2 per set, and can be obtained from Messrs. JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS, 61 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow. Two of the parts which had been long out of print were re-printed in order to complete a very limited number of sets.

Messrs. JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS can also supply the following parts of the Transactions separately: viz., First Series, Demy 8vo, Volume I., Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, price 5s. each net; Volume II., Parts 1, 2, 3, price 5s. each net. New Series, Foolscap 4to, Volume I., Parts 1, 2, 3, 4; Volume II., Parts 1, 2, 3, 4; Volume III., Parts 1, 2; Volume IV., Parts 1, 2, price 6s. each net.

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OF THE

# GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

NEW SERIES. Volume IV.

GLASGOW
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# Glasgow Archæological Society.

## REPORT BY THE COUNCIL

### For Session 1901-1902.

During the past Session six meetings were held and the following papers were read :—

1901.

Nov. 21.—"The Law of Teinds, Oblations, and Dues in the Mediaeval Church," by the Right Rev. Bishop Dowden, D.D.

Dec. 19.—(1) "A Note on McUre's History of Glasgow," by William Young, R.S.W.

(2) "A Note on Drawings of three Carved Slabs, Lochlomond," by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot., with Exhibits.

(3) "A Preliminary Report on the Discovery of a Crannog near Langbank Ferry," by John Bruce, F.S.A.Scot.

1902.

Jan. 16.—"Merkdailly—an old Glasgow Place Name," by W. G. Black, F.S.A.Scot.

(2) "Inscribed Mottoes, etc., on Arms and Armoury," by Robert Brydall, F.S.A.Scot.

Feb. 20.—"The Greyfriars and their first Houses in Scotland," by John Edwards, F.S.A.Scot.



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Mar. 20.—(1) "Note on a Ancient Coin recently found at Erskine," by George Macdonald, M.A.

(2) "The Sepulchral Pottery of the Stone Age in Scotland and its Affinities," with lantern illustrations, by Thomas H. Bryce, M.D.

April 17.—(1) "Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages," by Professor Medley, M.A.

(2) "The Origin and Development of the Highland Dirk," with Exhibits, by Charles E. Whitelaw, F.S.A.Scot.

In addition to the objects of interest incidentally exhibited in connection with the above papers, Mr. Charles E. Whitelaw, at the January meeting exhibited and described:—(*a*) A pre-historic Canoe Paddle found near Denny, the property of Mr. Alexander Frew, and (*b*) an ancient Astrolabe; and at the meeting in March, Mr. Graham Callander, F.S.A.Scot., exhibited a collection of Stone Implements from Aberdeenshire; Mr. James Paton, F.L.S., exhibited certain Iron Arrowheads which had recently come under his charge.

The Annual Excursion of the Society was made this year to Dumfries, Sweetheart Abbey, and Lincluden, on Tuesday, 2nd September. During the day the Excursion Party had the benefit of the guidance of Mr. Charles E. Whitelaw and Mr. Barbour, and, at Sweetheart Abbey, of the Rev. Dr. Wilson of New Abbey.

Under the guidance of Mr. George Macdonald, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., a large party of members of the Society on 20th September visited the interesting excavations on the line of the Antonine Wall at Castlecary, which are being carried on under the supervision of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The Council record with deep regret the death of the Most Reverend Archbishop Eyre, D.D. The Archbishop became a member of the Society in 1888, and after serving on the Council for a number of years, during which he contributed many valuable papers to the Society's *Transactions*, he became President in 1898. The members will always cherish the recollection of the dignified and courteous gentleman whose interest in all the work of the Society was unfailing. Long after he was unable through ill health to attend evening meetings, the Archbishop was assiduous in his attendance at Council meetings where his advice was always sound and welcome.

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The Council acknowledges with thanks receipt of the following volumes :—

The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. :—
18th Annual Report (1896-97).
Part 2 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 1899.

The Council on Education :—
(1) List of Buildings having Mural Decorations.
(2) Catalogue of Bookbindings, in National Art Gallery, South Kensington.
(3) Catalogue of Ceramics.
(4) Heraldry in Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland :—
Journal; as issued.

The Norwegian Antiquarian Society :—
Transactions; as issued.

Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow :—
Proceedings. Vol. XXXIII. 1902.

The Powysland Club :—
Collections, Historical and Archaeological, relating to Montgomeryshire; as issued.

Société Archéologique Croate de Knin, Zagreb, Hungary :—
Publications in parts.

The Cambridge Antiquarian Society :—
(1) The Verses formerly inscribed on Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral. By Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D. 1901.
(2) Proceedings. No. XLII. 1902.
(3) Christ Church, Canterbury. By Wm. George Searle, M.A. 1902.

The Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society :—
Transactions; as issued.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland :—
Proceedings. 3rd Series. Vol. XI.

The Society of Antiquaries of London :—
Proceedings. Second Series. Vol. XVIII. No. II. 1901.

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The Society of Architects :—
Journal. Vol. II. No. 23. 1902.

The Brussels Archaeological Society :—
Annales. 1902.

The British and American Archaeological Society of Rome :—
Journal. Session 1900-1901.

The Liège Archaeological Institute :—
Bulletin. Vol. XXX. Parts 1 and 2.

David MacRitchie. The Author :—
Hints of Evolution in Tradition. 1901.

The Ninth Jubilee Committee of the University of Glasgow :—
Record of Ninth Jubilee of the University of Glasgow. 1901.

Agent-General for Tasmania :—
Handbook of Tasmania, etc.

The publishers (Messrs. Jas. MacLehose & Sons) :—
Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. By John Gregorson Campbell. 1902.

To the great regret of the Council, Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple, in October, 1901, expressed his desire to retire from the office of Honorary Secretary, owing to his non-residence in Glasgow. At the Council's desire, he agreed to hold office for another year, but his definite resignation has now been placed in the Council's hands. The Council have engrossed the following resolution upon their Minutes :—

"In view of the retiral from office of Mr. J. D. G. Dalrymple of Woodhead, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., after acting for five and twenty years as one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, the Council, while constrained to accept a resignation which through Mr. Dalrymple's recent personal and business arrangements had become inevitable, desires to record the reluctance with which the Society consents to the severing of so long and intimate a relationship during which Mr. Dalrymple's tact and energy have been so conspicuously contributory to the upbuilding and advancement of the Society; to express lasting gratitude for the earnest and distinguished service thus rendered by him officially (and in this connection more especially as Editor of the Society's *Transactions*), and by his studies, not only to the Society, but to the public interests of Archaeology throughout the past

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quarter of a century; and to assure him that this tribute to his efficiency and success as secretary and archaeologist is accompanied by a hearty personal regard."

The Council recommend the re-appointment of the Vice-Presidents, Messrs. J. O. Mitchell, LL.D., George Neilson, F.S.A.Scot., and the Rev. Professor Cooper, D.D.

The following gentlemen retire by rotation from the Council, and are not eligible for re-election until they have been a year out of office:—Messrs. Charles Edward Whitelaw, F.S.A.Scot., James White, F.S.A.Scot., and William Young, R.S.W. The Council respectfully suggests the election of Messrs. J. D. G. Dalrymple, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., J. T. T. Brown, and Thomas H. Bryce, M.D., and the re-election of Mr. William George Black as Honorary Secretary, and of Mr. George J. Walker, C.A., as Honorary Treasurer.

Messrs. John F. Orr and James Henry Parker, C.A., last year acted as Honorary Auditors, and to them the Society is under obligation for the duties they performed.

The Council recommend the election of Mr. F. W. Allan and Mr. Alex. M'Gibbon as Auditors for the current year.

For and on behalf of the Council,

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, *Hon. Secretary.*

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EXCERPT FROM MINUTE of the Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Society, held on 20th November, 1902.

GEORGE NEILSON, ESQ., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. William George Black, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. Secretary, and the Financial Statement by Mr. George J. Walker, C.A., Hon. Treasurer.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by David Murray, LL.D., the Report was adopted, and the Statement was approved, subject to audit by the Honorary Auditors.

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# TREASURER'S STATEMENT

AND

# LIST OF OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS.

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## GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY—ABSTRACT OF THE

Dr.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Funds at close of last Account:— | | | |
| 1. Life Membership Subscription Fund— | | | |
| £216 9s. 4d. 2¾ % Consols cost | | | £210 0 0 |
| In Bank on Deposit Receipt, | | | 84 0 0 |
| | | | £294 0 0 |
| 2. Sir Michael Connal's Legacy— | | | |
| In Bank on Deposit Receipt, | | | 6 15 0 |
| 3. Ordinary Funds:— | | | |
| (1) Subscriptions in Arrear— | | | |
| 1 for Session 1897-1898, | | £0 12 6 | |
| 2 for Session 1898-1899, | | 1 5 0 | |
| 7 for Session 1899-1900, | | 4 7 6 | |
| 21 for Session 1900-1901, | | 13 2 6 | |
| | | £19 7 6 | |
| (2) In Bank on Deposit Receipt, | | 117 7 4 | |
| (3) Cash in hands of Honorary Treasurer, | | 5 18 1 | |
| | | | 142 12 11 |
| | | | £443 7 11 |
| ,, Revenue:— | | | |
| 1. Subscriptions— | | | |
| 264 for Session 1901-1902, | | £165 0 0 | |
| *Deduct* amount paid in advance last year, | | 2 10 0 | |
| | | £162 10 0 | |
| *Add* 6 Subscriptions for 1902-1903, | £3 15 0 | | |
| Amount written off Recovered, | 3 2 6 | | |
| | | 6 17 6 | |
| | | £169 7 6 | |
| 2. Dividends and Interest— | | | |
| Consols, | £5 12 0 | | |
| Interest on Deposit Receipts, | 3 14 10 | | |
| | | 9 6 10 | |
| | | | 178 14 4 |
| ,, Publication of Transactions:— | | | |
| Received from sale of Ordinary Transactions, | | £2 8 0 | |
| Received from sale of Report on Antonine Wall, | | 2 5 0 | |
| | | | 4 13 0 |
| | | | £626 15 3 |

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## HON. TREASURER'S INTROMISSIONS FOR SESSION 1901-1902.

| | | | Cr. |
|---|---|---|---|
| BY EXPENSES OF MANAGEMENT:— | | | |
| Printing and Stationery, | | | £27 12 10 |
| Salary to Officer, | | | 3 3 0 |
| Advertising, | | | 11 18 11 |
| Rent of Rooms, | | | 6 0 0 |
| Charge for Addressing Circulars, | | | 1 11 6 |
| Postages and Incidents— | | | |
| Per Circulars | £6 1 0 | | |
| Per Honorary Secretaries, | 2 2 0 | | |
| Per Honorary Treasurer, | 2 6 6 | | |
| | | | 10 9 6 |
| Excursion, | | | 3 13 6 |
| Miscellaneous— | | | |
| Income Tax, | £0 3 6 | | |
| Expenses of Lantern, | 1 12 0 | | |
| Subscription to Scottish Record Society for 1902, | 1 1 0 | | |
| | | | 2 16 6 |
| | | | £67 5 9 |
| ,, PUBLICATION OF TRANSACTIONS:— | | | |
| Cost of Printing, Commission, Postages, Insurance, etc., of Ordinary Transactions, | £179 15 7 | | |
| Cost of Binding, Commission, Insurance, etc., of Report on Antonine Wall, | 3 7 0 | | |
| | | | 183 2 7 |
| ,, SUBSCRIPTION WRITTEN OFF AS IRRECOVERABLE, | | | 0 12 6 |
| ,, FUNDS AT CLOSE OF THIS ACCOUNT:— | | | |
| 1. Life Membership Subscription Fund— | | | |
| £216 9s. 4d. 2¾ % Consols cost, | £210 0 0 | | |
| In Bank on Deposit Receipt, | 84 0 0 | | |
| | £294 0 0 | | |
| 2. Sir Michael Connal's Legacy— | | | |
| In Bank on Deposit Receipt, | 6 15 0 | | |
| 3. Ordinary Funds— | | | |
| (1) Subscriptions in Arrear— | | | |
| 1 for Session 1897-1898, | | £0 12 6 | |
| 2 for Session 1898-1899, | | 1 5 0 | |
| 7 for Session 1899-1900, | | 4 7 6 | |
| 10 for Session 1900-1901, | | 6 5 0 | |
| 15 for Session 1901-1902, | | 9 7 6 | |
| | | £21 17 6 | |
| (2) In Bank on Deposit Receipt, | | 50 0 0 | |
| (3) Cash in hands of Honorary Treasurer, | | 3 1 11 | |
| | 74 19 5 | | |
| | | | 375 14 5 |
| | | | £626 15 3 |

GEORGE J. WALKER, C.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*

GLASGOW, *28th November*, 1902.—We have examined the foregoing Accounts, comparing same with Vouchers and find all correct.

F. W. ALLAN, *Auditor.*
ALEX. M'GIBBON, *Auditor.*

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# OFFICE-BEARERS

OF THE

# Glasgow Archaeological Society.

*INSTITUTED 1856.*

**SESSION—1902-1903.**

*President.*

THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL STORY, D.D., LL.D.

*Vice-Presidents.*

JOHN OSWALD MITCHELL, LL.D.
GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A.Scot.
THE REV. PROFESSOR COOPER, D.D.

*Council.*

PRINCIPAL LINDSAY, D.D.
JOHN HONEYMAN, R.S.A.
PROFESSOR FERGUSON, LL.D.
DAVID MURRAY, LL.D.
} Former Presidents; Members of Council *ex officio.*

ROBERT BRYDALL, F.S.A.Scot.
JAMES PATON, F.L.S.
THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP HARRISON, D.D.
PROFESSOR DUDLEY J. MEDLEY.
JAMES D. ROBERTON.
R. C. GRAHAM, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot.
F. T. BARRETT.
JOHN EDWARDS, F.S.A.Scot.
JOHN BRUCE, F.S.A.Scot.
J. D. G. DALRYMPLE, F.S.A.Lon.&Scot.
J. T. T. BROWN.
THOS. H. BRYCE, M.D., F.R.S.E.

*Honorary Secretary.*

WILLIAM GEORGE BLACK, F.S.A.Scot., 88 West Regent Street.

*Honorary Treasurer.*

GEORGE J. WALKER, C.A., 150 St. Vincent Street.

*Honorary Librarian.*

F. T. BARRETT.

*Honorary Auditors.*

F. W. ALLAN. | ALEX. M'GIBBON.

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Members who desire to read papers, or who have objects of archaeological interest to exhibit, are requested to communicate with the Honorary Secretary. Ladies are invited to attend all meetings.

Forms of application for admission to the Society may be had from the Honorary Secretary.

Payment of the Annual Subscription is requested to be made to the Honorary Treasurer. No publication will be sent to Members who have not paid the Subscription for the year corresponding to such publication.

The Annual Excursion will take place in Autumn.

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# LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION 1901-1902.

## Honorary Members.

| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| Bain, Joseph, F.S.A.Scot., St. David's, South Wales. | 1900 |
| Birch, Walter de Gray, F.R.S.L., F.S.A., British Museum, London. | 1881 |
| Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L., Nash Mills, Hemel-Hempstead. | 1892 |
| Gomme, George Laurence, F.S.A., 24 Dorset Square, London, N.W. | 1881 |
| Mitchell, Sir Arthur, K.C.B., M.D., LL.D., 43 Drummond Place, Edinburgh. | 1881 |

## Ordinary Members as at 31st December, 1902.

(*) Indicates Members of Council. (†) Indicates Life Members.
(‡) Indicates that the Member was admitted prior to the resuscitation of the Society in 1877.

| | |
|---|---|
| Adam, Thomas, Hazel Bank, Uddingston. | 1879 |
| Addie, John, Viewpark, Uddingston. | 1889 |
| Aiken, John B., 201 West George Street. | 1891 |
| Aitken, John, 33 Lilybank Gardens. | 1891 |
| Alexander, D. M., 97 West Regent Street. | 1892 |
| Alexander, John, 268 Buchanan Street. | 1898 |
| Allan, F. W., 125 Buchanan Street. | 1884 |
| Allan, James, 110 Candleriggs. | 1887 |
| Alston, W. M., C.E., 24 Sardinia Terrace, Hillhead. | 1887 |
| Amours, F. J., B.A., 75 Montgomerie Street. | 1898 |
| Anderson, James R., 84 Albert Drive, Crosshill. | 1901 |
| Anderson, Robert, 76 Bath Street. | 1892 |

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| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| Anderson, William, F.S.A.Scot., Arns-Brae, New Kilpatrick. | 1894 |
| Anderson, William Boyd, 1 Grosvenor Crescent, Kelvinside. | 1882 |
| Anderson, W. F. G., 10 Park Terrace. | 1886 |
| Annan, John, 40 Derby Street, Sandyford. | 1892 |
| Arthur, Sir Matthew, Bart., Fullarton House, Ayrshire. | 1883 |
| †Arthur, Thomas Glen, Carrick House, Ayr. | 1883 |
| Baillie, William Anderson, Glentore, Uddingston. | 1889 |
| Bain, Andrew, 17 Athole Gardens, Kelvinside. | 1900 |
| Baird, J. G. A., M.P., Adamton, Ayrshire. | 1891 |
| Balfour, D.D., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, County Buildings. | 1882 |
| *Barrett, F. T., Mitchell Library, *Hon. Librarian.* | 1882 |
| Beckett, Charles E., M.A., LL.B., 163 St. Vincent Street. | 1896 |
| Begg, F. Faithfull, 24 Lansdowne Road, London, W. | 1898 |
| Bell, George, 212 St. Vincent Street. | 1898 |
| †Bell, Sir James, Bart., Mountgreenan, by Irvine. | 1892 |
| †Bell, James T., Northcote, Dowanhill. | 1892 |
| †Bell, John J., Northcote, Dowanhill. | 1897 |
| Berry, Sheriff, LL.D., 5 University Gardens. (Died, 1903.) | 1888 |
| Beyaert, The Rev. Arthur, Uddingston. | 1894 |
| Bilsland, William, F.S.A.Scot., 28 Park Circus. | 1895 |
| Binnie, Thomas, Jun., 207 Hope Street. | 1902 |
| *Black, William George, F.S.A.Scot., 88 West Regent Street, *Hon. Secretary.* | 1877 |
| Blackie, J. Alexander, Dunmorag, Dowanhill Gardens. | 1901 |
| Blackie, J. Robertson, Northbank, Dowanhill Gardens. | 1890 |
| Blackie, Walter W., St. Bride's, Dunblane. | 1901 |
| Blyth, Robert, 1 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside. | 1891 |
| Blythswood, The Right Hon. Lord, LL.D., Blythswood, Renfrew. | 1885 |
| Boyd, David T., 19 Wellington Street. | 1890 |
| Brand, James, 10 Marchmont Terrace, Kelvinside. | 1889 |

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| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| Brown, John Arthur, 4 Prince Albert Road, Dowanhill. | 1897 |
| *Brown, J. T. T., 97 West Regent Street. | 1891 |
| *Bruce, John, F.S.A.Scot., 67 West Nile Street. | 1888 |
| *Bryce, Thomas H., M.A., M.D., F.R.S.E., 2 Granby Terrace. | 1901 |
| *Brydall, Robert, F.S.A.Scot., 8 Newton Terrace. | 1890 |
| †Bryden, R. Lockhart, B.L., 11 Lynedoch Crescent. | 1893 |
| Buchanan, A. W. Gray, of Parkhill, Polmont. | 1895 |
| †Bulloch, Matthew, 48 Prince's Gate, London, S.W. | 1883 |
| Burnet, John James, I.A., F.S.A.Scot., 239 St. Vincent Street. | 1882 |
| Burrell, William, 8 Great Western Terrace. | 1902 |
| Callander, John Graham, F.S.A.Scot., 20 Rupert Street. | 1898 |
| Caldwell, James, F.S.A.Scot., Writer, Paisley. | ‡ |
| Campbell, D. A., 2 Broomhill Drive, Partick. | 1892 |
| Campbell, J. Archibald, 44 West George Street. | 1885 |
| †Campbell, The Right Hon. James A., M.P., LL.D., Stracathro, by Brechin. | ‡ |
| Campbell, John MacNaught, F.Z.S., 6 Franklin Terrace. | 1881 |
| Campbell, R. C. Graham, Shirvan, Lochgilphead, N.B. | 1890 |
| †Cayzer, Sir Charles W., M.P., Ralston, Renfrewshire. | 1884 |
| Chalmers, James, 93 Hope Street. | 1902 |
| Chalmers, P. Macgregor, F.S.A.Scot., 95 Bath Street. | 1889 |
| Christie, T. Craig, of Bedlay, by Chryston. | 1885 |
| Church, W. R. M., C.A., 104 West George Street. | 1890 |
| Clark, David R., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 8 Park Drive, West. | 1897 |
| Clark, James Cooper Blackhills House, Llanbryde, Elgin, N.B. | 1899 |
| Clark, William, Gartfern, High Crosshill, Rutherglen. | 1885 |
| Colville, James, M.A., D.Sc., 14 Newton Place. | 1901 |
| †Colquhoun, Sir James, of Luss, Bart., Dunclutha, Ore, Hastings. | 1885 |
| Cook, William, 77 St. Vincent Street. | 1893 |

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| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| *Cooper, The Rev. Professor, D.D., The College, *Vice-President.* | 1898 |
| Coubrough, John, Blanefield, Stirlingshire. | 1877 |
| Cowie, Charles R., Woodend, Partick. | 1891 |
| Cree, Thomas Scott, 15 Montgomerie Quadrant, Kelvinside. | 1888 |
| †Crerar-Gilbert, D. M., Yr., of Yorkhill, 21 Woodside Terrace. | 1888 |
| Crouch, William, C.E., 53 Bothwell Street. | 1887 |
| Cumming, John, 79 Oxford Drive, North Kelvinside. | 1898 |
| †Curle, R. Barclay, 12 Athole Gardens, Kelvinside. | 1891 |
| Dalrymple, The Hon. Hew H., F.S.A.Scot., Lochinch, Castle Kennedy. | 1897 |
| *Dalrymple, J. D. G., of Woodhead, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., Meiklewood, by Gargunnock. | 1877 |
| Dalzell, J. B., Allan Park, Larkhall. | 1897 |
| Dick David, 4 Maitland Avenue, Langside. | 1888 |
| Dick, J. Proudfoot, F.S.A.Scot., c/o Messrs. M'Clure, Naismith, Brodie & Co., 77 St. Vincent Street. | 1880 |
| Dixon, Jas. S., 127 St. Vincent Street. | 1891 |
| †Donald, John R., C.A., 104 West George Street. | 1883 |
| †Donald, T. F., C.A., 104 West George Street. | 1882 |
| Donnelly, W. A., Middleton House, Milton, by Bowling. | 1894 |
| Douglas, William, 22 West Nile Street. | 1891 |
| Duncan, J. A., 138 West George Street. | 1888 |
| Dunn, Robt. Hunter, 4 Belmont Crescent, Hillhead. | 1885 |
| †Dyer, Henry, M.A., C.E., 8 Highbury Terrace. | 1886 |
| Easton, John M., Tordarroch, Helensburgh. | 1901 |
| Easton, Walter, 107 St. Vincent Street. | 1882 |
| Edmiston, John, 7 West Nile Street. | 1886 |
| Edmonstone, Sir Archibald, Bart., Duntreath Castle, Strathblane. | 1898 |
| *†Edwards, John, F.S.A.Scot., 4 Great Western Terrace, Kelvinside. | 1891 |

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| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| Eskdale, John L., 57 St. Vincent Street. | 1891 |
| Ewing, William, 45 Renfield Street. | 1891 |
| †Faulds, Andrew Wilson, F.S.A.Scot., 111 Union Street. | 1882 |
| Fergus, A. Freeland, M.D., 22 Blythswood Square. | 1902 |
| Fergus, Oswald, F.S.A.Scot., 12 Clairmont Gardens. | 1898 |
| *†Ferguson, Professor J., LL.D., F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., 13 Newton Place, *Ex-President.* | 1878 |
| Fergusson, William, 69 St. Vincent Street. | 1898 |
| Fleming, Alexander, of Kilmaho, 168 West George Street. | 1883 |
| Fleming, James, Treasurer, Corporation Gas Department, City Chambers. | 1893 |
| Fleming, J. S., F.S.A.Scot., 2 Whittinghame Drive. | 1902 |
| Fleming, John, 1 Lynedoch Terrace. | 1883 |
| Fotheringham, Thomas Bremner, 52 Barrland Street, Maxwell Road. | 1891 |
| †Fowler, John, 2 Grantly Gardens, Shawlands. | 1884 |
| Fraser, Alexander R., 81 St. Vincent Street. | 1901 |
| Fraser, John Imbrie, 13 Sandyford Place. | 1900 |
| Fraser, J. W., Huntly Lodge, Lenzie. | 1886 |
| †Fraser, M. P., Advocate, 2 Heriot Row, Edinburgh. | 1883 |
| Fraser, Melville, 31 St. Vincent Place. | 1884 |
| †Galbraith, John A., 28 Belhaven Terrace. | 1901 |
| Galbraith, Thomas L., Stirling. (Died, 1903.) | 1889 |
| Garroway, James R., New Club. | 1882 |
| Gibson, George, 17 Victoria Crescent. | 1900 |
| Gibson, William, 2 Crown Terrace, Dowanhill. | 1885 |
| †Gillies, William, 204 West George Street. | 1882 |
| Gordon, The Rev. J. F. S., D.D., Beith. | 1891 |
| Gourlay, Robert, LL.D., 5 Marlborough Terrace, Kelvinside. | 1888 |
| Gow, Leonard, 45 Renfield Street. | 1889 |

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| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| Graham, James, 198 West George Street. | 1885 |
| Graham, John, C.A., 212 West George Street. | 1882 |
| †Graham, Patrick, C.A., 212 West George Street (died 1903). | 1890 |
| *†Graham, R. C., of Skipness, F.S.A.Lond. and Scot., Skipness House, Argyllshire. | 1888 |
| †Grahame, James, C.A., Scottish Liberal Club, Edinburgh. | 1882 |
| Gray, George, 72 Hutcheson Street. | 1883 |
| Greig, Andrew, 36 Belmont Gardens, Hillhead. | 1882 |
| Grieve, W. Weir, 107 St. Vincent Street. | 1882 |
| Grimstone, W. F., 128 Woodlands Road. | 1898 |
| Guy, Robert, 120 West Regent Street. | 1878 |
| Hamilton, Chas. Edw., 1 North Park, Hillhead. | 1895 |
| Hamilton, William, 7 Woodside Terrace. | 1901 |
| *Harrison, The Right Rev. Bishop, D.D., 25 Burnbank Gardens. | 1897 |
| Harrison, J. R., 45 Renfield Street. | 1900 |
| Hedderwick, A. W. H., M.A., 79 St. George's Place. | 1883 |
| Henderson, Thomas Beath, M.D., 155 Bath Street. | 1894 |
| Herron, Hugh, 104 West Regent Street. | 1883 |
| Hewison, The Rev. J. King, D.D., The Manse, Rothesay. | 1891 |
| Heys, Zechariah George, South Arthurlie, Barrhead. | 1893 |
| †Hill, William Henry, LL.D., 194 Ingram Street. | ‡ |
| Hogg, Charles P., C.E., 53 Bothwell Street. | 1884 |
| †Hoggan, George B., 194 Ingram Street. | 1885 |
| *Honeyman, John, R.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 23 West Cumberland Street, *Ex-President.* | ‡ |
| Honeyman, P. S., 12 South Park Terrace, Hillhead. | 1883 |
| Hood, Archibald J., 23 Bentinck Street. | 1900 |
| Howatt, William, I.M., 146 Buchanan Street. | 1898 |
| †Hunt, John, Fingarry, Milton of Campsie. | 1885 |
| Hunter, Wm. Sutherland, Kildonan, Maxwell Drive, Pollokshields. | 1893 |

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| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| Hurry, Alfred A., 103 Bath Street. | 1884 |
| Hutchison, Thomas H., 4 Windsor Quadrant. | 1884 |
| Jameson, Robert, Ardunan, Strathblane. | 1885 |
| Johnston, David, 160 West George Street. | 1882 |
| Kelvin, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.V.O., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., Netherhall, Largs. | 1893 |
| Kennedy, James, of Doonholm, Ayr. | 1887 |
| †Keppie, John, 140 Bath Street. | 1891 |
| †Ker, Charles, C.A., 115 St. Vincent Street. | 1887 |
| Ker, David Smith, 26 Bothwell Street. | 1891 |
| †Ker, T. Ripley, of Dougalston, Milngavie. | 1879 |
| Key, William, 109 Hope Street. | 1897 |
| Kidston, William, 50 West Regent Street. | 1885 |
| King, Sir James, of Campsie, Bart., LL.D., Carstairs House, Carstairs. | 1883 |
| King, Robert, of Levernholme, 115 Wellington Street. | 1898 |
| Kirkpatrick, The Rev. J. M., B.D., 11 Fairlie Park Drive. | 1898 |
| Kirkpatrick, The Rev. Roger S., B.D., The Manse, Govan. | 1899 |
| Kirkwood, James, Carling Lodge, Ibroxholm. | 1899 |
| Knight, Charles A., 21 St. Vincent Place. | 1886 |
| Laird, James, 439 Great Western Road. | 1899 |
| Laird, John, 6 North Court, Royal Exchange. | 1889 |
| Lander, T. Eaton, Colzium House, Kilsyth. | 1901 |
| †Lang, James, F.S.A.Scot., 9 Crown Gardens, Dowanhill. | 1883 |
| Lang, William, Cross Park, Partick. | 1893 |
| Lauder, John, 9 Lilybank Gardens. | 1902 |
| *Lindsay, The Rev. Principal T. M., D.D., 37 Westbourne Gardens, *Ex-President*. | 1901 |
| Lugton, Thomas, 5 Wood Street, Alexandra Park. | 1877 |



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| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| MacBrayne, David, 17 Exchange Square. | 1885 |
| M'Cowan, David, 7 Lynedoch Crescent. | 1891 |
| M'Donald, Alex. Beith, M.Inst.C.E., City Chambers. | 1898 |
| Macdonald, Charles, 100 West Regent Street, | 1900 |
| Macdonald, George, M.A., 41 Lilybank Gardens. | 1897 |
| Macfarlane, James, 2 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside. | 1899 |
| Macgeorge, B. B., 24 George Square. | 1882 |
| M'Gibbon, Alexander, 109 Hope Street. | 1897 |
| M'Gibbon, W. F., 221 West George Street. | 1897 |
| M'Gregor, James, 8 Kersland Street, Hillhead. | 1891 |
| M'Grigor, Alexander, 172 St. Vincent Street. | 1883 |
| Macharg, E. Simpson, C.A., 69 Buchanan Street. | 1885 |
| M'Intyre, John, 33 Oswald Street. | 1897 |
| Mackillop, Frederick G., M.A., LL.B., 128 St. Vincent Street. | 1901 |
| †Mackinlay, James M., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., The Lee, Merchiston, Edinburgh. | 1886 |
| Mackinlay, William M., 16 Kelvinside Gardens. | 1895 |
| Mackirdy, W. A. Scott, Birkwood, Lesmahago. | 1898 |
| Maclae, A. Crum, of Cathkin, 192 St. Vincent Street. | 1886 |
| Maclay, James, M.A., LL.B., 3 Woodlands Terrace. | 1888 |
| Maclay, William, Thornwood, Langside. | 1891 |
| M'Lean, Allan, 41 West George Street. | 1883 |
| †MacLehose, James J., M.A., F.S.A.Scot., 61 St. Vincent Street. | 1882 |
| MacLehose, Robert, M.A., 61 St. Vincent Street. | 1882 |
| MacLellan, Robert, Conservative Club. | 1891 |
| Macleod, The Rev. W. H., Buchanan Manse, Drymen. | 1898 |
| Macnair, Thomas, 27 St. Vincent Place. | 1895 |
| Macquaker, Thomas, Ardshalloch, Hamilton Drive, Pollokshields, W. | 1890 |
| Maguire, The Most Rev. Archbishop, Crosshill House, Queen's Drive, Crosshill. | 1902 |

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| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| Main, John Bell, Cadzow Street, Hamilton. | 1891 |
| Mann, John, C.A., 142 St. Vincent Street. | 1891 |
| Mann, Ludovic V. M., C.A., F.S.A.Scot., 142 St. Vincent Street. | 1902 |
| †Marwick, Sir James D., LL.D., City Chambers. | 1878 |
| *Medley, Professor Dudley J., The College. | 1899 |
| †Menzies, James, Mount Feargan, Bothwell. | 1884 |
| Menzies, Walter, of Culcreuch, Fintry. | 1902 |
| Miller, D. S., 144 St. Vincent Street. | 1881 |
| †Mitchell, A. Moncrieff, LL.B., 160 West George Street. | 1885 |
| †Mitchell, George A., 5 West Regent Street. | 1884 |
| Mitchell, James, 222 Darnley Street. | 1895 |
| †Mitchell, John, 2 Lynedoch Street. | 1888 |
| *†Mitchell, John Oswald, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., 7 Huntly Gardens, *Ex-President.* | 1882 |
| Mitchell, Stephen, of Boquhan, Kippen. | 1899 |
| Moore, Robert T., C.E., 13 Clairmont Gardens. | 1891 |
| Muir, The Rev. Pearson M'Adam, D.D., 1 Athole Gardens. | 1897 |
| †Munro, R., M.D., F.S.A.Scot., 48 Manor Place, Edinburgh. | 1883 |
| *Murdoch, J. B., F.S.A.Scot., Capelrig, Mearns. | ‡ |
| *Murray, David, LL.D., F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., 169 West George Street, *Ex-President.* | 1881 |
| Murray, John Bruce, 17 University Gardens, Hillhead. | 1886 |
| Nairne, J. Stuart, F.R.C.S.E., 141 Hill Street, Garnethill. | 1890 |
| *†Neilson, George, F.S.A.Scot., Pitlochie, 11 Annfield Terrace, Partick, *Vice-President.* | 1890 |
| Neilson, James, 116 Bishop Street, Port-Dundas. | 1898 |
| Ness, James, 157 St. Vincent Street. | 1900 |
| Newbery, F. H., School of Art, 264 Sauchiehall Street. | 1894 |
| Normand, P. Hill, of Whitehill, Aberdour. | 1899 |
| Orr, John F., 184 West Regent Street. | 1883 |



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| | Date of Admission. |
|---|---|
| Park, Alexander, Ingleside, Lenzie. | 1891 |
| Parker, James Henry, C.A., 89 West Regent Street. | 1901 |
| Paterson, John, Sen., 199 Nithsdale Road, Pollokshields. | 1898 |
| Paterson, Oscar, 118 West Regent Street. | 1889 |
| *Paton, James, F.L.S., Camphill House, Crossmyloof. | 1884 |
| Pearson, Alexander, Sheriff-Clerk Depute, County Buildings. | 1885 |
| Peacock, John, M.A., 11 Miller Street, Shawlands. | 1902 |
| Pettigrew, Matthew, 1 Wilton Crescent. | 1898 |
| Pickering, R. Y., of Conheath, Dumfries. | 1891 |
| Pirrie, Robert, F.S.A.Scot., 9 Buckingham Terrace. | 1896 |
| Prentice, Thomas, 18 Eglinton Drive, Kelvinside. | 1890 |
| Price, Rees, 163 Bath Street. | 1902 |
| Rains, Stephen H., 24 Midlothian Drive, Shawlands. | 1901 |
| Raleigh, Professor Walter, 2 Southpark Terrace. | 1900 |
| Reid, James, 15 Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside. | 1899 |
| Reid, James A., 172 St. Vincent Street. | 1882 |
| Reid, Thomas, M.D., 11 Elmbank Street. | 1887 |
| Renwick, Robert, Depute Town Clerk, City Chambers. | 1882 |
| Richardson, Andrew, Soho Engine Works, Paisley. | 1900 |
| Robb, George H., M.A., 141 St. Vincent Street. | 1901 |
| *Roberton, James D., 1 Park Terrace, East. | 1883 |
| Roberton, William, 4 Terregles Avenue, Pollokshields. | 1901 |
| Rodger, Edward, 1 Clairmont Gardens. | 1900 |
| Ross, The Rev. D. M., D.D., 12 Bowmont Gardens. | 1901 |
| †Ross, John M., 2 Devonshire Gardens. | 1888 |
| Roxburgh, George R., 137 Ingram Street. | 1883 |
| Ruddock, John W., 32 Windsor Terrace, St. George's Road. | 1884 |
| Rundell, Richard Cooper, Royal Exchange Buildings. | 1888 |
| Rutherfurd, Andrew, M.A., 150 Ingram Street. | 1898 |
| Salmon, W. Forrest, F.R.I.B.A., 53 Bothwell Street. | 1885 |
| Scott, John, 247 Sauchiehall Street. | 1893 |

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| †Shand-Harvey, James W., of Castle-Semple, Lochwinnoch. | 1891 |
| Shaughnessy, Joseph, Bellevue, Rutherglen. | 1890 |
| Shaw-Stewart, M. H., M.P., Duchal, Renfrewshire. | 1892 |
| Skirving, Alexander, 121 West Regent Street. | 1898 |
| Smith, Andrew, F.S.A.Scot., Broompark, Lanark. | 1897 |
| †Smith, J. Guthrie, 205 St. Vincent Street. | 1879 |
| Smith, James M., Ibroxholm House, Ibrox. | 1900 |
| Smith, W. B, F.S.A.Scot., 34 Buchanan Street. | 1902 |
| Sorley, Robert, 93 St. Vincent Street. | 1887 |
| Speirs, A. A., of Elderslie, Houston House, Houston. | 1898 |
| Spencer, Charles Louis, 121 West George Street. | 1894 |
| Spencer, John James, 121 West George Street. | 1894 |
| Spens, John A., 25 Park Circus. | 1882 |
| Steel, The Rev. John, D.D., Ellangowan, Dennistoun. | 1884 |
| Stevenson, J. V., Chief-Constable. Central Police Chambers. | 1902 |
| Stewart, R. K., F.S.A.Scot., Murdostoun Castle, Newmains. | 1897 |
| Stuart, James, C.E., 12 Broomhill Avenue, Partick. | 1885 |
| †Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John, of Pollok, Bart., M.P., F.S.A.Scot., Pollok, Pollokshaws. | 1890 |
| Stodart, Archibald, Edindonich, Cardross. | 1898 |
| *Story, The Very Rev. Principal R. Herbert, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., The College, *President*. | 1887 |
| Stout, Thomas, 14 Belmont Crescent. | 1894 |
| Strachan, R. U., Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire, 9 Crown Circus, Dowanhill. | 1896 |
| Sturrock, Peter, of Baltersan, London Road, Kilmarnock. | 1890 |
| Swan, Robert M. W., Westfield, 58 Maxwell Drive, Pollokshields. | 1893 |
| Taylor, Charles, 13 Broomhill Avenue, Partick. | 1900 |
| Turnbull, John, 50 West Regent Street. | 1890 |
| Turner, William, Baranfrow, Helensburgh. | 1883 |

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| Ure, George Albert, Hope Park, Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire. | 1891 |
| Walker, Geo. J., C.A., 150 St. Vincent Street, *Hon. Treasurer.* | 1895 |
| *Wallace, T. M., Douglas Gardens, Uddingston. | 1884 |
| Wallace, William, LL.D., 36 Lilybank Gardens. | 1900 |
| Warren, Thomas T., 6 Westminster Gardens, Hillhead. | 1902 |
| †Watson, Duncan, 17 Newton Street. | 1887 |
| †Watson, T. L., 166 Bath Street. | 1881 |
| Watt, James Thomson, 150 Holland Street. | 1899 |
| Weddell, James, Park Villa, Uddingston. | 1882 |
| White, James, Bishop Mills, Old Dumbarton Road. | 1898 |
| Whitelaw, Alexander, of Gartshore, Kirkintilloch. | 1891 |
| †Whitelaw, Charles E., F.S.A.Scot., 168 Bath Street. | 1889 |
| Whitelaw, H. Vincent, 168 Bath Street. | 1901 |
| Whitelaw, Thomas, 112 Wellington Street. | 1886 |
| Williamson, Stephen, 15 Lansdowne Crescent. | 1902 |
| Wilson, John, of Airdrie, M.P., Airdrie House. | 1887 |
| Wilson, Robert, Procurator-Fiscal, County Buildings, Hamilton. | 1885 |
| Wingate, Walter E., 4 Bowmont Terrace, Kelvinside. | 1887 |
| Wood, H. K., 17 Rosslyn Terrace. | 1897 |
| Wood, William J., 266 George Street. | 1894 |
| †Wordie, John, F.S.A.Scot., 42 Montgomerie Drive, Kelvinside. | 1884 |
| Wylie, John, 26 Huntly Gardens, Kelvinside. | 1897 |
| Young, Daniel H. Lusk, 16 Woodlands Terrace. | 1901 |
| Young, George Burn, 45 West George Street. | 1883 |
| Young, William, R.S.W., 65 West Regent Street. | 1896 |

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